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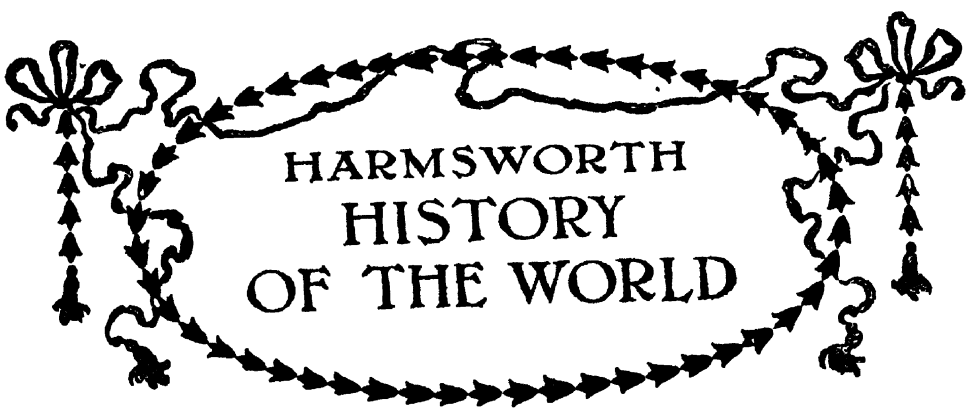
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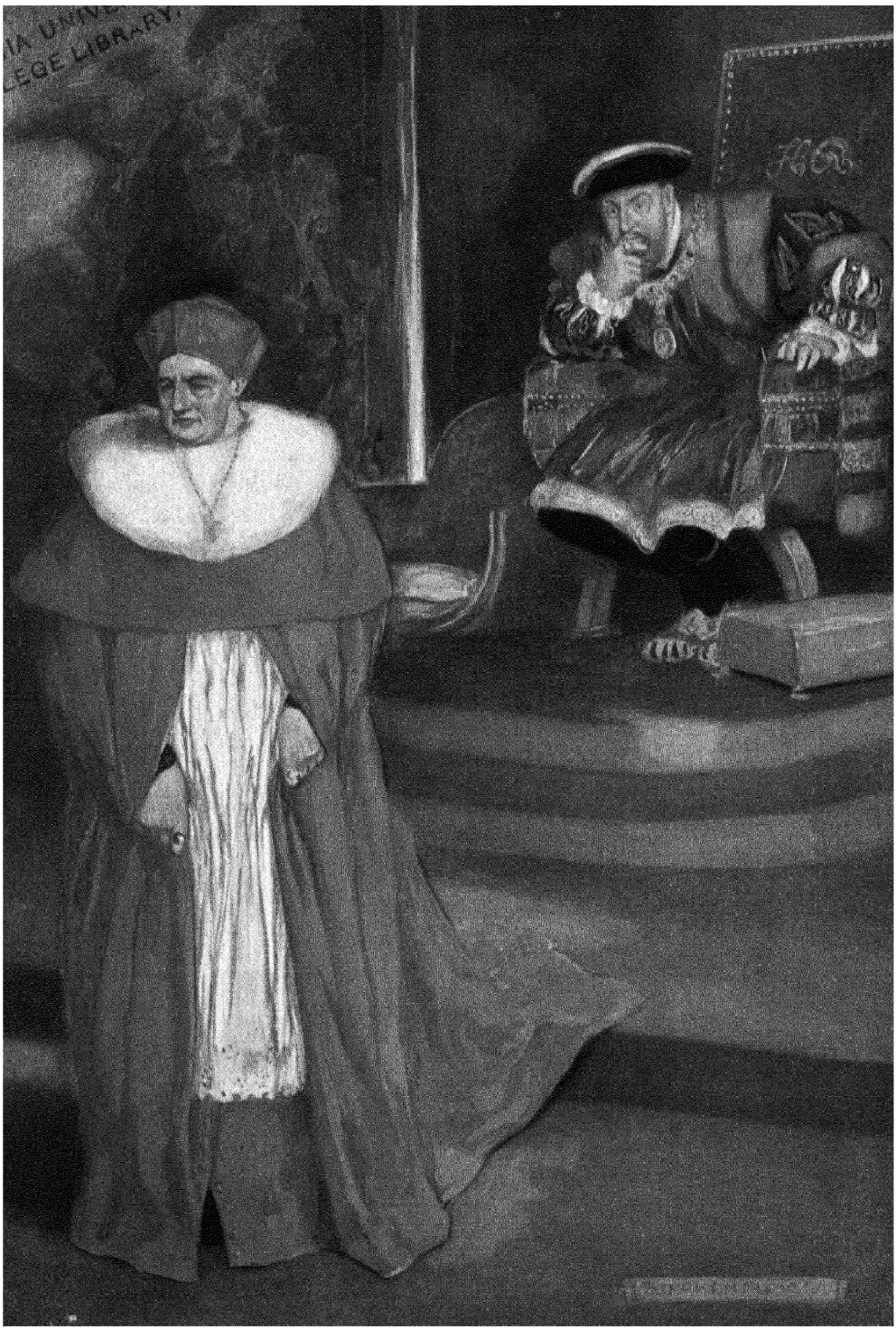

WOLSEY'S LAST INTERVIEW WITH KING HENRY VIII.

Specially painted for the HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD by Stephen Reid, R.B.A.

FRONTISPIECE. VOL XI.

HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

WRITTEN BY THE FOREMOST HISTORIANS OF OUR TIME AND ILLUSTRATED WITH UPWARDS OF 8,000 PICTURES

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NEW AND REVISED EDITION
IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

VOLUME XI.

WESTERN EUROPE TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

LONDON
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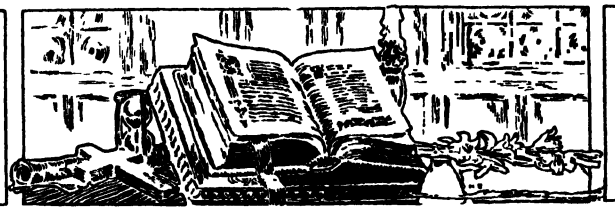


EUROPE

FOURTH DIVISION

WESTERN EUROPE

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

When our second division of Western European history opens, most of the modern nations have already come into being. The Scandinavian states are one clearly defined group, the Britannic states are another, and are already on their way to unification. Spain is practically, and France actually, a unity. The Austrian House is just completing that congeries of dominions which still forms what we call the Austrian Empire. Germany however, continues to be a loose confederation, recognising a common sovereign only in the vaguest manner, and Italy continues to be parcelled out into appanages of greater Powers. For nearly two hundred years the ruler of Spain, as well as of Austria, is a Hapsburg, for nearly another hundred he is a Bourbon—of the dynasty of the kings of France. One of the keys to the various complications is to be found in the rivalry of these two great Houses. For half our period, another key is in the rivalry of the two types of religion brought into being by the Reformation, for the second half another is in the rivalry of the colonising nations for commercial and colonial supremacy. Throughout, the political and social fabric is going through a process of reconstruction, intended to replace the disintegrating forces of feudalism, but itself requiring a complete renovation, the way to which is about to be prepared by the cataclysm of the French Revolution. With that epoch our era closes.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD

By Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

THE REFORMATION AND AFTER

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

THE ENDING OF THE OLD ORDER

SPAIN—By Martin Hume, M.A., Dr. Heinrich Schurtz, Dr. Armin Tille, and others

THE BRITISH ISLES—By Martin Hume, M.A., A. D. Innes, M.A., and H. W. C. Davis, M.A.

FRANCE—By Dr. Armin Tille, A. D. Innes, M.A., and other writers

GERMANY—By Professor Hans von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, Dr. Armin Tille, and other writers

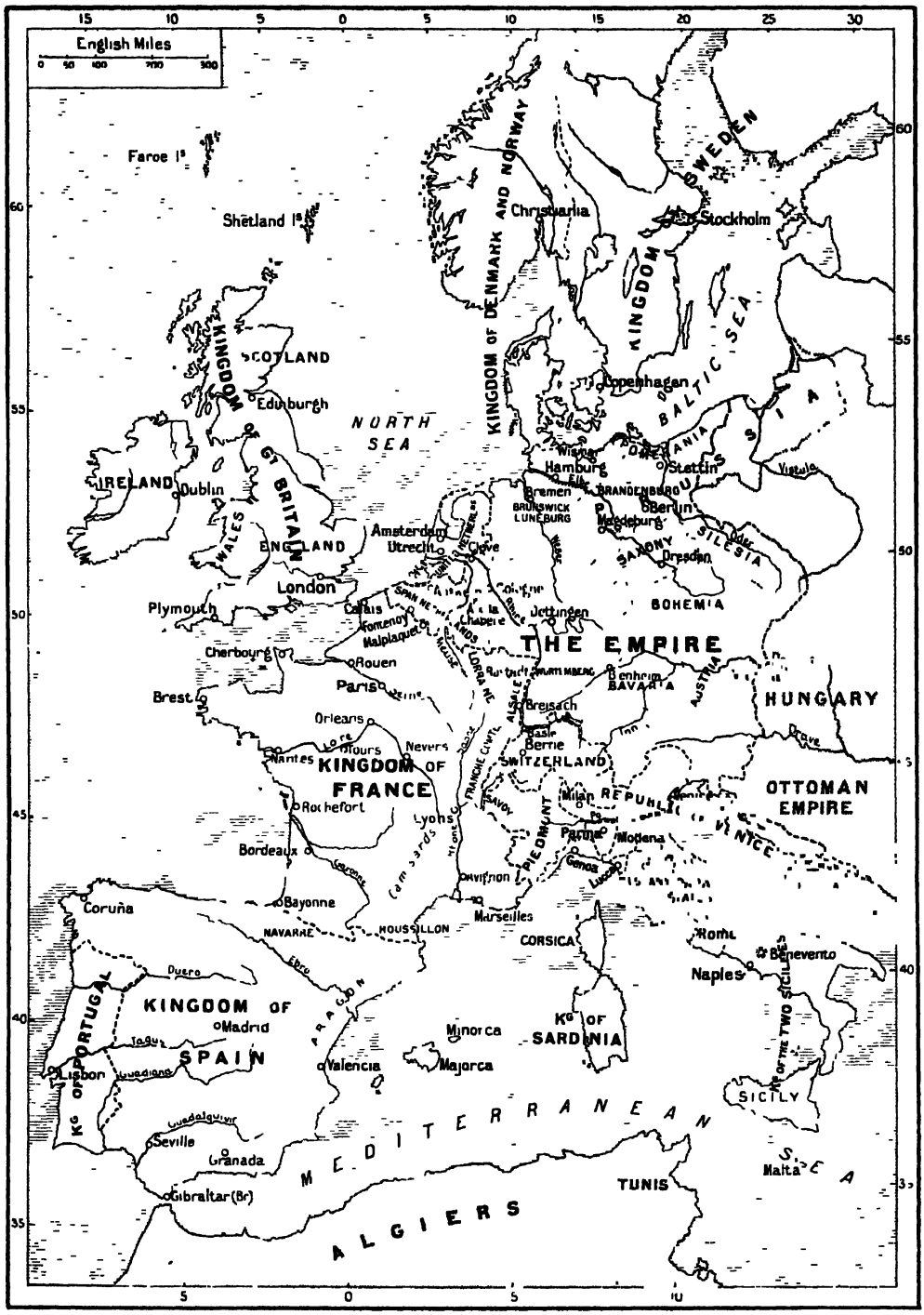
THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES—By Dr. Hans Schjöth

HOLLAND AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY By Professor Hans von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

By Professor Richard Mayr





MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE FOURTH DIVISION OF EUROPE

The fourth division of Europe, which treats of the western part of the Continent from the great religious awakening known as the Reformation down to the time of the French Revolution, is illustrated in the above map A comparison with the map which illustrated the third division of Europe shows the changes that have been at work among the nations. The great empire built up by Charlemagne, which dominated so large a portion of the Continent in the last division, is no longer pre-eminent among the Powers, while the separate kingdoms of England and Scotland have come together in the bonds of union and as one nation are beginning to tread the path of conquest.

WESTERN EUROPE FROM THE



REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD

By ARTHUR D. INNES, M.A.

THE PASSING OF MEDIÆVALISM AND THE NEW ERA

THE division of history into periods, labelled ancient, mediæval, and modern, is of necessity arbitrary. There was a time, which we commonly call prehistoric, when the European peoples kept no written records of their civilisation. Then some of them, already in many respects highly organised, preserved their records, and ancient European history began. When did it end? We take the line of demarcation at the epoch or moment of time when the old civilised races ceased to dominate the known world, the world which preserved its records, and found themselves dominated in turn by new barbaric races—races, that is, which were on a lower intellectual level and were politically in a less advanced state of organisation; a moment which we identify with the dissolution of the Roman Empire.

Thenceforth European history is mainly that of the progress of these races from that barbaric condition to the highly elaborate organisation which they have attained at the present day. How, then, in the course of this continuous process—still proceeding—are we to draw a line anywhere saying that on one side of it is transition—mediævalism—on the other modernity? There is reason in the view which takes the close of the eighteenth century as the dividing line, on the double ground that the French Revolution politically rang the knell of absolutist and aristocratic systems of government, and that socially the industrial revolution, which, by the development of machinery, made manufacturing possible on an enormous scale, introduced the most essential characteristics of the modern community. On the other hand, there is reason also in the view which finds the starting point of progress, the emergence from barbarism, in the intellectual and æsthetic revival which began in Italy before the thirteenth century was well ended. There is less reason in the purely picturesque popular distinction which undoubtedly realises the "Middle Ages" as the time when battles were fought by mail-clad knights, and modern times as the period in which gunpowder had made the coat of mail absurd.

Between the Ancient and the Modern

The Passing of Mediævalism

Nevertheless, this popular distinction does happen, in point of time, to coincide with a line of demarcation which seems on the whole to have a stronger claim to acceptance on general grounds than either the French Revolution or the beginning of the Renaissance. Between 1440 and 1520 so many events took place [illegible] with the invention of the printing-press and ending with the Diet of Worms—any one of which may from certain points of view be claimed as "epoch-making." There are so many fields in which at some moment during those years one era may be said to end and another to begin that collectively they may be regarded as the passing from mediævalism to modernity.

The first of these events is the invention of printing, of which the full effects did not immediately make themselves felt, but which meant that information and knowledge could soon be communicated *urbi et orbi*; no group of persons could



MARTIN LUTHER PREACHING DURING HIS DETENTION IN THE WARTBURG AT EISENACH IN GERMANY
From the painting by Hugo Vogel, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co

claim to be the sole guardians of the arcana of accumulated wisdom. The general public slowly acquired the data for inquiry and criticism. The second is the fall of Constantinople. Byzantium had carried on the Græco-Roman tradition. With its fall, the south-east of Europe became, not a link between East and West,

Four Epoch-making Events

and between the old and the new, but definitely Oriental and Mohammedan, neo-oriental, that is, with its past dating from the Hegira. The East had definitely become the [illegible] against the West. Third is the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus and of the Cape route to India by Vasco da Gama, which made the ocean the great highway of the nations, and fleets the instrument of commercial success and the guarantee of expansion beyond the limits of Europe Fourth is the challenge to the papacy flung down by Martin Luther—epoch-making, not as being the first of such challenges, but as being the first which resulted in a permanent reconstruction of the religious basis of European society, and in extensive political changes attendant thereon.

As distinguished from these events, certain tendencies may be remarked as reaching a climax or a decisive stage at this period. In Italy the æsthetic Renaissance reached its culminating point in the fields of painting and sculpture; the intellectual impulse, no longer concentrated in the south, was being communicated to the northern peoples. Politically, the tendency to form large homogeneous states with a strong central government was overcoming the tendency to disintegration inherent in feudalism

In England, it is true, the principle had triumphed long before—it was only a reaction which was countered by the establishment of the Tudor monarchy Now, however, France, under Louis XI and Charles VIII., and Spain, under

Revolution in the Art of War

Ferdinand and Isabella, had been added to the list of clearly defined states, and the new conception expressed in the phrase "the balance of power" assumed a dominant value in international politics Finally, a place, though not the first place, must be given to the revolution in the art of war effected by gunpowder, which had now, become an assured if not an actually accomplished fact. In England, it may be added, the selected line of demarcation is peculiarly convenient, because it coincides with a landmark in the history of the country—the establishment of a particularly vigorous and notable dynasty. Modern England is introduced under the auspices of the House of Tudor, which supplied us with five monarchs, of whom three at least were of unusual capacity.

"Mediæval" history, then, ends, and "modern" history [illegible] at least, so far as concerns Western Europe—with the opening years of the sixteenth century. And modern history itself finds a point of definite division in the epoch of the French Revolution. The years from the Reformation—Luther's defiance of the papacy—to the French Revolution form a clearly-marked period, in which the consequences of the great events above enumerated develop.

The effects of the increased facilities for communicating knowledge, criticism, and ideas, ramified into every department of human endeavour After centuries of stagnation, even of retrogression, science—in the sense of knowledge of natural laws—progressed enormously. The 200 years

The Rapid March of Science

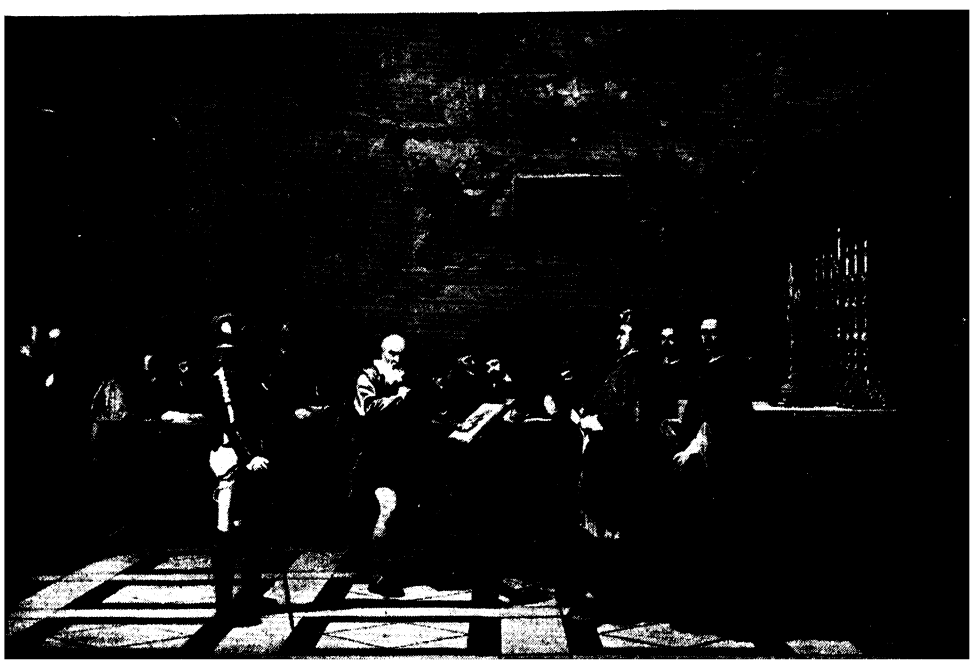
which began with Copernicus and end with Isaac Newton, whose middle period is associated with the names of Galileo, Kepler, and Francis Bacon, saw physics revolutionised and astrology displaced by astronomy, and the search for the Philosopher's Stone by a practical chemistry, while the eighteenth century witnessed the invention of machinery, which completely changed the conditions of labour, the first practical application of steam-power, and almost the first investigations of the nature of electricity.

With the exception of Italian literature, which, like Italian art, had already attained its zenith, all the great literatures of Europe came into being—though the Middle Ages had produced precursors such as Chaucer in England—and achieved a splendour which remained unsurpassed, if not altogether unmatched, even in the period of the French Revolution or in the nineteenth century. The one exception was Germany, where, at the close of the period, Goethe had indeed risen above the horizon; but "Faust" was still unwritten, and Lessing's was almost the only name of consequence in pure literature. The sixteenth century produced the Portuguese Camoens, Ronsard and the Pléiade and Montaigne in France, Cervantes in Spain,

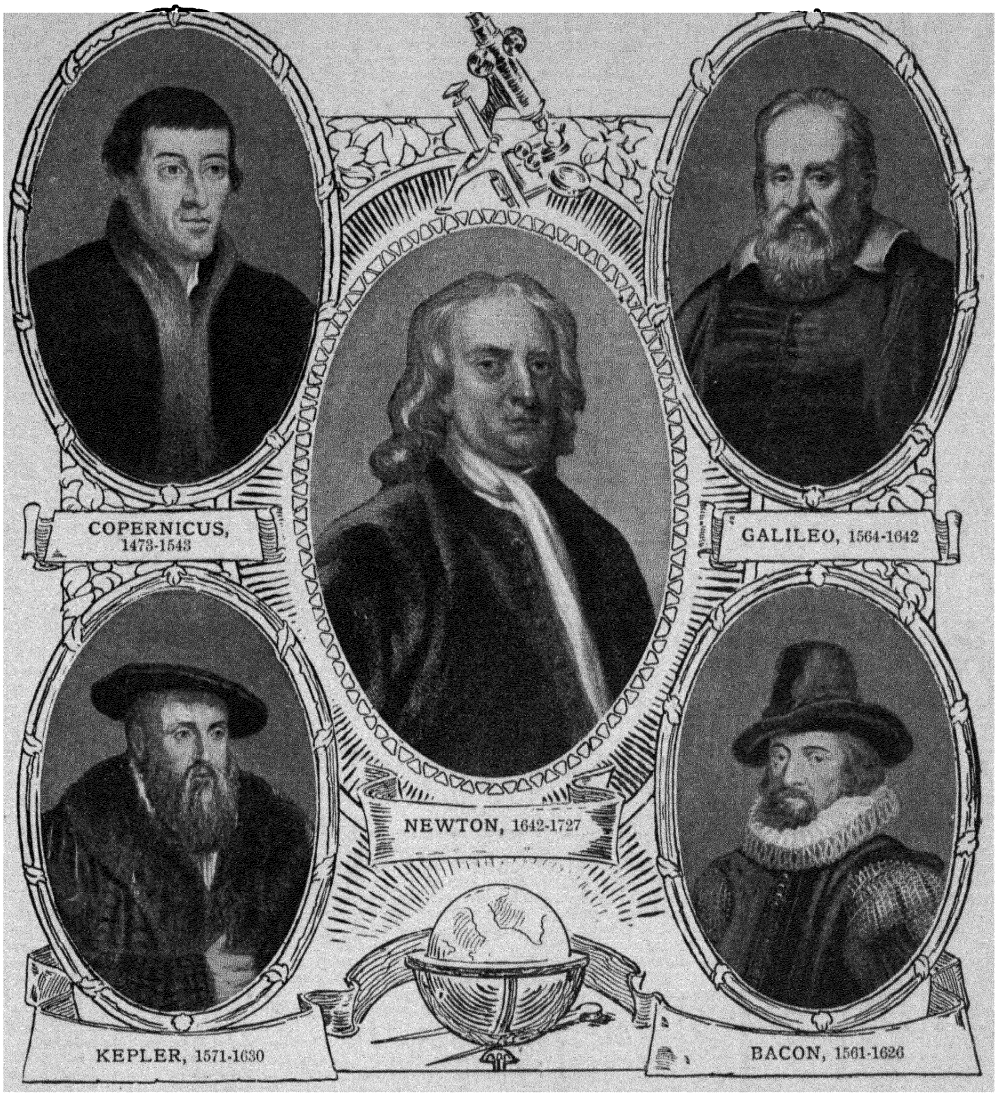
Tasso in Italy, and in England the tremendous group of "Elizabethans," whose work extends roughly over the forty years from 1580 to 1620. To the next century belong Calderon in Spain, Milton and Dryden with Bunyan and Defoe in England, and in France the three great dramatists—Corneille, Molière, and Racine—as well as the school of critics, headed by Boileau, who dominated European literature for nearly a hundred years afterwards. Under this last influence intellectuality triumphed over passion, spontaneity was depressed by artificial rules; it is curious to remark that in England the term "artificial" was complimentary. Hence the victorious romantic reaction which followed this period makes the present-day critic inclined to deny that the pre-Revolution poets of the eighteenth century were poets at all. Through most of the eighteenth century classicalism held the field, the drama ceased to be dramatic, satire and epigram flourished, but the lyric was at a discount; it was an age of essayists in prose or verse, though the tender emotions still found occasional expression.

Neither in the field of prose literature nor in that of natural science would these developments have been possible—at least in their fulness—but for the invention of the printing press; the same is true of developments in a third field which has affinities both with science and literature—the field which is vaguely and generally termed "philosophy." The "scholasticism" of the Middle Ages was not, indeed, so utterly sterile as is sometimes represented. In conjunction with the Reformation, which liberated thinkers from the necessity of compelling at least their publicly expressed conclusions to conform with the authorised dogmas of the Church, the printing press helped both to record the data for formulating new ideas and to popularise new conclusions. In the sixteenth century the great theological contest absorbed attention: but the seventeenth produced the great names of Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibnitz, the eighteenth, Berkeley, David Hume, and Kant.

Metaphysics, however, with mental and moral science, exercise a direct influence only on the few; of more practically recognisable effect was the revived study of political theory, which may be said to have started with the publication of Machiavelli's "Prince" shortly after that statesman's death in 1527. That work is a handbook of monarchism divorced from



WHEN CONSERVATISM TRIUMPHED OVER SCIENCE: GALILEO BEFORE THE PAPAL TRIBUNAL
A Scientist far in advance of his time, Galileo was summoned before the Inquisition and compelled to restate his doctrine that the earth revolves round the sun. It is said that after his recantation, he muttered sotto voce, "And yet it does move"
From the painting in the Luxembourg by J. N Robert Fleury



THE FIVE GREATEST SCIENTISTS OF TWO CENTURIES

ethics; but it is an analysis of method rather than an examination of principles. The truth that the establishment of a strong central government was a manifest political necessity for every state which wished to hold its own accounts for the fact that the theorists from Machiavelli through Jean Bodin to Hobbes were always advocates of monarchism, though Hooker, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity," implies something like the ultimate sovereignty of the people. The philosophical thesis, however, was assuming by the middle of the seventeenth century the character of a political propaganda; constitutionalists, as well as absolutists, were in search of a theoretic warrant for their practical demands. The embodiment of the principles of the "glorious revolution" of 1688 in the constitutional gospel of John Locke, in spite of prolixity and of a certain haziness, not only satisfied the Whig demands, but influenced thinkers abroad. Montesquieu, analysing the functions of the state on the basis of what may be called comparative history and comparative law, pointed to British constitutionalism as the highest actual achievement in the art of government, the Encyclopædists undermined the logical defences of the "Ancien Régime"; Rousseau's "Contrat Social" captured the popular imagination and

became a mighty agent in producing the revolution itself. In practical manner the pen was revealed as no less mighty than the sword.

The fall of Constantinople was an event exceedingly striking to the imagination, but one of which the effect on the western world may be exaggerated. The spirit which had flung the chivalry of the West against the East, the spirit of the Crusades, had all but spent itself 200 years before. The Austrian Hapsburgs, essentially a western power, were to find their western policy for two and a half centuries continually hampered by the pressure of the Ottomans on the east. When the Ottoman power began to decline, the other western states began also to interest themselves in an Eastern question, which did not, however, become acute, as far as they were concerned, till the nineteenth century. On the other hand, during the period of Turkish aggression they did not greatly embroil themselves in the struggle which the barrier states were obliged to maintain.

Byzantium itself had long ceased to exercise any fascination or any marked influence over the Teutonic or Latin peoples, and the substitution of an aggressive Mohammedan power for a decaying Christian power in the Balkan peninsula was to all, except the barrier states, a matter of importance potential rather than actual. Moreover the associated commercial problems, which otherwise might have forced themselves upon the West, were largely modified by the development of the Atlantic as a commercial highway. Again it is probable that too much has often been made of the effect of the fall of Constantinople on the intellectual movement of the West. The dispersion of Greek scholarship and Greek manuscripts which ensued did, no doubt, give an additional impulse to the study of the Greek tongue and the Greek authors of antiquity. But the classical revival had already begun in Italy, the demand for scholars and manuscripts had already been created, and the supply would have followed, though more gradually, even if the Turk had been driven over the Bosphorus.

Of our third great event, or pair of events, however, it would be difficult to over-estimate the significance and the



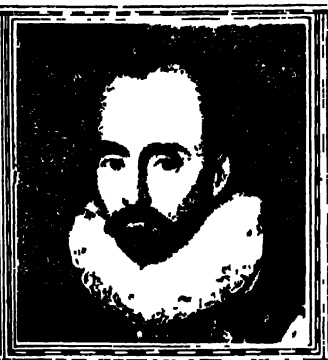
THE POET TASSO RECITING HIS MASTERPIECES AT THE COURT OF FERRARA

From the painting by Eduard Ender

COMMANDING FIGURES IN LITERATURE BEFORE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION



DE CAMOENS, 1524-80



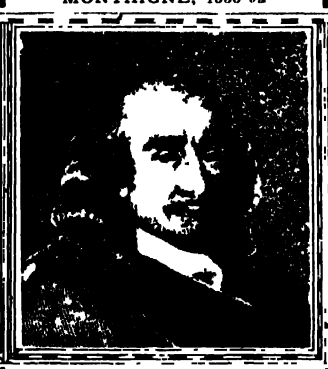
MONTAIGNE, 1533-92



TASSO, 1544-95



CERVANTES, 1547-1616



CORNEILLE 1606-84



MOLIÈRE, 1622-73



RACINE, 1639-99

importance of their development. In ancient times Greeks and Romans had indeed colonised Western Asia and the Mediterranean coast of North Africa But the eastward movement had soon found its limit had ceased, and had been revived only in very inefficient form by the Crusades to perish again, submerged by the Turkish wave. It seemed that the peoples of Western Europe would be confined within the geographical limits of the continent. Now, however, the pathless ocean was converted into a highway to new regions, offering space to expand in, which might be called boundless, and infinite opportunities of commercial exploitation.

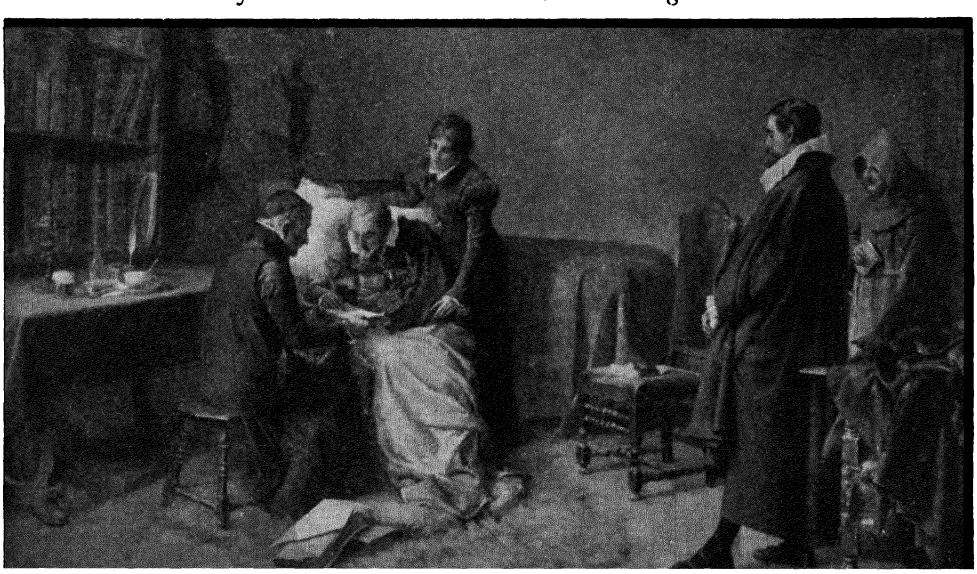
At first, indeed, the gold and silver of the West and the spices of the East seemed to be the chief prizes, and the monopoly thereof seemed to have fallen respectively to the Spaniards and the Portuguese. But then the monopoly was challenged by the two states which developed a maritime power greater than that of the monopolists. Dutch and English displaced the Portuguese in Indian waters, and the English found in North America a possession which they turned to better account than did the Spaniards theirs in the Southern continent Then the French entered upon a rivalry with the English in India and in North America The issue between the rival colonists in the West and the rival traders in the East involved them and with them the parent states, in contests which meant in both regions the effacement of the one and the establishment of the other as monopolist In both regions the British triumph was complete, owing primarily to the fact that the British concentrated their efforts on establishing naval supremacy thus maintaining their own communications and cutting off those of their rivals: whereas the

French, not realising this essential condition of a successful contest, allowed their energies to be simultaneously distracted by wars on the European continent. The victory of the British race took a new development when the race itself bifurcated into two nations as the result of a quarrel between the American colonists and the mother country; but that development was only in its initial stage at the close of our period.

The fourth crucial event was Luther's challenge to the authority of the papacy. This authority was both political and dogmatic. Politically it had attained its effective maximum in the thirteenth century, and had been weakened but not destroyed by the Babylonish captivity of Avignon and the Great Schism. Dogmatically it had been assailed by Wycliffites and Hussites, but the assault had apparently been repulsed. Now, however, the renewed attack by Luther developed into the revolt against Rome, both political and dogmatic, of approximately the northern half of Western Christendom. In the southern states, Rome retained dogmatic domination by accepting the political alliance, in place of the subjection, of the secular Governments.

Dogmatically, Protestantism rests on the individual's duty to obey his own conscience, and his right to follow his own reason, even when counter to the dictates of authority. The Protestants claimed the right and asserted the duty for themselves, but were not for a long time generally disposed to recognise either the duty or the right in the case of persons whose conscience and reason led to conclusions differing from their own. In other words, Protestantism did not realise that toleration was its logical corollary. It divided into camps, Lutheran, Calvinistic, or Anglican, which were too antagonistic among themselves for the nations which adopted them to oppose a combined front to the attack of the papal powers—a disunion which more than once brought the whole cause of Protestantism into serious jeopardy.

In many countries, religious profession became so intimately connected with dynastic partisanship that "heresy," or "papistry" as the case might be, became treason in the eyes of rulers; and in England and Scotland a similar relation arose between Prelatists, or Episcopalians, on the one hand, and Puritans, or Covenanters, on the other, until mutual toleration was reluctantly accepted by both as the only security against the restoration of papistry. This point was reached at the moment when the religious question was ceasing to be a leading factor in international politics, and Catholic and Protestant Powers were uniting to resist the aggression of France. The storm of theological antagonisms was becoming exhausted among the educated classes to be



THE LAST HOURS OF THE AUTHOR OF "DON
From the painting by L. Oliva



FAMOUS PHILOSOPHERS FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION

replaced by a respectable indifferentism, an apathy which extended into the moral and political spheres. Hence, the wars of the eighteenth century were not religious but ostensibly dynastic in origin, though in the middle of the century the fundamental national antagonisms must be recognised as, in the main colonial.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, religious convictions had been marked by intensity, even when moral standards were low and distorted. In the eighteenth, if moral standards were a shade more refined, religious convictions had given place to a tolerant scepticism which professed Deism and called it Christianity. Nevertheless, the instinctive demand for religious emotion found notable expression in England in the movement which bears the name of the Wesleys, which was but one form of the revolt of idealism against the self-satisfied materialism which threatened to devitalise Europe.

In the sixteenth century, the Western world was stirred, as it were, by a fresh access of youth, a spontaneous vitality, a superabundant energy. It was an age of heroic adventure, of young enthusiasms, of dramatic incident—tragic and otherwise—of supremely picturesque personalities; the age which is summed up in Shakespeare. This flow of youth does not pervade the century which follows—an age in which the enthusiasms are steirner the great personalities more grim. Its striking and characteristic figures are not Luther or Loyola, Henry, Elizabeth, Drake or Marlowe, but Gustavus, Wallenstein, Cromwell, Richelieu, Milton; finally Louis XIV. and Dutch William. But when we pass on to the eighteenth the youthfulness, the "heroicalness" have vanished, barbaric energy and Puritan grimness give way to a pervading artificiality, polished scepticism, commercial materialism; there are very few figures that can be called noble. Among its most prominent figures, save perhaps Chatham and W...' Frederic stands among the men who may fairly be called great, Walpole is more characteristic. The first century gave us spring, the second, summer and autumn, the third, winter. But another spring was to come, though with more in it of March than of May.

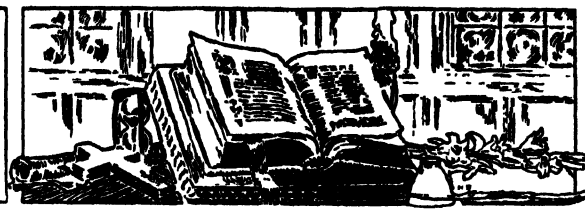


VANDALS OF THE REFORMATION THE SACKING OF A MONASTERY

A consequence of the Reformation movement was the suppression of monasteries, which had lost, in some cases, their original purpose, and in connection with which many abuses were alleged In Scotland particularly, the indignation of the populace with the Roman Catholic Church found expression in attacks upon those places of retreat When John Knox preached in St Andrews, public feeling ran high, the churches were stripped of their ornaments, and the monasteries were pulled down In other places also, where the reformed worship was set up, the unrestrained zeal of the people dealt roughly with the beautiful old buildings and scenes such as that represented in the above picture were not at all uncommon.

From the painting by G Gaupp, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co

WESTERN EUROPE FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION



GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD II BY A. D. INNES

THE REFORMATION AND THE WARS OF RELIGION

IN giving our preliminary sketch of the period it is convenient to take familiar points in English history as our landmarks, not because of their intrinsic importance, but because they are handy guides. The first decade, however, of the reign of Henry VIII. provides a starting-point which is of more than insular utility. In 1509 Henry VIII. became King of England. In 1513 Flodden checked the development of Scotland. In 1515 Francis I. ascended the French throne. In 1516 the young Hapsburg Charles became King of Spain on the death of his grandfather Ferdinand of Aragon. In 1519 the Emperor Maximilian died, and his death was followed by the election of the King of Spain—who was grandson of Maximilian as well as of Ferdinand—to the imperial throne as Charles V. In 1517 Martin Luther had thrown down the gauntlet to Rome by challenging the sale of indulgences. Thus, at the close of this decade, 1509–1519, the three kings and the religious reformer, whose personalities were to dominate Europe for thirty years—Luther died in 1546, Francis and Henry in 1547, though Charles survived them—had all taken their places on the stage. Among them those four during those thirty years laid down the lines of the national divisions of Europe, saw the Europeans masters of South America and on the Indian seas, and marked out the course which was to be taken by the religious Reformation.

Four Great Protagonists of the Era

All four were still living when Ignatius Loyola, on the Roman, and John Calvin on the Protestant, side established the specific types of the Jesuit and the Puritan.

Another decade of English history, the decade of the Great Rebellion—or perhaps we should say the two decades of the Rebellion and the Commonwealth—marks a division of our whole period into two. The Peace of Westphalia and the execution of Charles I. were all but contemporaneous, falling precisely midway between the accession of Henry VIII. and the [illegible] of the States-General. From one point of view, we may regard the first period as that of the ascendancy and decline of the Hapsburgs, and the second as that of the ascendancy and decline of the Bourbons. From another point of view, the first is the period when religious antagonisms are dominant, while in the second those are over-ridden by the claims of rival commercial interests issuing in a great struggle for colonial dominion.

The Struggle for Colonial Dominion

From a third point of view, the first period witnesses the passing of feudalism into absolutism, and the second the decay of the bases on which absolutism was established. In our own island, politically far in advance of other states, the first period saw both the development and the fall of absolutism, while the second established constitutionalism. Thus the chronological division provides a natural partition for our survey. At the opening, then, we find Spain, the Burgundian heritage including the Low Countries, the Central European heritage of the Austrian house, and the Imperial dignity, all under one sceptre, though the Austrian dominions were very soon transferred to the emperor's brother, Ferdinand.

The theory of a balance of power among European states would have been stifled at birth but for the fact that the emperor's realms were a heterogeneous assortment of unsympathetic nationalities, very inconveniently situated for united action, whereas the realm of the other great Continental power, France, was homogeneous and compact. The rivalry of the two princes, Charles and Francis, and their counter claims to sundry Burgundian and Italian territories, were the fundamental facts in the international situation. England, standing outside, her policy guided—at least in the judgment of the world—

The Theory of a Balance of Power

by the minister Cardinal Wolsey, sought to hold the balance between the two, to preserve the general peace, and to reap the advantages of her position as arbiter. Failing to keep the peace, she threw her weight—though by no means vigorously—into the scale on the emperor's side; and only after the overthrow of Francis at Pavia in 1525 was an attempt made to restore the balance by a return to the French alliance.

Luther's Challenge to the Papacy

But by this time, the new act was making itself actively felt. Martin Luther had challenged the papal pretensions in 1517 at Wittenberg. In 1520 he metaphorically burned his boats when he literally burned the papal Bull which condemned him as a heretic. By challenging the pecuniary and political as well as the theological claims of the papacy, he secured the support of a number of secular princes, while the religious enthusiasm of the masses over half of Germany was aroused by his bold declaration against any authority which pretended to override the Scriptures. "Here stand I. God help me. I cannot do otherwise."

The fire was fairly kindled. Politically speaking, German unity had become impossible until the sword which Luther had brought instead of peace should be sheathed. The princes, who supported Luther, demanded religious freedom on the general principle later formulated in the phrase *cujus regio ejus religio*—"for each ruler's realm, the ruler's religion." The Lutherans united at Speier in the protest against imperial restrictions which gave to their movement, and ultimately to the whole anti-papal Reformation, the name of Protestantism

The new teaching progressed in spite of the serious set-back which it received from the social propaganda of some of its votaries—emphatically condemned by Luther himself—which brought about the horrors of the great German peasant revolt of 1525. The league of Protestant princes became a permanent menace to an imperial authority which definitely ranged itself on the side of the old teaching and was at the same time endeavouring to tighten its control in secular affairs.

League of Protestant Princes

Under such conditions an effective Anglo-French alliance would have presented a very grave danger to the Hapsburg monarchy; but the King of England elected to follow a course of his own in which he could be actively associated with neither of the two rivals. While priding himself on his orthodoxy, Henry found conscientious reasons for disclaiming obedience to an ecclesiastical authority which could not be persuaded to declare his marriage with Catharine of Aragon void. Conscience also compelled him to suppress the monastic establishments in England and to appropriate their endowments.

At the same time the monarch, who had been honoured with the title of "Defender of the Faith" by Leo X., was not *persona grata* with the Lutherans; and the total outcome was that from the hour when Henry began to seek for the so-called divorce from his wife, England ceased materially to influence the policy of either Charles or Francis, while her king was making himself supreme over the State, and the State supreme over the Church. Theological changes, however logically they might follow as corollaries to the revised relations between Church and State, were reserved for the next reign.

In Germany contests between Protestantism and Imperial Catholicism continued to alternate with periods of doubtful compromises and suspicious truces. The apparent triumph of the orthodox emperor over the Lutheran League of Schmalcald in 1547 was followed by a complete reversal of the position, accomplished in 1552 by Maurice of Saxony; and before the death of Charles a modus vivendi was established between the two parties which remained effective for more than half a century. But the attempt to centralise power in the hands of the emperor had failed, and the intimate connection of the empire with Spain was terminated. A Hapsburg was King of Spain retaining the Netherlands, and another wore the imperial crown; but the Hapsburg dominion was permanently divided.

Germany's Religious Warfares

While Charles still ruled, Montezuma and Atahualpa had met the fate with which Macaulay's schoolboy was so familiar; Cortez and Pizarro had conquered Mexico and Peru; the Spaniards were established on the Spanish Main, and the Plate fleets were beginning to pour their cargoes into the Spanish treasury. Also John Calvin had founded his theocratic system at Geneva on a rigid predestinarian basis; the Order of Jesuits had been recognised at Rome, and was



THE HUGUENOT LOVERS

This famous painting illustrates the anxiety of a Huguenot maiden for her lover's safety On the eve of the massacre of St Bartholomew the intimation was secretly conveyed to the Roman Catholics that they were to wear a badge on their arms to distinguish them from the Protestants, against whom the attack was to be made. Hearing in some way of the impending massacre, the young woman has tied the badge about her lover's arm and is entreating him to wear it, but he is gently seeking to remove the symbol of the craven.

From the painting by Sir J F Millais in the Tate Gallery

developing the powers generated by the union of a consummate education with unqualified obedience; and the Council of Trent, in which the adherents of the papacy alone found recognition, was preparing the conclusive dogmatic definitions which were permanently to distinguish Roman Catholics from all others, and to lead to the popular appropriation of the name of Catholic to the Romanists—an abuse of [illegible] is excusable only because the opposition of the terms Protestant and Catholic is, on the whole, less misleading than any practicable alternative which has been suggested

Philip the Champion of the Papacy

In Germany there was a religious truce In England the explosive Protestantism of [illegible] VI.'s reign was followed by the still more acute reaction of Mary Tudor's government; and that again by the comprehensive but still limited Anglican settlement of Elizabeth. In France, the orthodoxy of the court was qualified by the Huguenot leanings of powerful families. It remained for Philip of Spain to adopt the rôle of champion of the papacy and hammer of the heretics Between 1556 and 1560, Spain, France, England, and the Empire, each came under a new ruler, who in the case of the first three guided its destinies for thirty years or more.

In France the sons of Catharine de Medici were kings, but it was she who controlled them. To retain her own ascendancy she played off the Guises against the Huguenots and the Huguenots against the Guises. Even the terrible St Bartholomew massacres of 1572, which she planned probably in a moment of jealous panic, failed to suppress the party of the victims, who won the day for their indubitably legitimate candidate, Henry of Navarre, in the struggle for the succession which followed the death of Henry III., and of Catharine herself in 1589, but only when Henry paid the Catholics their price, holding that a crown was worth a Mass

Why Queen Elizabeth was Protestant

In England, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, born out of wedlock in the eyes of every believer in the papal authority, was wholly dependent on the loyalty of her Protestant subjects, whose hopes were no less bound up in her, since, even if her legitimacy were admitted, the legitimate heir presumptive was the Catholic Queen of Scots, who was half a Guise. Elizabeth's domestic administration was consequently emphatically Protestant; the more so when a singularly injudicious papal Bull in 1570 formally invited English Catholics to profess loyalty but to compass treason. Nevertheless, it was her business to avoid challenging the direct onslaught of the papal champion until the outcome of a struggle could be anticipated with confidence

Hence for nearly thirty years she played persistently a double game, wounding Spain whenever the chance appeared of doing so unofficially, or dangling before France the prospect of a matrimonial alliance, but refusing to commit herself to open support either of the Huguenots in France or of the Protestant Netherlanders in their struggle to free themselves from the Spanish yoke But sooner or later the battle with Spain was inevitable, apart from the religious question.

For the spirit of adventure had taken hold of the seafaring population of England The Italian Cabots - John and Sebastian—had made their voyages to North America in command of English ships, Willoughby and Chancellor had "discovered" Muscovy when in search of a "North-east passage," old William Hawkins had made the Guinea voyage and visited the Brazils before Elizabeth was on the throne, and many captains were soon emulating their exploits, most notable among them being John Hawkins, who kidnapped negroes or bought captives from the native chiefs on the Guinea coast, finding a profitable market for the same among the Spaniards in America But Spain was by no means disposed to let foreigners work their way into sharing her American monopoly, and strict trade regulations were laid down

The Great Sailors of the Seas

These regulations the English seamen ignored—partly as being in contravention of treaty rights, partly as having no better warrant than the old Bull of Pope Alexander VI., who had made a present to Portuguese and Spaniards of the New World, which was not his to give. In plain terms, international law was far too vague, and its sanctions far too insubstantial, to control the proceedings of mariners and adventurers on the other side of the ocean. If the Spaniards had a right to the monopoly, the English were no better than pirates; if they had not, the

English were within their rights; and the debate could be decided only by the effective, if illogical, method of fighting it out. Therefore, while Elizabeth and Philip were theoretically at peace, their subjects on the high seas and on the Spanish Main were practically at open war.

The whole situation favoured Elizabeth's policy of deferring the collision as long as possible. A large proportion of her subjects, and one at least of her ablest ministers, Francis Walsingham, were eager to join issue with Spain long before the queen or her most trusted counsellor, William Cecil, best known as Lord Burleigh, were willing, partly because they were zealous for England to stand out openly as the champion of Protestantism, partly because the mariners were confident of the outcome of a naval struggle.

But Protestantism appealed to Elizabeth merely as a political necessity in her own realms; she cared nothing about maintaining it abroad except as a check upon the capacities of Catholic governments for aggression. She would have preferred friendly relations with Spain on terms of mutual accommodation, wishing to keep that power as a balance to France. The ruin of either France or Spain would, in her view, have rendered the other too powerful. So long as Philip found enough to occupy him in the Low Countries, the prospect of an Anglo-French alliance was a useful diplomatic card in reserve, but a dangerous one to play. In like manner, so long as Mary Stuart lived, it was doubtful whether Philip could reap much advantage from Elizabeth's fall, since Mary's accession might bring about an Anglo-French alliance. But when the marriage of Elizabeth to a French prince had finally become impossible, and the tragedy of Fotheringay had been completed, Elizabeth knew that the fateful grapple with Spain could no longer be averted

The Shadow of a War with Spain

Spain herself was a colossus far less powerful in fact than in appearance. Philip's father had been a Burgundian rather than a German or a Spaniard; Philip himself was a Spaniard without qualification. Lord of Spain, and of the wealth of the Spanish "Indies," he was lord also of the Low Countries; but the efficient maintenance of communications between Spain and the Low Countries demanded control of the sea. To all appearance, Spain was incomparably the greatest sea-power, but when she was challenged by England, the appearance proved to be fallacious, though this did not occur till Philip's reign was far advanced. Yet, even before that time, it was no easy matter to maintain a large force in the Netherlands; so long as this was necessary, Spain was grievously hampered in other fields of activity, and practically it was necessary almost from Philip's accession.

Prince of Orange Heads a Revolt

The Spanish king was determined to exercise despotic authority and to crush heresy throughout his dominions. The Netherlands, where the nobles and the cities possessed traditional liberties, had no mind to submit to the despotism of an absentee exercised through alien agents and supported by foreign troops.

Moreover, the northern provinces which had adopted Calvinistic doctrines were prepared to do battle for their religion at all costs. The organisation of a constitutional opposition to an alien administration and to religious persecution was met by the arrest of two of the leaders, Egmont and Horn, under the government of Alva, whom Philip had sent to replace his own more diplomatic sister, Margaret of Parma. The arrest was answered by a revolt, headed by William Prince of Orange and his brother, Lewis of Nassau. Egmont and Horn were executed, and the revolt was mercilessly crushed under the iron heel of Alva There followed a tyranny brutal both in its intentional cruelty and its unintentional financial stupidity.

In 1572 the revolt was renewed, and was obstinately maintained, sometimes by the whole of the Netherlands, sometimes by the northern Protestant provinces alone, with assistance more or less surreptitious but tolerably constant from England, and less consistently from France, which of old had claimed suzerainty over Flanders and Brabant. While the struggle was going on, the audacity of the English seamen reached its climax in Drake's voyage of circumnavigation and his return to England in the "Pelican" or "Golden Hind" with Spanish treasure aboard worth considerably over a million. Incidentally, however, Spain at the same time acquired additional power by the annexation of Portugal on the demise of her king, Henry, on the plea that Philip was the legitimate heir through his mother. For more than half a century Portugal remained an

Drake's Spanish Treasure

appanage of the Spanish Crown; till the house of Braganza succeeded in giving effect to its own claims, of which the legal superiority was indubitable.

The assassination of William "the Silent" in 1584 failed to break down the stubborn resistance of the Protestant Netherlands to Spain. Anglo-Spanish antagonisms became so acute that Elizabeth was unable longer to resist the popular demand for an open support of the Hollanders. England and Spain being openly at war, a live Mary Stuart was no longer a workable political asset. The Queen of Scots was beheaded; Philip resolved to crush Elizabeth and claim the English crown in virtue of his descent from John of Gaunt, and thus simplify the difficult process of crushing the Netherlands. The Armada sailed. In its progress up channel the superiority of the English fleet was definitely manifested; the Armada itself was finally broken up in the decisive engagement off Gravelines, and its destruction was completed by winds and waves in the course of its flight round Scotland

The Queen of Scots Beheaded

The naval war continued for another decade, but the naval supremacy of Spain had vanished for ever. Philip defiantly fitted out one fleet after another, but all met with disaster; and, reduced though his resources were, he threw himself into a French war instead of strengthening Parma in the Netherlands. When Parma died there was little doubt that the Hollanders would secure their independence, which they did practically some ten years and formally some fifty years afterwards.

In France the war of the succession was terminated by the establishment of the Bourbon dynasty in the person of the quondam Huguenot Henry IV., and toleration was secured by the Edict of Nantes, in 1598. In the same year Philip died, to be followed to the grave five years later by his great English antagonist The succession of the Scots king, James VI., as James I. of England, united England and Scotland under one crown, though the two countries retained separate legislatures and administrations. For nearly half a century to come, the intervention of England in European politics was spasmodic and ineffective, almost disregarded by foreign powers, and of importance chiefly as producing, both directly and indirectly collisions between the crown and parliament. In Germany the recognition of the principle that each ruler should decide the religion of his own state had brought peace; the German Hapsburgs unlike the Spanish branch, remained Catholic, but maintained the attitude of compromise.

Union of England and Scotland

On the other hand, the Protestant states became divided into Lutheran and Calvinist, the two camps being in hot opposition to each other. But the time arrived when the heir to the Hapsburg succession and to the empire was recognised in the Archduke Ferdinand, who was a bigoted Catholic. The ruling emperor, Matthias, was king of Protestant Bohemia, where the crown was elective. The Bohemian diet was surprised into nominating Ferdinand as successor to Matthias, but an attempt was made to upset the election, reject Ferdinand, and substitute Frederic, the Calvinist Elector Palatine; and thus, in 1618, the Thirty Years' War began.

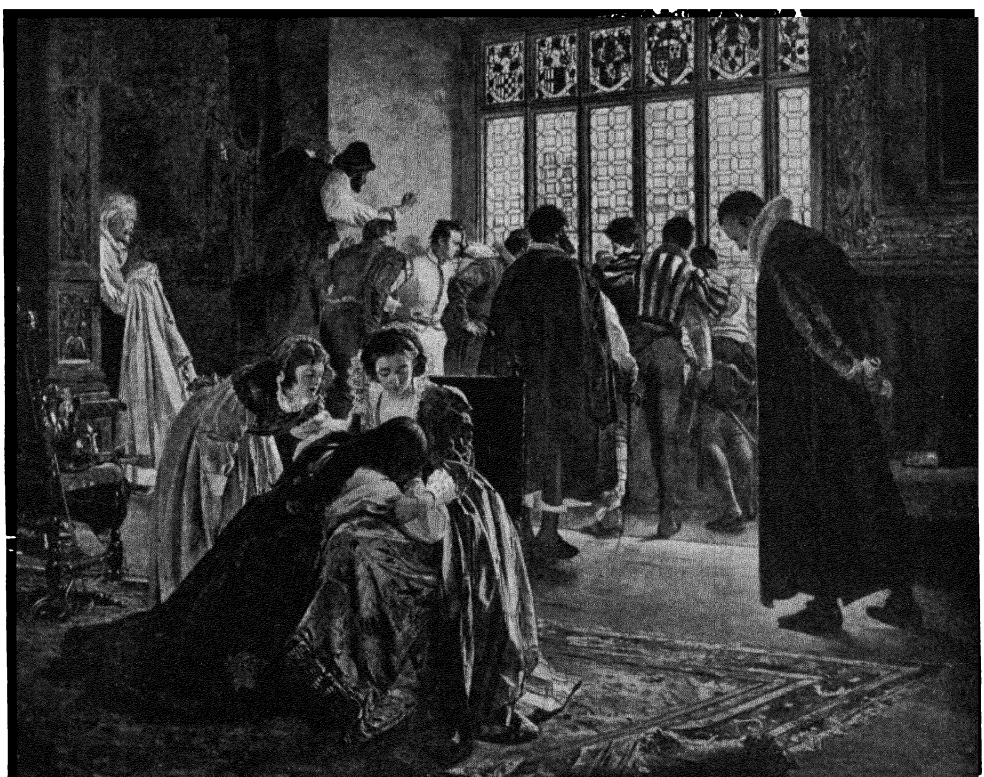
In effect, the war was one for the recovery of Catholic ascendancy in Germany. The European championship of the Catholic cause had been taken over from the Spanish by the German Hapsburg On one side was ranged the German League of Catholic princes, of whom the moving spirit was Maximilian of Bavaria, supported by Spain from the Spanish Netherlands and North Italy. On the other side were the German Calvinists, from whom the Lutherans of Saxony and Brandenburg stood aloof. Victory at first lay with the Catholics; by 1623 it looked as if German Protestantism would be crushed, and the allied [illegible]s would be able completely to dominate Europe.

Beginning of the Thirty Years' War

The possibility of such a prospect in 1610 had caused Henry IV of France to prepare an anti-Hapsburg combination just before he fell under the dagger of an assassin. Now Richelieu had acquired a preponderant influence in France. For him, the enemy was not Protestantism, but the Hapsburgs, though within France the Huguenots were in some degree repressed. Richelieu now intervened, striking at the H[illegible]s in Italy. Although a Huguenot revolt in France compelled him to withdraw again, he had given a lead to the Protestant powers; Denmark and Hungary were drawn into the German struggle on the Protestant side.

At this stage—in 1626—Wallenstein appears, to restore the now threatened Imperial fortunes, but with a modified policy He is the champion primarily of Imperialism, with the aim of making the emperor master of the empire, playing, *mutatis mutandis*, a rôle analogous to that of Strafford in England or of Richelieu in France. But if the Catholic princes of the empire were willing to be led by their nominal suzerain to the overthrow of Protestantism, they were by no means willing to be ruled autocratically by an emperor whose power rested on an army controlled by a Bohemian upstart At the moment of Wallenstein's success Ferdinand found himself compelled to choose between him and the league. He chose the league. But again Richelieu had become active, at least diplomatically; and the effect of his diplomacy was to bring the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, into the field. The victorious advance of the "Lion of the North" forced Ferdinand to recall Wallenstein to the leadership of his armies When the two great commanders were pitted against each other, Gustavus lost his life in the hour of victory at Lutzen in 1632 Wallenstein, now incomparably the mightiest figure on the stage, meant to follow out his own policy, in which religious compromise was now a leading feature, while his own was not less prominent in it than his imperialism. But Wallenstein's schemes were ended by the hands of assassins in 1634. In effect, the war now assumed the somewhat unexpected character of a struggle for French supremacy on the Rhine, and for Swedish supremacy on the Baltic. We need not follow its course here. Ferdinand died in 1637 and Richelieu in 1642; but France maintained the same policy under Mazarin, and her armies acquired an unprecedented ascendancy under the leadership of Condé and Turenne

The war was finally brought to an end by the treaties known jointly as the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 It left Sweden



ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY. THE BRITISH EMBASSY AT PARIS DURING THE MASSACRE
From the painting by P H Calderon, R A

secure in the supremacy of the Baltic, and France in possession of most of the Western Rhine provinces. Switzerland and Holland were formally declared independent of the empire and of Spain respectively. As between Spain and France the contest was not terminated till ten years later. In Germany the prolonged devastation of a war, particularly hideous in the brutality by which it was distinguished, left the land seriously impoverished and gravely depopulated. The Protestantism of North Germany had survived the attack, and the wars of religion were ended. But the Catholics had foiled the attempt to establish imperial supremacy at the price of their failure to establish Catholic domination. The Hapsburg was *primus inter pares*, but nothing more. The congeries of German states was as far as ever from combining into a single German nation.

Germany Depopulated by War

In all these events, England had played practically no part. From 1618 to 1628, the administration of James I. and Charles I. was practically in the hands of the incompetent favourite Buckingham, whose policy was guided exclusively by personal piques and ambitions. Everything he did was equally reckless in conception and disastrous in execution. Expeditions to help the Elector Palatine, to strike at Spain, or to help the Huguenots at Rochelle, were all fiascoes of the worst kind; but English intervention was ended altogether when the duke was stabbed by an aggrieved and crazy fanatic.

Under the Tudors, the crown had obtained complete control of administration, with the general aquiescence of Parliament; while its policy was popular, it had been allowed to wrest the law to its own purposes. The Stuarts endeavoured to exercise in addition an effective control of taxation. and to override the law in carrying out a policy which was thoroughly unpopular, with the natural result that Parliament challenged the crown's administrative prerogatives. The outcome was a civil war which made the victorious army of the Parliament master of the situation. Parliament had played Frankenstein. The army would trust neither the king nor the Parliament; it beheaded the one, ejected the other, and established a Cæsar in the person of Oliver Cromwell. The military protectorate was an abnormal expedient for dealing with abnormal conditions; utterly opposed to all English tradition; triumphant, but intolerable. It was doomed to pass away with its mighty creator. Absolutism was to make one more brief effort. But it was, in fact, a lost cause; the ascendancy of Parliament was won. But while the Commonwealth lasted, Europe awoke to the fact that even Van Tromp and De Ruyter were no more than a match for Robert Blake, and that Cromwell's Ironsides under Turenne, as under Cromwell himself, were more than a match for the best soldiery in Europe.

Civil War in England

Absolutism was rejected by England. During the first half of the seventeenth century it was most decisively established in France. Henry IV. built up a popular despotism, but it was Richelieu who did for France what Strafford tried to do for England and Wallenstein for the empire. In England and France, however, absolutism had different foes. In England it was the traditional rights of gentry and burghers that were at stake; in France it was the claims of a feudal noblesse. In France, absolutism was the condition of a strong central government; in England it was to be proved that the ascendancy of Parliament did not weaken the central authority. Richelieu's task was not completed; in the wars of the Fronde, with which his successor Mazarin had to cope, the aristocracy had to be brought to submission, and the Paris *parlement*—not, like the English parliament, a representative assembly, but a body of lawyers—made an unsuccessful bid for constitutional powers. But the policy of the cardinals prevailed, and when Mazarin died, young Louis XIV. was already the most absolute monarch in Europe.

Cromwell and the Defence of Protestants

Cromwell, in 1656, had accepted the French proposals for alliance against Spain in the hope of promoting a Protestant League for the defence of all Protestants. If he had foreseen that, when he was dead, England would lose sight of his purpose in the alliance with France and that France would be able to use the fruits of that alliance and the defeat of Spain for her own ends, we may presume that his policy would have been different; it is hardly safe to condemn the designs of a statesman because his successors were incapable of giving them effect. The establishment of a pensionary of King Louis on the throne of England did not fall within the scope of the Protector's calculations.



ASCENDANCY AND DECLINE OF THE BOURBONS

THE age of Louis XIV., which forms the first subsection of our next period, coincides with a marked period of our own history. The personal rule of Louis began immediately before the restoration of Charles II.; it ended immediately after the accession of the Elector of Hanover. The "glorious Revolution" divides it into two almost exactly equal halves, during the first of which, consciously or unconsciously, the English Government habitually played into the hands of the Grand Monarque, whereas during the second William III. and Marlborough were the protagonists in the resistance to his aggression. Charles II. and James II. were the French king's first enemies; both—the one secretly and the other openly—were adherents of Catholicism, and . . Catholicism, though with an element of antagonism to the papacy, was a part of Louis' programme, and the Stuarts were quite willing to purchase freedom from parliamentary control at the price of subservience to France.

The War of the Spanish Succession

In England, people and parliament were in ignorance of these fundamental facts; the French alliance and wars with the Dutch were both features of the Commonwealth policy, which in foreign affairs was generally popular. Consequently, people and parliament acquiesced in an apparent continuity which was an actual reversal.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes revealed the designs of the French king; the English Revolution necessitated the association of English and Dutch, while the exiled king relied on French protection and support. England, it is true, was not enthusiastic in support of William III.'s wars against Louis, but apathy was converted into fury when Louis recognised the son of James II. as king of England, and the country flung itself into the war of the Spanish succession with ardour, though its direct interest in the actual issue was small. The fruits of victory which fell to Great Britain at the end seemed inadequate; but she had suffered infinitely less than any of the other belligerents, and ever since La Hogue, in 1692, her naval preeminence had been becoming more and more decisively established. Incidentally, also, the threat of complete separation from Scotland in the middle of a great war had forced England to assent instead to an all but complete union. The two countries ceased to be internationally distinct, and were merged in Great Britain—a fact of vital importance in the next stage of international rivalries.

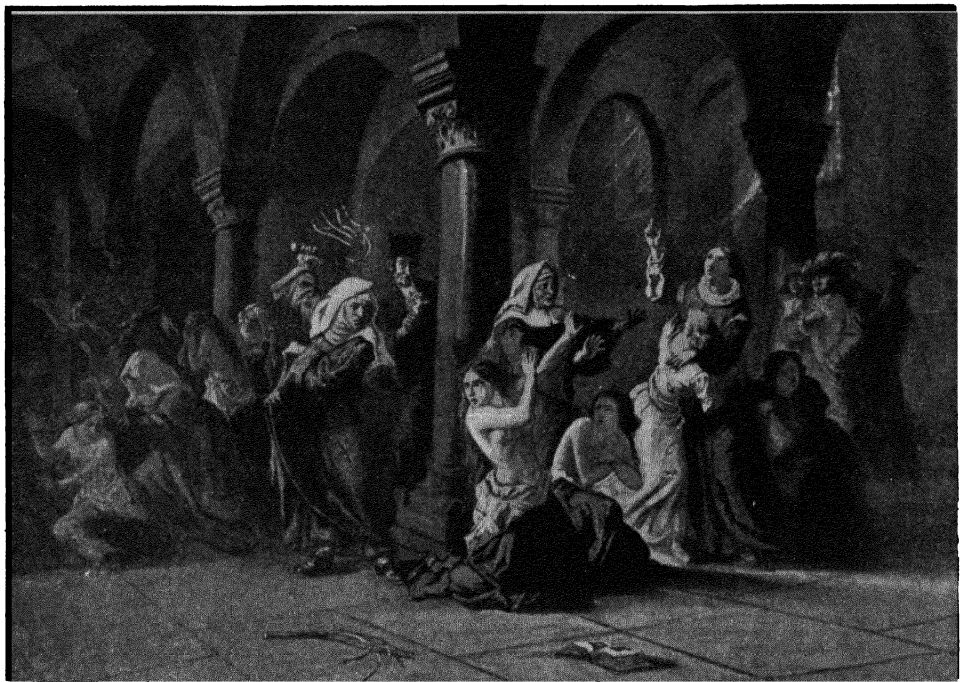
Merging of England and Scotland

Although Catholic aggression, or suppression of Protestantism, was part of the plans of Louis, this was not distinctively the case during the first half of his reign; nor was there even in the latter period any pretence that Louis was at the head of the Catholic states of Europe. On the contrary, the papacy was in direct opposition. The primary objects which the French king had in view were the magnification of the monarchy in France, and the magnification of France in Europe. For the second purpose, the great end to be attained was the annexation to France of roughly the whole of the old heritage of Burgundy, of which a great part was still attached to Spain. He had this end in view when he married the eldest Spanish princess, whose half-brother shortly afterwards succeeded to the Spanish throne, while her younger half-sister was married to the Emperor Leopold, the head of the German Hapsburgs.

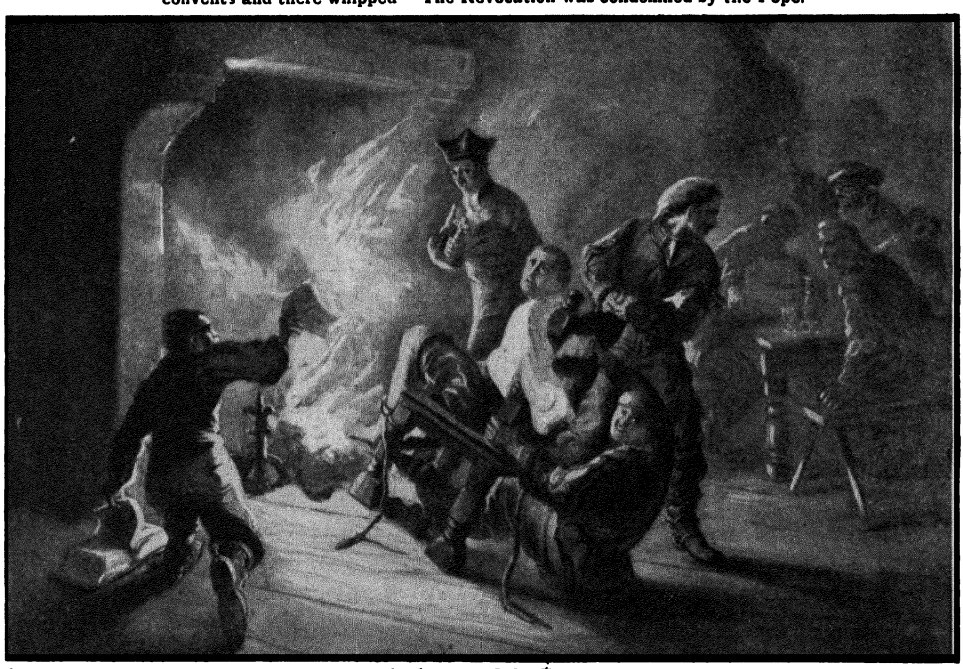
The accession of Charles II. in Spain permitted Louis to claim the Burgundian provinces for his wife, on the basis of a law which gave the female children of a first marriage priority over even the male children of a second marriage. These claims Louis in part made good by the campaigns of 1667–8. He could afford to pay little regard to the formation of the triple alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden, which was the outcome of the alarm caused by his aggression since he knew that the King of England was clever

A Great Triple Alliance

THE PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE



The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was accompanied and followed by severe persecution These drawings of the French artist, Beyer, thou·h imaginary, are based on certain incidents, and show the violence used by the Government against the Protestants of France In one district young Huguenot women were taken to Catholic convents and there whipped The Revocation was condemned by the Pope.



Groups of soldiers were detailed to occupy the houses of the Protestants by force, and were there allowed to conduct themselves as they pleased, provided they made the life of the occupants unbearable. There was no indignity and ill-usage, short of actual murder, at which they stopped, and a favourite amusement was to bind the master of the house to a chair, which was forced, with its occupant, over a blazing fire, the priest standing by urging him to recant, while his Protestant Bible was thrown into the flames on which he himself was being tortured.



The homes of the Protestants were indeed turned into fields of battle between the brutal soldiers and the helpless inmates One of the most ingenious systems of torture invented during the "Dragonnades" was to wear out the resistance of their victims by the soldiers taking turns at the beating of drums in the bedrooms, where a Protestant mother might be nursing her child, and so, by their noise, to prevent her for nights on end from falling asleep.



...l the above picture we have a scene which recalls, in almost every detail, the Covenanting days in Scotland. The Protestant pastors in France were threatened with being sent to the galleys if they conducted religious services, and meetings could only be held in the lonely places of the mountains or in the depths of the forests When such meetings were surprised by the soldiers mercy was seldom shown to the persecuted Protestants, and the order to fire came swift to the tongue of the commander Such an incident is depicted in the above picture

enough to circumvent his Ministers for a substantial consideration, and that Sweden also might be diplomatically detached. Holland itself was the next object of his aggression, with the additional motive that the Dutch Republic stood in the way of the development of his plans for suppressing the Huguenot religion in France.

The House of Orange Restored

The attack was opened in association with England, during a convenient prorogation of Parliament, in 1672. Holland, however, resisted with her traditional resolution. The fall of the Republican Government and the restoration of the House of Orange in the person of young William III. to the office of Stadtholder provided a leader of unsurpassed tenacity and shrewdness, and completely changed the relations of Holland and England, William being the nephew of Charles.

England withdrew, and at the same time the powers took alarm, Catholic as well as Protestant. Louis found himself facing the prospect of a European combination. Turenne conducted a series of campaigns of extraordinary brilliancy, but his career was ended in 1675 by a stray bullet. Next year the extraordinary development of the French navy by Colbert was demonstrated. Conscious of the strain on his resources, however, Louis was ready for a peace on favourable terms, which were obtained at the Treaty of Nimeguen in 1678.

But Nimeguen did not satisfy Louis. The audacity with which he proceeded to interpret treaties in his own favour could hardly be tolerated by the Hapsburgs, German or Spanish, and the diplomacy which had held Protestant states neutral in the late wars was nullified in 1685 by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which also drove a large part of the best of the French industrial population into exile in England, Holland, and Germany. The Pope himself condemned the Revocation, and Louis was consciously and confidently preparing a single-handed attack on the European combination which was on the verge of completion, when the revolution in England decisively united the naval powers. For this Louis had himself to blame, since he made his first move by invading the Palatinate, thereby leaving the ruler of Holland free to go to assist in the expulsion of King James from England. By the time that Louis was in a position to turn upon Holland, the English crown was firmly set on the head of the Dutch Stadtholder, and the great navy which had inflicted a disastrous defeat on the English fleet off Beachy Head was shattered at the battle of La Hogue in 1692. The allies, however, were sufficiently diverse in their aims to enable Louis, after holding his own but no more, to negotiate terms with them separately, which were embodied in the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697.

Revolution in England

Louis was still further from having achieved his ends than he had been after Nimeguen. But fresh opportunities were presented by the now acute question of the Spanish succession. The Spanish king was dying without issue: the children of his two sisters were also the children of Louis and of the Emperor Leopold respectively. The acquisition of the whole Spanish dominion by either power was manifestly destructive of the balance, while there had been formal renunciations on the part of both the princesses. A partition was the obvious course. An agreement between the interested parties had bestowed the main inheritance on a grandson of the emperor, the electoral Prince of Bavaria, who was outside the Austrian succession itself; but in 1699 the prince died. King Charles of Spain followed suit, after naming Philip, a grandson of Louis, as his heir, though the powers had agreed upon a fresh partition. Louis repudiated the partition and accepted the will; Austria prepared to assert her own claims; the action of Holland would be largely dependent on England, and the action of England was decided by Louis' recognition of James Edward Stuart as king of England, at the deathbed of James II. Once more, Europe was in alliance to check the aggrandisement of Louis. The death of William III. placed Marlborough at the head of the combined English and Dutch forces.

The Brilliant Strategy of Marlborough

Louis sought to bring the allies to their knees by striking straight at Vienna; but the attempt was completely wrecked by Marlborough's brilliant strategy, which united his own forces with those of Prince Eugene and shattered the French and the Bavarians, whose prince had joined Louis, at Blenheim. Year by year, in a series of skilful campaigns, the French king's conquests in the Spanish Netherlands were wrested from him; but a turn in domestic politics placed the Tory peace party in power in England.



THE GREAT ENGLISH VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH AT THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE

It was the desire of Louis XIV of France to see James II. seated once more on the throne of England In order to bring this about, the French fleet, at that time more powerful in comparison with the British than ever before or since, challenged the combined English and Dutch Navies The result was that on May 19th, 1692, the French admiral was completely defeated. At La Hogue, three days later, the largest of the French warships were destroyed, and thus the English victory was completed amid national rejoicing.

From the painting by Benjamin West

Twice in the course of the war Louis had been ready to make peace on terms which would have fully satisfied even William of Orange, had he been alive. But those terms had been rejected, and now the practical defection of England secured him very much more favourable conditions, under the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The Spanish Netherlands were transferred to Austria, but a Bourbon sat on the Spanish as well as on the French throne, and Italy was roughly divided between Hapsburgs and Bourbons. To Britain the most material gain was that Louis was unable to intervene on behalf of the Stuarts when Queen Anne died, and a coup d'état secured the Hanoverian succession.

France after the Wars

In spite of the disasters of the War of the Spanish succession, Louis left France with her borders greatly extended, her frontier strengthened, and dynastically in close association with Spain, which was now definitely severed from the Hapsburg connection. Moreover, the power of the crown was practically unchecked. On the other hand, the tremendous series of wars had exhausted the resources of France, and her industrial population had been depleted by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The bourgeoisie was excluded from all share in the government: the peasantry, crushed by taxation, were at the mercy of the lords of the soil, and the lords of the soil themselves were undergoing a process of rapid degeneration, which was hastened under the regency which followed the death of the old king, whose heir was a sickly child.

The possibility that the King of Spain might after all claim the succession to the French throne, which he had renounced, threw the French government into temporary alliance with the British government for the maintenance in both countries of the succession as laid down in the Treaty of Utrecht. For a time the disturbing factor in Europe was to be found in the jealousies of Austria and Spain under her new dynasty, and in the ambitions of the Spanish queen-consort, the Italian Elizabeth Farnese, for the advancement of her own children, whose succession to the Spanish throne was blocked by the offspring of Philip's first wife. The prospect of a disputed French succession waned with the marriage of young Louis XV., and thus cleared the way for a "family compact" between the Bourbon dynasties for the aggrandisement of the Bourbons and the humiliation of the Hapsburgs and of Great Britain.

The Disturbing Factor in European Politics

The compact, which was a secret one, made in 1733, did not precipitate war; for the French Minister, Fleury, was quite aware that much recuperation was necessary for France before she could plunge into a great war with Spain for her ally. The English Minister, Walpole, was equally anxious to avoid the arbitrament of arms, though he had information of the hostile designs. Both sides meant to achieve their respective ends by diplomatic methods. But the control was taken out of the hands of Fleury and Walpole by events which proved too strong for them. Commercial friction in the Spanish-American seas was exasperating popular feeling in both Spain and England, while the approach of a question of succession was exposing Austria to attack at the hands of any power which saw a prospect of profiting by her dismemberment. Charles VI., emperor and head of the Hapsburgs, ruled over a group of states which did not recognise a single common law of succession; in some cases the title of his daughter Maria Theresa was good, in others it was at best doubtful. Charles obtained from most of the powers a guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, or decree declaring Maria Theresa heir to the whole; but such promises usually provide loopholes of escape which a diplomatic conscience finds quite large enough.

War Between Spain and Britain

Thus, in 1739, Walpole's hand was forced by a nation infuriated by tales of the high-handed doings of the Spaniards, and war was declared between Spain and Great Britain. Immediately afterwards Charles VI. died; the Bavarian Elector put forward claims against Maria Theresa; Frederic of Prussia started a general conflagration by occupying Silesia with an army. Every power found itself with something at stake, or hoped to snatch something out of the turmoil, and all Western Europe was very soon involved in the War of the Austrian Succession.

The factor on which the world had not reckoned was Prussia. In the past, the Elector of Brandenburg had stood on a par with other princes of the empire. In the Thirty Years War, Brandenburg had done its best to remain neutral, and had



CONCERT AT THE COURT OF FREDERIC THE GREAT
From the painting by A. von Menzel, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

never assumed anything approaching a leading position. In the second half of the century, however, the "Great Elector"—an astute politician and skilful soldier—had played his part with a consistent determination to strengthen the Electorate, making and breaking alliances, fighting or refusing to fight, with most advantageous results to himself and little regard for moral considerations. His successor did little beyond achieving the status of King of Prussia; but Frederic William, who followed him, devoted himself to the organisation of his state and its army in a fashion which excited some derision, which derision his son, Frederic II., the Great, promptly showed on his accession in 1740 to have been very much misplaced.

Prussia as a First-Class Power

The War of the Austrian Succession, which ended with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, established the position of Prussia as a first-class power, while it confirmed the descent of Spain into the second class. Holland and Sweden had almost ceased to count. It left Maria Theresa in undisputed possession of her Hapsburg heritage except for the cession of Silesia to Frederic. It also left her husband, Francis of Lorraine, emperor; in effect the Hapsburgs were, relatively to the Bourbons, stronger at the end than at the beginning. Great Britain had lost nothing and gained nothing, except, incidentally, freedom from the alarm of Jacobitism, which had been finally broken on the fields of Culloden. But the rise of Prussia had decisively changed the whole favourite diplomatic problem of the balance of power; an Austrian domination of Central Europe was less to be feared than the activities of the Prussian king, who had moreover succeeded in making himself personally obnoxious to Maria Theresa, to the Russian Tsarina, and to the French king's mistress, Mme. de Pompadour. In the next European war, the rivalry of Bourbons and Hapsburgs, which had been an unfailing factor in every combination for a century and a half, disappeared altogether. Before the Seven Years War broke out, in 1756, the one definite certainty was that France and Great Britain would fight, and that Austria and Prussia would fight. How the antagonists would pair off was uncertain till the last moment. That war in fact resolved itself into a desperate struggle for life on the part of Prussia against a circle of foes, and a struggle for trans-oceanic empire between France and Great Britain. It was almost an accident that Great Britain and Prussia were ranged on the same side. Some British and Hanoverian troops and large British subsidies enabled Frederic to hold his own in a contest numerically most unequal on land, and left Great Britain free to devote the whole of her real energies to the naval and colonial struggle, in which she was completely triumphant. France, wholly misapprehending the conditions, wasted blood and treasure on the Rhine and the Weser, while her fleet was wiped off the seas and her effective foothold in America and India was finally cut away.

Prussia's Circle of Foes

For a century and a half England had been developing colonies along the seaboard of North America from Florida to Acadia. For a somewhat shorter period France had been developing colonies on the north and on the south of the British. British expansion would necessarily work westwards; French expansion would necessarily work south from Canada and north from Louisiana, blocking British expansion altogether. No compromise was possible. The future manifestly lay with the power whose maritime supremacy should enable her best to maintain communications with her colonies. Similarly for a century and a half an English company had been developing trade with India, and for half the time a French company had been doing likewise. In India, as in America, a stage had been reached in which the virtual elimination of either English or French had become inevitable.

The Future with the Greatest Naval Power

In 1744 Dupleix had begun the attempt to eliminate the British. Checked by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the contest had taken a new character, the rival companies taking the field as supporters of rival native dynasties, while in America the rival colonists were in collision. In India, as in America, naval supremacy was the condition of success. The insular position of England had necessitated the continuous development of her fleets; the continental position of France had absorbed her mainly in the development of armies. Colbert alone of French statesmen had turned his eyes to the ocean rather than to the Rhine. Hence when the struggle came it was France that was eliminated. In India the British were left without European rivals to complicate their

relations with native powers; in North America they held the field, though the outcome of the victory was to be a cleavage of the race.

The security of Prussia and the expansion of Britain were established by the Treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg in 1763. Spain had gained nothing by a belated intervention when the war was drawing to a close. After the peace, the German sovereigns were engaged mainly on the organisation of their own states; their foreign policy was concerned with the East rather than the West, with Russia, Poland and Turkey, rather than with France and Great Britain. The western powers looked on at the partition of Poland between Austria, Prussia, and Russia in 1772. Great Britain embroiled herself in a dispute with her American colonies, upon whom she made demands, which were in themselves justifiable both technically and morally, in a manner which was peculiarly irritating and which set at nought more than one of the fundamental doctrines on which the constitution rested

Britain's Difficulties in America

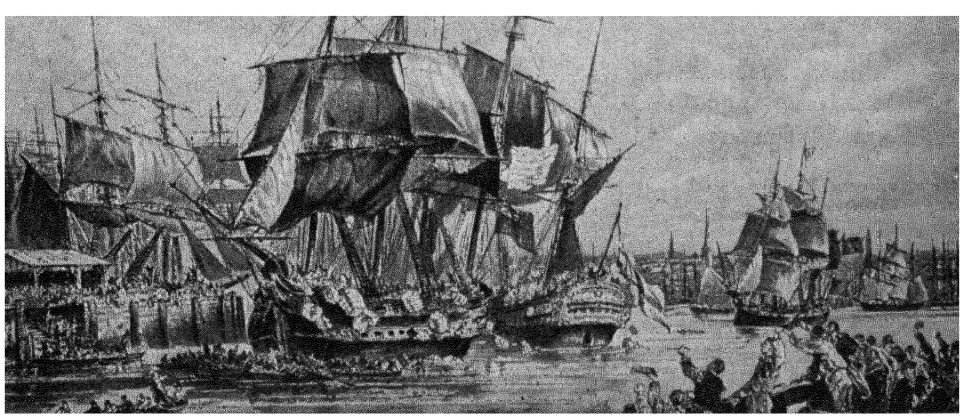
The result was first acute friction, then unsuccessful attempts at coercion, then point-blank defiance and open hostilities. The colonies which had hitherto studiously professed loyalty soon changed their attitude and fought avowedly for complete independence. France found the opportunity of revenge for which she had been waiting fifteen years. She had awakened to the fact that the disasters of the Seven Years War were due to the maritime superiority of the British; she had been resolutely reconstructing her navy, and her intervention on behalf of the colonies showed that Great Britain was no longer the irresistible mistress of the seas.

But although the old family compact reappeared, and Spain joined in and the French fleets secured the American victory, the effect was to concentrate British energies on the renewed struggle with the Bourbons; the tottering naval supremacy of the islanders asserted itself once more. The Peace of Versailles, which closed the war in 1783, left Britain shorn of half her empire, but it had passed not to the Bourbons but to an independent nation of British race, and Britain was still the Queen of the Seas. Meanwhile the territorial dominion which Clive had won in Bengal while the Seven Years War was raging, was confirmed by the able administration of Warren Hastings.

Great Britain had become definitely one of the powers in India, and it was soon to become evident that she must either cease to be so altogether or compel her position to be recognised as paramount. But in France the cataclysm was approaching. The system of government was rotten. To the world France displayed a brilliant [illegible] court and a noblesse incomparably the most polished in the world Below there was a populace savage with oppression, gaunt with starvation The stage had been passed when the situation might have been saved by level-headed moderation and relief of the ghastly burden of taxation. The floodgates were opened; the deluge swept over France, whirling down the crown and the noblesse, and the Republic emerged.

Emergence of the French Republic

ARTHUR D. INNES



AMERICA'S PROTEST AGAINST BRITAIN'S TAX THROWING TEA INTO BOSTON HARBOUR, 1774

FOUNDING of ENGLAND'S COLONIAL EMPIRE

THE first step towards the expansion of England overseas originated from a desire to share in the rich trade of the East. For centuries the Genoese, and later the Venetians, had jealously guarded the Levant trade by which the gems and spices and rich stuffs of Persia and India reached Europe. Across the gate of Asia stood the Moslem, and at the age when the western world was growing rich and refined it had to pay two sets of greedy middlemen heavy toll upon all its luxuries

It was fitting that the first attempt to break the Mediterranean monopoly should come from an Atlantic people, because it heralded the permanent shifting of the centre of empire and commerce from the inland sea, that had been its seat for thousands of years, to the Atlantic and the northern channels. Vessels depending mainly upon oar propulsion had sufficed for the Mediterranean. The Portuguese Prince Henry, early in the fifteenth century, saw the need of another type of craft if the Atlantic peoples were to have their share of the world's wealth. For many years all the skill of Europe was at his command, and the invention of the caravel, a sailing boat of long sea duration and good carrying capacity, made the dream of far ocean travel realisable.

Thenceforward for forty years barely a year passed that did not carry the Portuguese further and further down the African coast, groping their way to India, until Vasco da Gama triumphed in 1498, and the traffic of the East gradually changed its centre of gravity from the Levant to Lisbon Another dreamer, still greater than Prince Henry, groped for Asia by sailing west, and accidentally endowed Spain with her great colonial empire in South America

The English West Countrymen, accustomed to rude seas, had themselves evolved a staunch ocean-going boat, and bettered it from the Portuguese lessons, and so in 1497, the Cabots sailed from Bristol to give England a share, as they hoped, of the wealth of Asia by the western route. Nothing much came of it, but Henry VIII., having shaken off the yoke of Rome, was as earnest as the Portuguese prince had been in the matter of the type of sea-going boats. Under his care, the English ships assumed a form whose stability, capacity, speed and handiness enabled the sea dogs of Devon to laugh to scorn all the mariners that sailed the seas, and, when the time came to establish under Elizabeth their supremacy upon the main, which was the first necessity for colonial expansion.

The new sense of national potency fostered by Elizabeth rebelled gainst the claims of Spain to monopolise American trade. Englishmen were burning with a new patriotism, new wants were growing up in all classes, and money was needful to an extent that it had never been before, while the abandonment of the fasts of the Roman Church had thrown many bold fishermen out of employment. So, with their lives in their hands, and knowing the risk they ran, Hawkins first in 1562, and afterwards Drake and a host of others, began trading in America, and ended by sack, pillage, and piracy, which nearly harried Spanish shipping off the seas. In



AN HISTORICAL CAMEO by MARTIN HUME M.A.

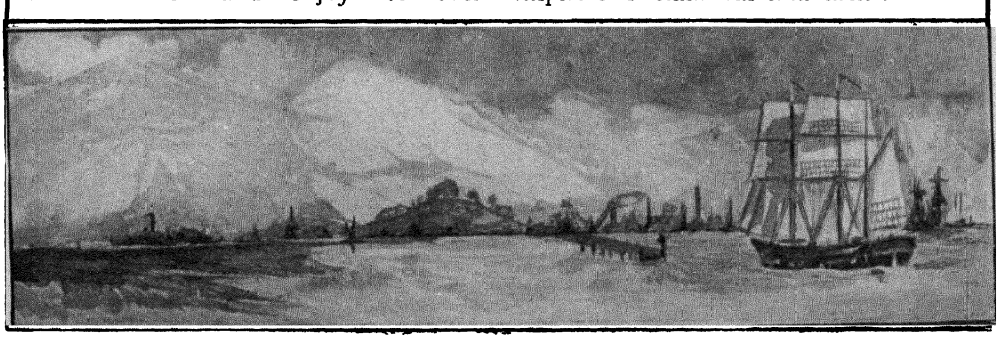
the process the English sailors gained the knowledge that no other craft afloat could cope with theirs, and that from Spaniards they had nought to fear.

Drake's pretence of colonisation was of the slightest; but there were other merchant seamen in England who yearned for legitimate trade, and the aim of these men was still to reach the golden East by sailing north-west. The quest for gold had to be held out as a bait to the adventurers, but when Humphrey Gilbert, always with the north-west passage in view, in 1574 petitioned for a charter from Elizabeth to discover new lands it was avowedly for the purpose of founding a half-way colony on "sundry rich and unknown lands fatally, and it seemeth by God's providence, reserved for England." In 1578 the charter was granted, and when, in 1583, the expedition sailed, it was with an elaborate plan of government, devised to establish on the American coast another England, where Catholics and Protestants might dwell together in amity.

Upon Newfoundland the colony was proclaimed, but all went awry. The climate was bad, the men lost heart, and gallant Gilbert was drowned in his tiny ten-ton boat. His dream of finding the north-west passage to Asia was taken up by his brother Adrian, by Frobisher, by Hudson, and a host of others; but to Raleigh must be given the glory of having conceived a colonial Britain, to be founded in America, apart from any dreams of tapping the trade of the East by way of the western continent.

In 1584, Raleigh obtained his charter to "discover and enjoy for ever barbarous lands to be held by homage from the sovereign of England, the inhabitants to be ruled by English law and to enjoy the privileges of free Englishmen." The new colony was intended, we are told, not only to extend and enrich English commerce but to "find employment for those needy people who trouble the Commonwealth at home." It was to be an agricultural colony, and on the island of Wokoken, in June, 1585, the English possession of Virginia was formally established. Failure again attended the experiment. Again and again Raleigh tried to establish his colony of Virginia, while occupied with his dream of finding and making English the land of El Dorado on the Orinoco.

Sometimes success seemed to promise in Virginia, but disaster came at last. The settlers, 89 men and 17 women, who were left by Governor White on the colony in 1587, were all lost, and the colony apparently died. "I shall yet live to see it an English nation," prophesied Raleigh, when his own star was on the wane. And he was right, though he was ruined and in prison when Elizabeth's unworthy successor gave, in 1606, a new charter to others for the Virginia colony. On the James River the new settlement arose; the colonists were mostly idlers and wastrels, and disaster again seemed imminent when Captain John Smith emerged and with an iron hand made men work, while his stout heart inspired them with cheer and hope. From that day there was no turning back. The vast continent became English in tongue and tradition, and the colonial empire of Britain was established.





THE REFORMER MARTIN LUTHER BEFORE THE EPOCH-MAKING DIET OF WORMS IN THE YEAR 1521



THE REFORMATION & AFTER

THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE EMPIRE AND EUROPE

AND THE HOUR OF THE REFORMATION

HOWEVER cheerless was the form of the political and national life of western continental Europe in the fifteenth century, however miserable the condition of the people, and however hopeless the future seemed, still it is incontestable that during that century a number of phenomena can be traced which we may regard as the first steps toward what we call modern progress. The progress of that century of growth cannot be comprehended as a unity; it is twofold, and shows often by the side of the old rural conditions, which were not only non-progressive but became daily more and more intolerable, an active civic life which strives to meet in every respect the demands of the age.

The picture of a West German town between 1400 and 1500—apart from the maritime districts on the Baltic—embodies all the achievements of progress at that time, although from a modern standpoint much seems wanting. We have seen the political importance, since the fourteenth century, of the towns with a few thousand inhabitants. But inside the city walls, and in their immediate vicinity, the buildings and other constructions exhibited, as it were, the reflected image of the external power—that firm foundation for a political existence, a vigorous community with rich sources of wealth. The streets, it is true, were mostly narrow and irregularly built, the houses chiefly of wood, while almost every burgher kept his cattle in the house, and the herd of swine which was driven every morning by the town herdsmen to the pasture-ground formed an inevitable part of city life. In Frankfort-on-Main it was unlawful after 1481 to keep swine in the Altstadt, but in the Neustadt and in Sachsenhausen this custom remained as a matter of course. It was only in 1654, after a corresponding attempt in 1556 had failed, that the swine-pens in the inner town were pulled down at Leipzig. The rich burghers, who occasionally took part in the great trading companies, were conspicuously wealthy landowners, and had their extensive courtyards with large barns inside the town walls. The most opulent of them owned those splendid patrician houses which we admire even to-day.

Germany in the Fifteenth Century

The Homes of the Rich Germans

But even in the older towns most houses of the fifteenth century have disappeared: only here and there a building with open timber-work and overhanging storeys, as in Bacharach or Miltenburg, reminds us of the style of architecture then customary in the houses of burghers. The great bulk of the inferior population, who lived on mendicancy or got a livelihood by the exercise of the inferior industries, usually inhabited squalid hovels in the Neustadt; the town wall was often the only support for these wretched buildings. The internal fittings of the houses, even among the wealthy population, were very defective according to modern ideas; especially since Gothic was as little suitable for the petty details of objects of luxury, as it was splendidly adapted for the building of churches and town halls. It

was the influence of the Renaissance which added so much to the comfort of the house. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the building of those Gothic town churches and town halls which have often served their original purposes even to the present day. The power and prosperity of the towns find their best expression in them and in the fortifications with their strong towers and gateways. Every picture of a town of the sixteenth or later century, which illustrates the conclusion of the outward development, shows conspicuously these erections for the protection and honour of the town. The town did many things which in our time are done by the state. Social problems were taken up by town administration or the corresponding municipal organisation. The regulation of trade was the concern of the guilds in agreement with the council, the care of the poor belonged to the Church, while the council looked after the protection of the town walls and the regular system of fire brigades; but that department was organised according to guilds and trades.

Germany's Social System

The council, mindful of its social duties, superintended the filling of the municipal granaries, in order to have supplies to draw upon in years of scarcity. Such storehouses were erected in almost every town during the fifteenth century. On the other side, there were tariffs for the sale of all wares, high enough to enable every artisan to make a good livelihood, and to give the purchaser a guarantee for the quality of the wares. Natural competition was diligently discouraged since, except at market times, goods from foreign spheres could be imported and sold only under onerous conditions.

The town was also the greatest capitalist, as a seller of annuities on lives and inheritances it was a banker, and enjoyed unlimited credit. Thus, it obtained in return means for the construction of fortifications or for the acquisition of sovereign rights from the hand of an impecunious prince. Since the municipal offices were mostly honorary, the government cost little; for this reason, too, the direct taxes were very moderate, since the taxes on commodities were profitable, especially the excise, which the princes allowed the town councillors to levy, first for a limited period and then permanently.

A Period of Moderate Taxation

Except a low hearth tax, which was payable by every householder, the proper subject of taxation was thought to be the excess which the individual had beyond what was required for a decent livelihood. Therefore, it was only about 1500 that an income tax was decided upon; while always up to that time, and often later, a property tax to suit different cases was usual.

The development of the towns followed these paths even in the first half of the sixteenth century. But soon after 1550 the previously flourishing towns felt the consequences of the great economic revolution which the discovery of the sea route to India caused. After the towns by their attitude in the Schmalcaldic war had incurred the disfavour of the emperor as well as of the princes, their political importance was ended. Both facts worked together and produced first a cessation and then a clear retrogression in the power of the towns. It was finally an event of no importance when in the Peace of Westphalia all the imperial towns were given the full rights of imperial states, a privilege which had not been disputed since 1489. The German princes, at the end of the Middle Ages, were the embodiment of the second economically and socially effective power; it was the person of the prince, with his court ceremony, his courtiers, and princely servants, who was the supporter of this power, and not the territory.

Political Influence of the Princes

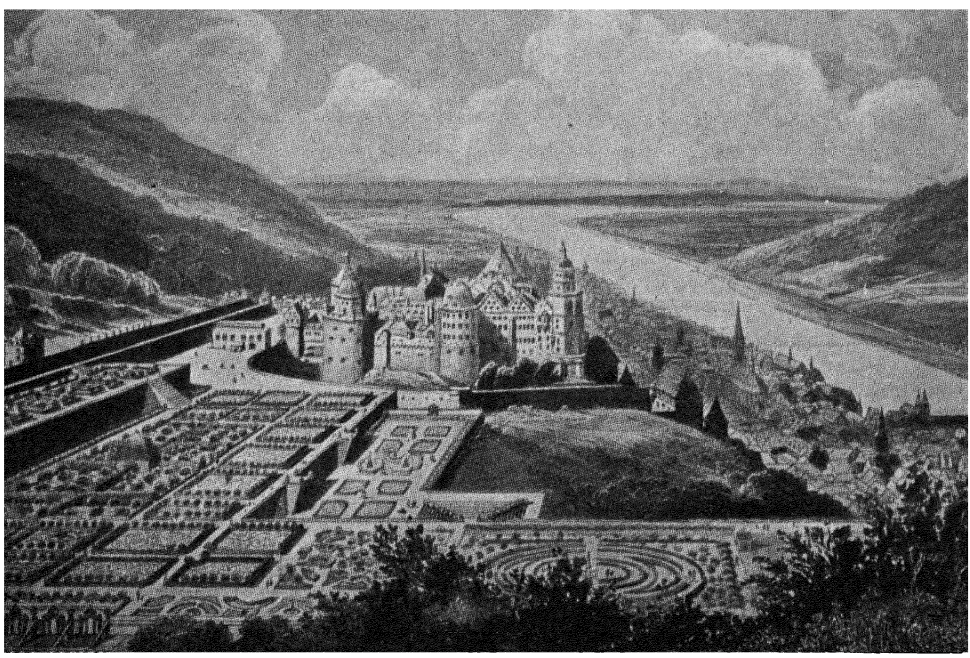
His relations to the district were based entirely on private rights; any co-operation of the states, who were in no way representatives of the country, but merely protectors of their own interests, was only reluctantly granted, and, as soon as conditions allowed, was restricted and in many cases finally put aside. Politically, the princes gained in influence the more the towns sank into the background; economically, they strengthened themselves by the conquest of towns here and there and by the greater use made of those towns already subject to them.

The secularisation of Church property, as a consequence of the Reformation in Central and Eastern Germany, considerably increased the extent of the property held by the territorial lords. In this connection indistinct conceptions of the property of the state and the possessions of the prince made a separation of the two impossible. Not before the second half of

the sixteenth century did the constitutional idea of the relations between the prince on the one side, and the territory and the subjects on the other, gain any ground. The last stage in the development was thus reached, so that the German monarchy became constitutionally obsolete and in the Peace of Westphalia it was possible to proclaim the sovereignty of the princes, although "without prejudice to the empire"

Even in the age of the Reformation the princes constituted no separate power. In place of the old rivalry between princes and towns there came the new opposition between Catholic and Protestant princes—the opposition from which political questions were now treated, and which, in certain cases, drove individual princes into alliances with foreign powers of the same creed. The power of the princes grew in spite of all confusion and distress; they became conscious of their duties, and in happier times after the great war lived for the people, so as to raise their economic position. It is through them that the modern state has become what it is. All that the individual princes did in the cause of progress, although primarily for their own private ends, has been fruitful for the whole nation The universities were primarily private institutions established by them for the extension of scientific activity The faculty of jurisprudence served them for the training of their officials, and only gradually was formed the modern provincial university in which merely the highest honorary post under various titles is reserved for the ruling prince.

The numerous castles, dating from the Middle Ages, which at the present day as state property afford quarters for judicial and administrative authorities were founded or acquired by princes, and many gems of secular architecture are due to them. The most magnificent pile among the castles of the Renaissance was that of Heidelberg before its destruction. But the palace of the Elector Maximilian at Munich, with its Italian style and the castle of the Dukes of Wurtemberg at Stuttgart vie in artistic beauty with the gigantic building on the Neckar.* Such structures imply an advance in technique and an increasing number of able master workmen, as well as the accumulation of large capital in the hands of the reigning prince. It gradually became possible for



THE MAGNIFICENT HEIDELBERG CASTLE AS IT WAS IN 1620

Among the numerous castles of the [illegible] most magnificent, occupying a commanding position above the town of that name [illegible] by fire, much of its grandeur still remains.

the princes to live permanently in one place, to create for themselves a royal residence, and. as the next step, to adorn this place artistically. But even this preliminary condition required considerable wealth and a strict organisation, which had to furnish the means for keeping up a court, and for the first time was able to supply the residence with all that was required. Money becomes. for the first time in the development of Germany, the all-important power in the towns during the fifteenth century, and in the hands of the princes during the sixteenth.

Money's Place in National Development

Capital produces economic independence, and under the influence of its power the social life is freed from the narrow fetters of tradition. The consciousness of economic freedom is the necessary postulate for every deeper intellectual movement, but in the beginning it leads to the greatest conceivable recklessness, which would seem little fitted to spiritualise existence. And yet that consciousness of outward freedom which is stamped on it is the first step towards the individualism which characterises the age of the Reformation. It helps to prepare the soil for the reception of the peculiarly individualist teaching of the Renaissance.

It is no accident that Luther's teaching found its most intelligent hearers among the burghers of the towns and the princes in their own persons together with their court, while the peasant, without any knowledge of what economic freedom might be, misunderstood the monk and formed for himself a picture of liberty which closely resembled lawlessness. Even before the Renaissance was felt on German soil, the awakening naturalism, which represents the artistic individualism, had shown itself in Flanders, where the towns earliest attained an economic prosperity, first in the plastic arts, and then in painting. After the third decade of the fifteenth century splendid easel pictures were produced by the painters Hubert and Jan van Eyck. In scientific thought scholasticism still served as the only means of mastering knowledge. The Renaissance indeed increased the materials for knowledge, and gave science itself an independent existence in Germany by the side of art. But in the realm of thought scholasticism asserted itself until far into the seventeenth century, when it was replaced, somewhat belated, by the empirico-scientific method of judging the outer world by a mode of thought which corresponded to the artistic naturalism and was as unsatisfactory as the system which it so proudly displaced.

Effect of the Renaissance in Germany

In Germany was discovered that art which more than any other provides the means for communicating to every member of a nation a certain measure of intellectual culture—the art of printing. This art first rendered possible the distribution of literary productions in a hitherto inconceivable abundance and variety, as well as the development of a comprehensive system of instruction. Its home was on the Rhine, the German high road of civilisation, where the Main divides the district of the Upper Rhine from the lands of the Middle Rhine, at Mainz. For although Gutenberg, driven from his home, made his first successful attempts between 1440 and 1450 at Strasburg, yet the first employers of the great invention, Fust and Schöffer, were settled at Mainz. The preliminary stage to printing was the graphic process of multiplying copies of woodcuts and engravings, which, although long known, had been employed on a large scale only since the beginning of the fifteenth century; the first dated woodcut is from the year 1423.

Discovery of the Art of Printing

Gutenberg's important discovery consisted in the movability of the letters, which could be used in any combination. But wood, which, on the analogy of the woodcut, was at first used for the types, did not meet the requirements of printing any more than soft lead. Gutenberg, therefore, having returned to his native town, associated himself with Johann Fust, whose partner, Peter Schöffer, discovered a metallic mixture which wore well as material for types. This Fust, often confounded in story with Dr. Faust, the professor of the black arts, was for more than 300 years considered to be the original inventor of printing, until gradually the name of Gutenberg has regained its honourable place.

The new art was used for the first time to influence the masses in the dispute for the bishopric of Mainz between Diether of Isenburg and Adolphus of Nassau. Innumerable fly-sheets served the same purpose before and during the Reformation on all more important issues. The first

printed book, a complete Latin Bible, appeared about 1455. The shape of the letters directly depended on the types used at that time in neatly written copies of books. The old prints, called "incunabula," show almost throughout red ornamentations by the side of the black letters. The initials are usually most artistically designed and not infrequently adorned with pictorial representations like the old manuscripts. The two alphabets, the Latin and the German, or black-letter, have been developed side by side out of those letters by continual change of shape.

The new industry had been at first carried on secretly, but after the capture of Mainz by Adolphus of Nassau in 1462 the workshop was broken up, and the workmen were dispersed over the world and their art disseminated. As early as 1472 the rector of the Paris University, William Fichet, praised in eloquent words the discoverer of printing as the promoter of knowledge, and the Humanist, Conrad Celtes, placed this invention above all the achievements of the ancients. It spread with inconceivable rapidity over every country, a proof that the discovery supplied an urgently felt want. It is hardly to be assumed that we possess information as to the establishment of printing-presses everywhere. It is certain that the art was introduced into the Italian convent of Subiaco in 1464, into Rome in 1467, into Venice and Milan in 1469. Paris followed in 1470, Louvain, Utrecht, and Lyon in 1473, and in 1474, Basle, which afterwards took a prominent position as a home of printing; Valencia, Barcelona, and London in 1474, Stockholm in 1483, and Moscow not before 1563. In Italy Andrea de' Bussi did good service before 1475 in advancing the art; he introduced the prints of the Germans Pannartz and Schweinheim, while he composed letters of dedication to the Pope. But it was the Germans who, almost everywhere, appeared as the first printers. Johann von Speier was the first printer in Venice, where soon a fifth of all the printing-presses were to be found. It was quite natural that in Italy, a country so enriched by capital, printing should be eagerly taken up, and there, indeed, no time was lost in printing the classics while in Germany the national literature had the preference at first.



GUTENBERG, THE INVENTOR OF PRINTING
To Johannes Gutenberg, born at Mainz about 1400, belongs the honour of inventing the art of printing, and thus becoming one of the great benefactors of the human race.

The new products, the "books," which were bound and made ready for use in the printing-press itself, were issued and dispersed by a multitude of travelling booksellers, or "colporteurs," through every land. Such a "colporteur" is proved to have visited remote Hermannstadt in Transylvania as early as 1506. All printed matter was as free as the air; there was no idea of the rights of intellectual ownership. A book that held out any promise of profitable returns was reprinted by every printer who chose. Many a publisher and author who had devoted the labour of years to a work was thus defrauded of their property, until, at the opening of the sixteenth century, it became more usual for emperors and princes to bestow privileges in books.

A slight improvement was thus introduced, in so far as unauthorised reprints of such privileged books were not permitted to be sold at the most important book-marts, especially at Frankfort, and afterwards at Leipzig. But for a long time after, and, in fact, until late in the nineteenth century, publishers and authors have had to complain bitterly of literary piracy. Luther was, in fact, benefited by this copying, for his writings were thus frequently reprinted and circulated in countless volumes, though often in very defective editions.

But what suited the age of Luther scarcely suited the age of Goethe. Incidentally, however important the

technical invention was for the multifold reproduction of writing by printing, we must not ignore the fact that the rapid spread and growth of the industry became possible only through the accumulation of capital in the towns. With the art of printing the fundamental economico-technical idea of a wholesale manufacture, for which considerable capital is essential, was for the first time revealed to the world. It was the working capital that first rendered possible printing, which is in its nature no handicraft, but a business.

Elements in German Progress

The same progress is noticeable during the fifteenth century in quite a different field of human activity—namely, in the conduct of war. The influence of capital is felt here also, through the more general employment of firearms. It is hard to say how far this is the cause of the introduction of paid armies, and how far social causes, such as the existence to hand of an urban and rural proletariat and the decreasing effectiveness of the nobility, led to this result. But the new arm, at any rate, favoured the progress. It is certainly the most striking phenomenon in the revolution of the military profession.

There is no talk of an "invention" of gunpowder as of printing. In 1324 the town of Metz employed cannons, and the English used them in the battle of Crecy, in 1346. But the Arabs of Spain had known them still earlier. Berthold Schwarz, who studied alchemy in the fourteenth century, and is expressly designated as the inventor of powder by Sebastian Frank, the historian and cosmographer of the sixteenth century, may perhaps have newly discovered its manufacture or have perfected it, we have no details on the subject. The new arm has no importance in the warfare of the fourteenth century. Not until the second half of the fifteenth century, especially under Maximilian, who interested himself much in artillery, can firearms be said to have been introduced into the army, while their use for sporting and target shooting was not general until much later, clearly on account of the great cost for individuals.

Maximilian's Failure as a General

Maximilian was, on the whole, unfortunate as a general, but his ill success was due more to his wavering policy and his unstable nature than to mistakes in strategy. Indeed, he distinctly improved the art of war, chiefly by organising the artillery in connection with the older arms of the service. After the army of knights had fallen at Sempach before the spears of the peasants, and the social foundations of the feudal army disappeared more and more with the impoverishment of the nobles, some compensation had to be obtained, and this consisted in an infantry serving for pay. The cavalry still carried great weight, but the lighter armour introduced by Maximilian enabled them to take part in fighting on foot without sacrificing their greater mobility. All fighting men under Maximilian served for pay, which amounted to ten florins monthly for the cavalrymen and four for the foot-soldier, out of which he had to feed himself. The king's aim was directed towards the formation of a German infantry, while the Swiss were already organised in a similar fashion. The contrast to the latter was to be expressed in the name.

The work of military organisation was in its main features completed even before 1490, when we hear of the name and tactics of the Landsknechte. They were distinguished by their uniform armament. The shield was given up, and every man carried as his chief weapon a long spear; together with this, halberds and muskets were used in a certain proportion. To the company of 400 men were usually reckoned twenty-five musketeers. Maximilian's chief attention was directed towards the cannons. He had thoroughly mastered the technical details of their construction and use. Siege-guns and field-pieces were supplied on the system that to an army of 10,000 men 200 waggons were reckoned, of which some fifty were intended for cannons and the rest for missiles of stone or iron.

The Great Change in Militarism

The tremendous revolution which these innovations in warfare must have produced, their democratic tendency, and the greater importance attaching to them in consequence, are easily comprehended. Money became more and more a necessity. This was almost always wanting under Maximilian; the troops were often insufficiently paid, and successes were never forthcoming. Nevertheless, under Maximilian larger sums of money had been available for military purposes than at any other period. Capital, the new power which began to rule all manifestations of life, was able to make its influence felt in this also. One further point deserves

notice in the growing use of firearms—that Germans particularly interested themselves in them, and that the universal employment of them started with Germany. Everywhere German gunners were to be found, and even in Morea a traveller met some of them.

The discovery of the New World had many direct effects on European countries. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Hanseatic League was in undisputed possession of the commercial supremacy in the north of Germany; and in the south the towns of Basle, Ulm, Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Vienna had, each for its own district, a similar position, inasmuch as important Alpine routes terminated there. The Hanseatic trade ruled Russia, Scandinavia, and England; and the towns of Southern Germany entered into such close relations with Italy, the seat of the trade in the Levant, that the trading-house of the Germans at Venice enjoyed an unexpected prosperity. Germany now for the first time took part in universal commerce. The prosperity of its towns, which were forced to find in material wealth a compensation for the vanished hope of political supremacy, is a consequence of these events, for the wealthy townsfolk, with their more luxurious way of living, were the chief consumers of the costly stuffs and spices which the traders imported. Although Italy, the centre from which the wares of the East circulated through Europe, drew the chief profits from it, and obtained the foundation for a most magnificent development of power, Germany herself did not come off badly. It was always the land through which the North was reached, and its trading companies did business everywhere in the world.

Italy's Commercial Prosperity

The unmistakable prosperity of Italy prompted men to attempt to get communication with India by another way, in order if possible to bring its wares to Europe by the sea route. In Portugal especially the possibility of reaching India by ship was discussed soon after the middle of the fifteenth century. A few decades after, Europeans were living on the western and southern coasts of Africa and in the newly discovered America.

Even before the end of the century, in 1498, Vasco da Gama solved the riddle of the day when he ultimately reached India by sea. These events were of unexpected importance for the destinies of Europe. The result was a complete shifting in the relative power of the European states. Italy and Germany soon lost their position, while Spain, with Portugal, England and Holland, came forward boldly as colonisers and masters of the world trade. Lisbon now became one of the economic centres of the world; the sea became the universal high-road of commerce and the ship began to replace the trade caravan. Henceforth the countries on the Mediterranean were no longer the most favoured, but those whose shores were washed by the open sea. Numbers, indeed, of enterprising Germans took part in these long voyages, and tried to win a share in the new acquisitions.

The Sea as the High Road of Commerce

By the fifteenth century a German colony existed in Lisbon; the German geographer, Martin Behaim, of Nuremberg, was in the Portuguese service; and the Augsburg merchant family of the Fuggers, which had been quite important since about 1460, formed in 1505, in combination with the merchants Welser and Höchstetter, one of the trading companies such as were usually formed in those days to attain a certain definite object, in order to obtain several cargoes of Indian spices by the newly discovered sea route. The Germans had been allowed, in 1503, to found trading factories in Lisbon, and from that centre the Welsers, and then, outstripping them, the Fuggers, carried on the spice trade with extraordinary profits.

But in spite of these successes of individual German merchant lords, who won for themselves unexpectedly great fortunes, the German trade supremacy was doomed. Contemporaries themselves had a confused conception of the state of things, and expressed their dissatisfaction in accusations, unjustifiable in themselves, that these merchant princes robbed the people by usuriously raising the price of the most necessary commodities. The charge, brought especially by Lutheran preachers, rested on the prevalent conception which found immorality in all profits derived from trade. The "Reformation of Emperor Sigismund," the programme of social reform with the fundamental thought of Christian communism, had been repeatedly printed since 1480, especially in the agitated times after 1520. Men perceived then for the first time that the economic outlook of Germany was

Trade Profits Regarded as Immoral

changed, that the masses were far more discontented than in the old days. The blame for all this—and the simple-minded observer had the answer pat—must lie with the great traders, who made such incredible profits, possessed virtual monopolies, and by the splendour of their households outshone the mighty Emperor Charles V. The Fuggers continued to play a part in Spain during the whole sixteenth century, but at the beginning of the seventeenth the decay of the "common Spanish trade" began at a time when in the heart of Germany the calamitous consequences of the overthrow of culture made themselves acutely felt.

Spain's Trade on the Decline

The sovereignty of Charles V., who ruled over Spain and Germany, had concealed the beginning of this disaster; but the change which had set in showed itself all the clearer in the further course of events. The commerce with Italy lost more and more in importance, and no compensation for this could be found. The Netherlands, the northerly part of which, owing to its favourable position on the Atlantic, became, with Amsterdam at its head, the commercial centre of North Europe, no longer formed an integral part of the empire; indeed, they offered economically the sharpest opposition to Central Germany. The Dutch seaports soon outstripped the trading places on the Baltic, so that the Hanse towns themselves in the north were deposed from their supremacy in trade. Hamburg alone at that time gained in importance, for, thanks to its more favourable position for development, it undertook the part of middleman for the import of Dutch wares into Germany, and, with a view to large profits in the future, allowed Englishmen to settle within its walls.

The effect of these events, the shifting of all centres of gravity, was soon felt by the people in the heart of the country; for while trade and industries produced incomparably smaller profits, the circulation of money was checked, and a marked rise in the prices of commodities and an increasing depreciation in the value of money were noticeable. The result is again a general retrogression of the nation from the stage of international intercourse to that of mere domestic economy—a return to economic conditions which had been long since left behind in the West and the South. The situation was different in the districts east of the Elbe. They were still backward in industrial progress. Magdeburg was almost the largest town eastward; the towns were everywhere thinly distributed, and a peasant life prevailed, less degraded, however, than that of the west. These eastern districts were less affected by the general turn of events. Indeed, the territorial lords developed a firm government, especially in Brandenburg, Saxony, and Silesia. They knew how to check the states; and they advanced further into the political foreground, especially since the new opposition between Protestant and Catholic princes forced the eastern territories, the principal support of Protestantism, to assume, more than before, a political position.

A Check to German Advance

The revolution in prices was felt most acutely in the East by the country nobility, which had already played a very modest political part. Some of its members, indeed, appeared regularly at Court as officials in the princes' service; but the mass of them had retired to their country seats, which more and more lost their character as centres of territorial dominions and assumed the features of manor-houses. The manorial estate was managed with a view to agriculture on a large scale, a system now first found on German soil; and the hereditary villeinage, also called serfdom, represents the peculiar status of labour in this new undertaking.

The Hard Lot of the Peasant

The development of the country in the south and west of Germany had produced quite different economic and social forms. The continuous parcelling out of landed estates and the frequently increased burdens had placed the peasant, after the cultivation of the land was ended, in a position which made him appear the most harassed person of the times. The same conditions prevailed which in France, aggravated by a strong despotic rule, produced the state of society directly preceding the Revolution in 1789. Such a state of things must arise where the natural overflow of population does not find a suitable opportunity to emigrate, or new opportunities for work through the introduction of fresh branches of industry.

And besides this, the peasant was excluded from every higher intellectual employment. He was politically powerless, and the decline of the old system of the lord's court had much lowered the old

position of the "socman" in the supreme court. But no power, whether the territorial lord or the imperial legislature, contemplated doing anything to raise the condition of the peasant, and even if the thought had been entertained, there were no means available for carrying it into execution.

The urban proletariat was in no enviable position, and in many towns since about 1450, often in conjunction with the peasants of the district, had revolted against the council, and tried by violence to realise its communistic ideal. But the mad fury, capable of any deeds, which we see in the peasant revolts, never showed itself even remotely in these attempts.

After the rising of Pauker of Niklashausen, in 1476, who felt himself called by God as a reformer of church and society, the insurrections in the Alpine districts and in Friesland, in Franconia and Thuringia, on the Upper Rhine and in Swabia, did not cease. At the same time a movement against the secular privileges of the clergy, especially against their exercise of trades which injured the taxpayer, and against the immunity from taxation enjoyed by clerical property, was noticeable even before Luther's appearance, and explains the reception of his writings in 1520. There was an equal feeling against the authorities both in town and country.

Revolt Against the Clergy

At the beginning of the period from 1520–1530 the land was again in a ferment. The revolt this time had been carefully planned, and its object was to carry out Luther's teaching by force. But the outbreak was delayed for some time. However, in 1524, the Landgraviate Stühlingen on the Upper Rhine revolted, and the town of Waldshut was drawn into the rising; at the same time an open revolution broke out in the territory of the town of Zürich in close connection with the proposals for ecclesiastical reform. Soon the movement spread to all Upper Germany; its object was to realise the socialist programme which had long been in the air, and seemed to the peasants synonymous with the "justice" of Luther and the "freedom of a Christian man." By the middle of March, 1525, the demands had been formulated in the "Twelve Articles of the Peasantry." In other places, especially in Alsace and Austria, the most sweeping political demands were attached to those complaints against the manorial lords which must be reckoned as fair charges. In the Austrian dominions, especially in Tyrol, the rising in the autumn of 1525 was suppressed without much difficulty by concessions. But in Franconia open revolt and hideous outrages followed. In Swabia the "Swabian League" successfully prosecuted the war against the insurgents, and the town strongholds of the peasants, Rotenburg and Würzburg, were captured. The movement spread farther to the north, and there were outbreaks in Thuringia. Here the Anabaptist movement was mixed up with the social demands. Thomas Münzer himself led the forces into battle; but he and his companions had to yield to the armies of the princes at Frankenhausen, and some six thousand peasants were killed there.

Peasants' Strongholds Captured

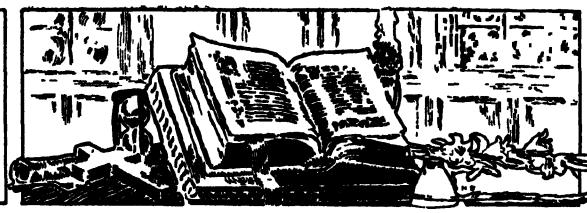
The great peasant revolt was a disastrous failure, so far as concerned the amelioration of the condition of the peasantry. The social revolution on the continent was still in the remote future. But the conditions which produced the social revolt tended also to make a religious revolution popular. On the other hand, it had an effect not unlike that produced by the excesses of the French Revolution outside of France; it frightened the conservative element among the intellectual progressives as well as the vested interests of property, bringing about that reaction which was incarnated in England at this time in Sir Thomas More and at the later epoch in Edmund Burke. Although Luther took up his parable against the revolution, his doctrine was held responsible for the anarchism which he condemned. At both periods culture and philosophy shrank back appalled when the genial irrigation which they had designed threatened to turn itself into a devastating flood.

Luther's Part in the Revolution



BENEFACTORS OF THE REFORMER MARTIN LUTHER AS A BOY IN THE HOUSE OF FRAU COTTA AT EISNACH

From the painting by G Spangenberg by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co



THE MAN AND THE REFORMATION

LUTHER'S GREAT WORK FOR PROTESTANTISM

MARTIN LUTHER, descended from a Thuringian peasant family which originally was settled at Möhra, was born at Eisleben on November 10th, 1483. His father, notwithstanding his small means, sent the boy to school, at first to the village school of the place, and in 1497 to Magdeburg, to the school of "The Brothers of the Common Life." After a year the boy, aged fifteen years, went to attend the Latin school at Erfurt, and there first came into contact with teachers who had studied "the Humanities." His circumstances were very straitened, since he was forced to beg his bread by singing, until a friendly reception was given him in the house of the merchant Cotta. During the summer term of 1501 Luther entered the famous University of Erfurt, where philosophers and Humanists worked harmoniously side by side, and was advanced to the degree of Master of Arts in 1505. His father would have been glad if he had chosen the career of a jurist, with its rich prospects, and the son had agreed to the suggestion, for great honours could be won in that way.

Luther's Life in a Convent

But before the young student had begun his intended professional studies something occurred which led him into other paths. Not indeed so much the often-quoted buffets of fortune, the death of a friend, and the deadly risk he ran through a flash of lightning, as the deep inwardly religious spirit, the conviction that the profession of a lawyer did not offer scope to his zeal, drove him to enter a convent. This step was taken in July, 1505, and Luther chose the settlement of the Augustinian Hermits at Erfurt, belonging to the Saxon congregation of the order, which was conspicuous for its strictness. The Bible was studied diligently there, and strict asceticism and self-examination were obligatory on the members.

The year of the novitiate, which demanded the performance of the lowest duties, was passed, and the dress of the order assumed in 1506; and with the consecration to priesthood on May 2nd, 1507, the title of Father was bestowed on him, as well as the permission to perform the Mass. Luther had fulfilled his duties in the convent with unwearying zeal, and had studied diligently. He had there seen the Bible for the first time in his life, and had begun to read it, without, indeed, understanding it at first. When he finally abandoned the ancient ideas of theology learned at school, he began to have an inkling of what he afterwards laid down in weighty propositions

Where Luther First Saw the Bible

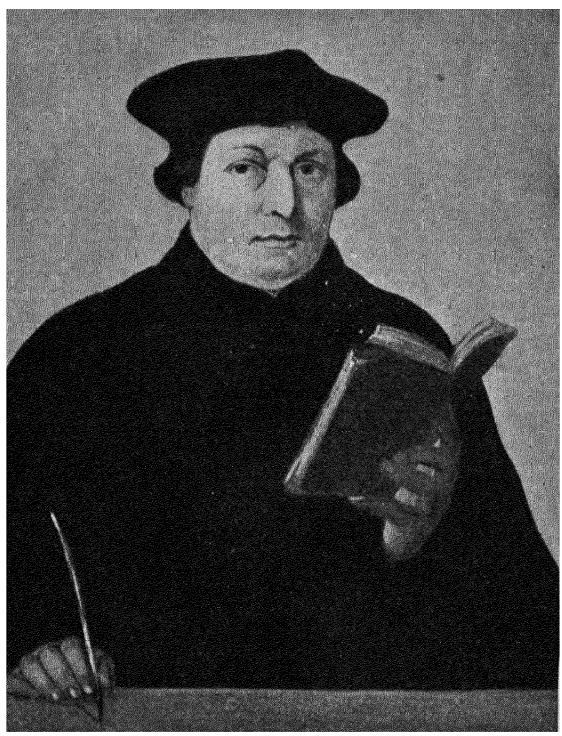
While still at Erfurt, the young monk had attracted the attention of his superior in the order, the Vicar-General von Staupitz, who intelligently sympathised with his spiritual nature. It was he who transferred Luther after consecration as priest to the convent of the order at Wittenberg, in order to give him at the same time a post as teacher in the philosophical faculties at the university there. His lectures were entirely confined to the well-trodden paths of the academical teaching in philosophy, while metaphysical thoughts were exercising his mind, and he studied the "German Theology" of Tauler, the fourteenth century mystic.

The journey to Rome in the year 1511 on the affairs of the order may well have been of supreme importance for the widening of his range of observation, and the recollections of the life at that time in secularised Rome may have influenced his attacks on the papacy. But immediately after his return home any fundamental opposition to the Church and her institutions was far from his thoughts. An event of greater significance for the future of the young man of twenty-nine was the attainment in 1512 of the title of a Doctor in Divinity at the instance of his old friend Staupitz. The subject of his professorial teaching was

Luther as a Theological Teacher

now theology, not philosophy. His inner religious convictions were thus opened to the circle of his pupils, while he himself was more and more engrossed with the problem of faith. The exposition of the Bible itself was now his task. Both in form and matter he tried to explain it differently from his predecessors and contemporaries in the professorate, since, while still always taking the text of the Vulgate as his basis, he not only gave the allegorical explanations of the Scripture, but put before his hearers the doctrine of the Apostle Paul himself. His interest in Augustine increased visibly, and he was sincerely pleased that the latter was now supplanting Aristotle in the university.

In addition to his lectureship, he was soon given the post of preacher in the convent church, and in 1515 he had, as deputy, to undertake the duties of a town clergyman. During this ministry for the care of souls he first came into contact with the trade in indulgences. Some of his congregation had bought indulgence papers from the Dominican monk Johann Tetzel, who was preaching at Jüterbogk, in the territory of M[illegible]: the Elector of Saxony had forbidden the preaching of indulgences in his dominions—and had shown them to him. Luther had already, in 1516, openly attacked this traffic in his sermons. Since money was required at Rome to build the church of St. Peter, indulgence was now granted for money to everyone, even the most hardened criminal, and that without the pious deeds formerly required. The religious conviction of Luther that justification by faith was an essential postulate, could not possibly allow such encroachments on the rights of the minister to pass unnoticed. He wished at any rate to open a discussion on the indulgence question in order to establish his view of the matter, which was clearly not understood, many thinking it was a mere squabble between monks. He therefore chose the form in which the professors under such circumstances usually invited discussion—that is to say, he published theses composed in Latin, which were nailed up on the door of the castle church at Wittenberg. They were ninety-five in number—probably as an answer to the numerous instructions given by Archbishop Albert of Mainz to his vendors of indulgences—and the 31st of October, 1517, was chosen, as being the eve of the dedication festival of the Church of All Saints. These propositions went in fulness far beyond what was usually contained in the statements of any one inviting discussion. They not only put questions, but also gave concise answers for anyone who could read them, condemned the abuse, and even went the length of attacking the sacrament of penance itself.



But for Martin Luther the Reformation would have taken different lines. Born at Eisleben, in 1483, he studied for the Church, but could not conscientiously remain in it, and he became the leader of the far-reaching Reformation movement. This portrait is from the original picture by Holbein, now in the King's collection at Windsor.

This was the first act of Luther the reformer. But he himself was by no means clear as to its scope, for no thought lay further from him than separation from the Catholic Church. The stone, however, was set rolling, and continued to roll, without any special effort on the part of the man who first set it in movement.

Luther himself sent his theses to the ecclesiastical authorities, notably to Archbishop Albert of Mainz, under whose instructions the indulgence vendors worked. He was conscious of his disinterested motives, and declared himself astonished that no one came forward to the verbal contest, although in a few weeks all Germany was familiar with the contents of the theses. and trumpeted the name of the composer, who even before was not entirely unknown. The immediate object of the attack, the Dominican Tetzel, made a literary rejoinder to the theses, and opposed to them one hundred and six propositions based completely on Thomas Aquinas. Tetzel won the title of a Doctor in Divinity from the university at Frankfort - on - Oder; and since it was a Dominican who confronted the Augustinian monk, there is no reason to be surprised that at Rome no further importance was attached to the matter, which was regarded as a quarrel arising from jealousy between the two orders. A writing of Johann Eck, a professor at Ingolstadt was really more serious for Luther. In this it was clearly stated that many contemporaries saw a heretical action in the publication of the theses, and drew an unmistakable comparison with the Bohemian Huss. Luther did not let himself be frightened by these attacks, but worked out his ideas further in a "Sermon on Indulgence and Pardon," using for this the vernacular; thus the dispute among the learned became a matter for the people. This was a very marked step for the shaping of the future.



LUTHER IN LATER LIFE

The painting from which this portrait is taken is now in the Tower Church at Weimar. It was begun in 1552 by Lucas Cranach, the Elder, and completed three years later by his son.

There was no wish at Rome to enter into a discussion of the disputed questions in the way that Luther naturally took for granted, but by the spring of 1518 a trial for heresy was suspended over him. When he was summoned before the court of two bishops in Italy, he applied to his territorial lord, the Elector Frederic of Saxony, who had long been friendly towards him, and asked that he should be given a hearing in Germany. The elector was staying just then in Augsburg, where Maximilian was holding his last imperial diet, and where, on account of the Turks' tithe, a papal embassy was also present. He consequently exercised his influence with the emperor, who was in urgent need of his support for the desired election of his grandson, Charles, that a decree should be passed enacting that the monk of Wittenberg should have a hearing before the papal embassy at Augsburg. The cardinal, Thomas de Via of Gaeta, usually called Cajetanus, offered no objection, and was ready to try the monk for his audacity; and at the close of the diet, in October, Luther, who in April, at a meeting of the order at Heidelberg, had in the circle of his brother monks already defended his views with vigour and courage, now, armed with a safe-conduct from the emperor, appeared humbly before the cardinal. The discussions, although they extended to the real matter at issue, led to nothing. This was inevitable, for Luther did not think of any renunciation of his errors, or of any promise to avoid them for the future. He left the cardinal, and so appealed, as the Church required, "from the badly instructed Pope to one

who was to be better instructed" In the end he secretly quitted Augsburg The news soon reached him at Wittenberg that the Pope demanded his banishment by the elector, and he was ready, if occasion arose, to leave the country. Nevertheless, he took the last step which was still open to him—he appealed to a general council at the end of November, 1518

The papal chamberlain, Carl von Miltitz, who, belonging to a Saxon noble family, possessed a greater comprehension of the conditions of the country than an Italian, now appeared as papal legate at the court of the elector in order to induce him to take vigorous measures against Luther. He became convinced of the ferment existing among the people, which made him see that the sympathies of the masses were for the monk, and therefore tried to influence him by conciliatory measures At a personal interview in Altenburg, Luther finally promised to keep silence on condition that his opponents would do the same; but since they did not agree to this, he did not feel himself bound to silence. The long-contemplated discussion between Eck and Luther's colleague, Andreas Rudolf Bodenstein von Carlstadt, was fixed for June, 1519, at Leipsic, and, in spite of a protest from the Bishop of Merseburg, it actually took place. Luther was once more the real object of the attack, as appeared from Eck's theses. These were principally occupied with the question of the papal primacy, upon which Luther had hardly touched. Luther himself did not appear at the discussion until the dispute between Carlstadt and Eck had already lasted



THE NOTORIOUS TETZEL

When the papal indulgences in Germany were farmed out to the Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, was selected for the office of preaching the indulgences.



TETZEL'S PROCESSION FOR THE SALE OF INDULGENCES

Offering indulgences to everyone who was willing to pay the price, even down to the most hardened criminal, Tetzel with all the "eloquence of a mountebank" painted in the richest colours the virtues shown in the illustration, carried in the procession as it passed from place to place the great red cross on which were suspended the arms of the Pope, while on a velvet cushion, in front of the marching company, was carried the Pontiff's Bull of grace. Mules laden with pardons brought up the rear of the strange procession.



LUTHER'S PROTEST NAILING HIS THESES TO THE DOOR OF THE WITTENBERG CHURCH
The sale of indulgences, pushed so vigorously and with so much effrontery by Tetzel, found in Luther an uncompromising enemy. When the city of Wittenberg was crowded with people on the occasion of the Festival of all Saints, in 1517, Luther, at the noonday hour, boldly walked up to the castle church and nailed his theses, consisting of ninety-five propositions on the doctrine of indulgences, on its door, thus launching a movement that was to revolutionise the world

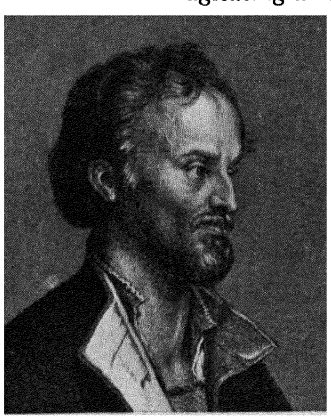
several days. Eck drew from him not only the repeated assertion that an acknowledgment of the papal primacy was not necessary for salvation, but also the avowal that even the councils themselves might err, and that only God's word could be accounted infallible. Eck thus won the day, for he had proved Luther's heresy. The latter himself must have felt at that moment for the first time a conviction that he no longer stood within the Church and must have said to himself that the papal ban would inevitably strike him.

At this stage there was a division of opinion. Men took sides for and against Luther; everyone in public life had to adopt some definite standpoint. The greater part of the Humanists stood by the reformer, and in the forefront the teacher of Greek at the University of Wittenberg, Philip Schwarzerd, called Melanchthon, who, perhaps, grasped the questions involved better than all his contemporaries. Luther himself did not rest; he now produced a programme in which he combined all that possessed his soul. In August, 1520, his treatise, "To the Christian Nobles of the German Nation concerning the Reformation of the Christian State," appeared in print. The relations with Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen into which he had shortly before entered, had distinctly influenced this pamphlet; for, passing over the power of the princes, he placed his hopes on the emperor and the nobility during the impending attempt which was to restore the right relations between secular and spiritual powers. By this train of thought the author met the Humanists, who had for a long time been weary of the ecclesiastical tutelage in intellectual concerns. But Luther taught more emphatically than they did that the opposition between priests and laymen as it existed in the Church was unbiblical. At the same time a programme of secular reform was unfolded, which pronounced against the capitalists, in support of the knights, and lashed the money-seeking temporal policy of the papacy. In fact, a warning was issued to all temporal authorities that they should no longer allow the export of money to Rome in any form.

It is easy to understand the rapid circulation of this treatise, which in an unprecedented manner comprised all that thousands had long felt, even though as the fruit of

quite different trains of thought. Even before the thoughts thus developed had been further expanded from the dogmatic side, especially with reference to the sacraments, in the "Prelude to the Babylonish Captivity of the Church"—he wrote this time in Latin—the news came to Germany of the papal Bull issued on June 16th, which condemned forty-one propositions of Luther, and required him to recant his teaching within sixty days. His deadly enemy, Eck, had co-operated in the preparation of this threatening Bull, and also brought it to Germany, where it was published on September 27th. But the most important point, the execution of the Bull, which the papal legates at Cologne imperiously demanded in November from the Elector Frederic, was omitted, since the territorial ruler at the advice of Erasmus absolutely refused their request. The Bull entirely failed in its effect in Saxony, the University of Wittenberg refused to publish it. In the universities of Erfurt and Leipzic, and even in Vienna, open sympathy was expressed with Luther, who himself on December 10th, in front of the gates of Wittenberg, publicly burnt the decretals and the papal Bull, just as his writings had been burnt at Cologne, Mainz, Louvain, and other places.

The Pope's Challenge to Luther



MELANCHTHON THE SCHOLAR
Philip Melanchthon was a prominent figure in the early band of bold Reformers, and his enthusiasm in the movement contributed largely to its success. This portrait is from an engraving by Durer.

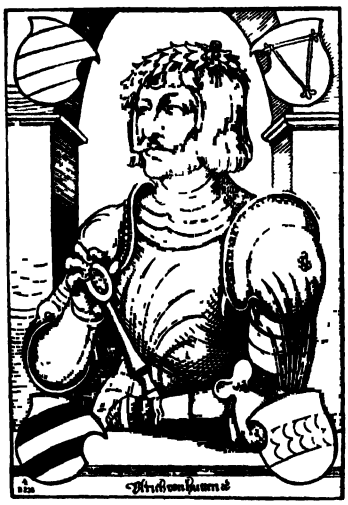
Before the year 1520 drew to a close, yet a third manifesto appeared from Luther's pen, in which, differing from the criticism hitherto employed, he proceeded to construct a doctrinal edifice of his own. It was the treatise, once more written in German, "Of the Freedom of the Christian Man" It distinguishes between the spiritual and corporeal man. The spiritual man is free through belief in God, the corporeal is in bondage through his fear of his neighbour. The effect of this treatise almost exceeded that of the preceding ones. His words were everywhere read and understood, for what he propounded he said in the language of the people. Personally he gave up monastic practices in the winter of 1521–1522, even though he still wore the cowl. Since after four months, the allotted period, Luther's recantation did not reach Rome, Pope Leo X. hurled the ban against the heretic and his followers on January 3rd, 1521, and suspended the interdict over all places where they should remain.

At first the party round the young Emperor Charles openly entertained the plan of using the religious movement in Germany to exercise pressure on the Curia in political questions. On the other hand, the imperial court, however unwillingly, had to pay regard to Luther, if it did not wish to fall out with the Elector of Saxony. One thing was, at any rate, certain—the diet, which met at the beginning of the year at Worms, must occupy itself with the question which was agitating all leading spirits. The imperial programme of work had not, indeed, touched the religious question; but the states demanded its discussion. The states would assent to an imperial decree against the heretic, which would have meant the ban, only on the condition that he was tried before the assembly of the empire, and had declared with his own lips that he would not recant.

Luther came to Worms with an imperial safe-conduct on April 16th, and on the very next day the hearing began before the emperor and the states. When the emperor put the question to him whether he acknowledged his books, and whether he would recant or not, he asked for time to reflect, and then, on April 18th, answered to the now more precise question that he could think of recantation only if he was confuted out of the Scripture or by logical arguments. The effect of his words on the Germans was then highly favourable, while the Romanists and with them the emperor, showed themselves little edified. The result was an imperial proclamation to the states, which confirmed the safe-conduct as far as Wittenberg, but at the same time prohibited the continuance of the preaching, and announced the treatment of Luther as a convicted heretic. On the way from Worms to Wittenberg,

The Defiant Reformer at Worms

Luther, who certainly knew of the plans of the friendly elector, was surrounded in the vicinity of Waltershausen in Thuringia by Saxon horsemen and conducted to the Wartburg, while his friends in Germany supposed him to be dead. The emperor now formally proclaimed from Worms the ban of the empire over the heretic, and ordered the confiscation of the property of all who adhered to him, and the destruction of his writings, indeed, to avoid further harm, the introduction of a general censorship of books was demanded.



A FAMOUS HUMANIST

Ulrich von Hutten, who was born in 1488 and died in 1523, was a famous German poet and humanist, and warmly supported the cause of the Reformation.

From the last days of May, 1521, Luther lived in the Wartburg; only a very few initiated, above all Spalatin, knew of his abode, which at first was not even revealed to the elector. "Squire George," as the theologian was called there, employed his solitude in studying the New Testament in the original and beginning his translation. In September, 1522, the whole New Testament, but without Luther's name, was printed in German. This was by no means the first German edition of the Bible. During the quiet work in the Wartburg, the reformer, who hitherto had advanced alone into the foreground lost the reins from his hand, and other men, who thought they were working on his lines, were the spokesmen. At Wittenberg, professors and students began to translate Luther's ideas into action, and Carlstadt especially drew his conclusion from the doctrine that there was no separate spiritual class when he demanded the marriage of priests. The Lord's Supper in both forms was administered at Wittenberg in the autumn of 1521 to Melanchthon, among others. The wild excesses of the Hussites began to spread in the winter. Altars and pictures were cast out of the churches, and laymen began to preach to the people. At Zwickau especially, where the clothmaker Nicolas Storch and the priest Thomas Munzer tried to kindle the revolt, the image-breakers won adherents, although the council repressed the movement and banished Munzer, who now sought safety in Bohemia, without indeed being able to accomplish much.

Luther had appeared once in December, 1521, for a short time at Wittenberg, in order to express his opinion as to the condition of things in the town, but soon afterwards returned to the Wartburg. At the beginning of March he no longer maintained the reserve which was required of him, but left his place of refuge, contrary to the will of the elector, and entered Wittenberg in order to preach daily to the people, and to warn them against further blind excess of zeal. One note rang clearly in these exhortations —that the Master attached weight to faith alone, and in comparison cared little for the externals of religion. His words had a marvellous effect. The development, in the same form as at Wittenberg, spread to the places round, both far and near. In South-west Germany particularly, where the social differences were sharper than elsewhere, the teaching of the monk of Wittenberg found a friendly reception from citizen and peasant, and a flood of printed pamphlets helped to disseminate it.



GERMAN LEADER OF REFORM

This celebrated German knight, Franz von Sickingen, lent his great influence to the Reformation movement, and led a league which sought to introduce it by force. He died from wounds in 1523.

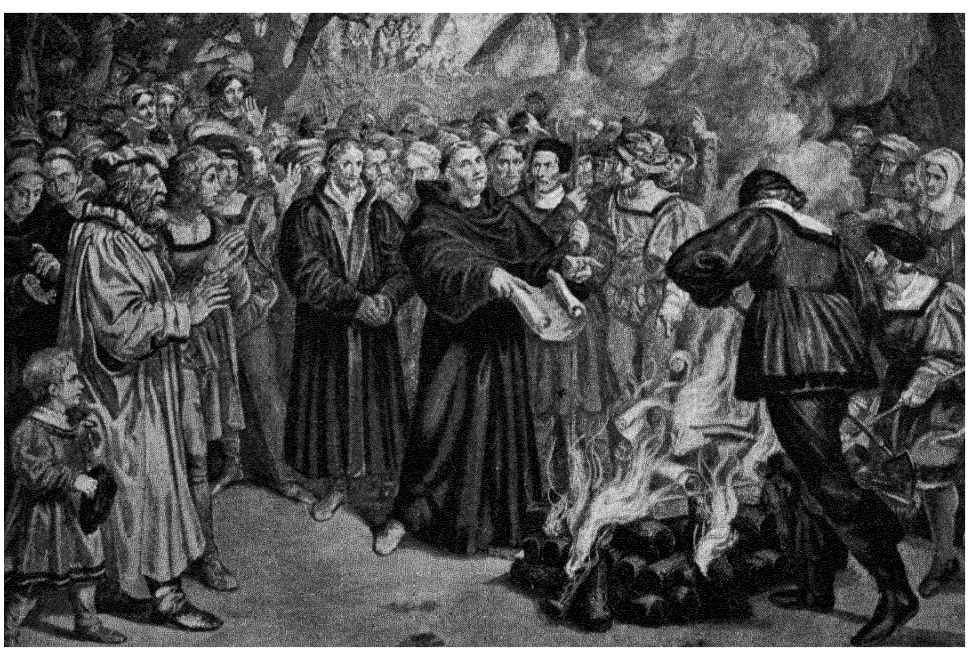
The princes, indeed, had shown little favour to the ecclesiastical innovations; even Luther's patron, the Elector Frederic, had not openly severed himself from the Church. But nowhere was there any intention of seriously executing the Edict of Worms, and the year 1522 showed how far popular opinion, a hitherto

almost unknown power influenced the states. In answer to the papal demand that the decrees of Worms should be carried out, the Council of Regency declared that it was unwilling to employ measures of force—but that a council in a German town with an equal number of clerics and laymen should immediately deliberate upon the questions. Although the papal nuncio Cheregati protested against this answer the matter remained so. It was proposed once more to discuss at a council the question which had really long ago been legally decided. Indeed, it was not so much a sincere conviction that forced the states to this view as the fear of a sanguinary rising of the people.

Papal Conference at Nuremberg

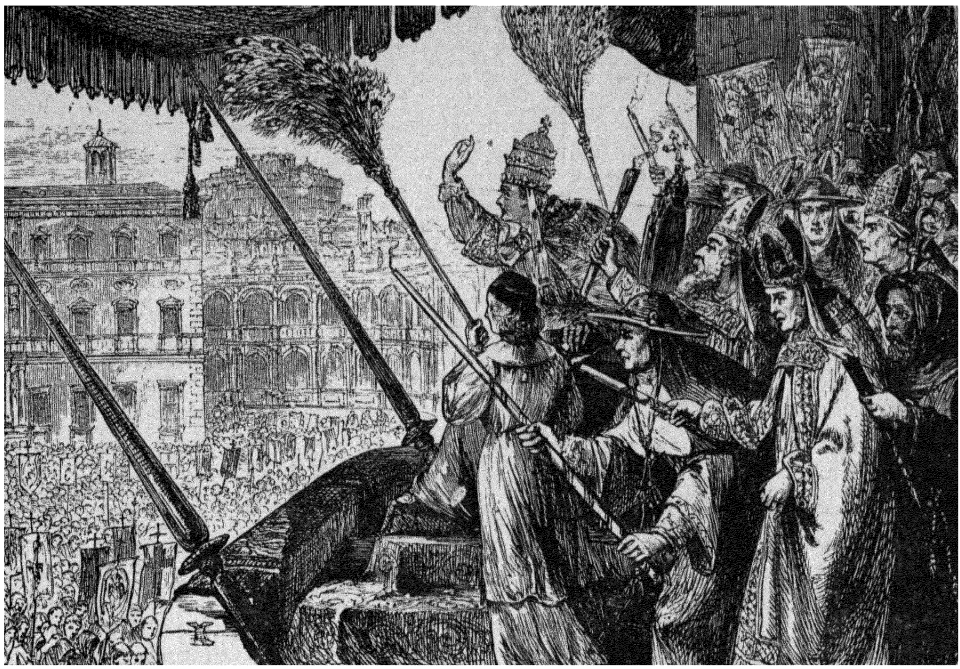
The German council and the preliminary council which had already been summoned to Speier for November, 1524, did not meet. But the representatives of the papal party assembled in the summer of 1524 at Nüremberg and resolved, in addition to complete condemnation of Luther, to aim at an improvement in some unimportant points—the papal exaction of money and the morality of the clergy. This was the condition of Germany when all parties were equally affected by the outbreak of the Peasant Revolt. Former adherents of Luther, as Thomas Munzer and Carlstadt, fanned the flames and supported the fanatical movement and its communistic scheme of economy. Luther in two treatises, "Exhortation to Peace upon the Twelve Articles" (April, 1525) and "Against the Murderous and Marauding Hordes of Peasants," attempted not only to clear himself from the taunt that he was connected with the revolt, but at the same time called for the forcible suppression of the rebels, should timely warning be fruitless.

The result of the Peasant War is well-known. It affected the Reformation in the Church in two ways. On the one side the princes of Central Germany had heard from Luther's lips the exhortation to use severity, and the reformer now appeared to them as an advocate of the power of the princes; they could make him useful for their purposes. On the other side in great districts of Germany many still entertained the opinion that at bottom Luther alone was to blame for the whole revolt, and therefore they had good



LUTHER BURNING THE POPE'S BULL AT WITTENBERG ON DECEMBER 10th, 1520

It was not to be expected that the bold action of Luther in nailing his theses to the church doors at Wittenberg would pass unnoticed by the Church authorities. [illegible] ing forty one propositions of Luther and requiring him to recant his teaching within sixty days, [illegible] Reformer's dramatic reply is shown in this picture.



POPE LEO X EXCOMMUNICATING LUTHER AS A HERETIC

Luther was not the man to yield even under papal pressure, and when he failed to recant, Pope Leo X hurled his ban against the heretic and his followers on January 3rd, 1521, and published the interdict in all places where they should remain In the above picture, the Pope is seen seated on the balcony of the Metropolitan Cathedral in Rome, surrounded by priests with lighted torches, while beneath him are crowds of people on bended knee, as he pronounces his terrible ban

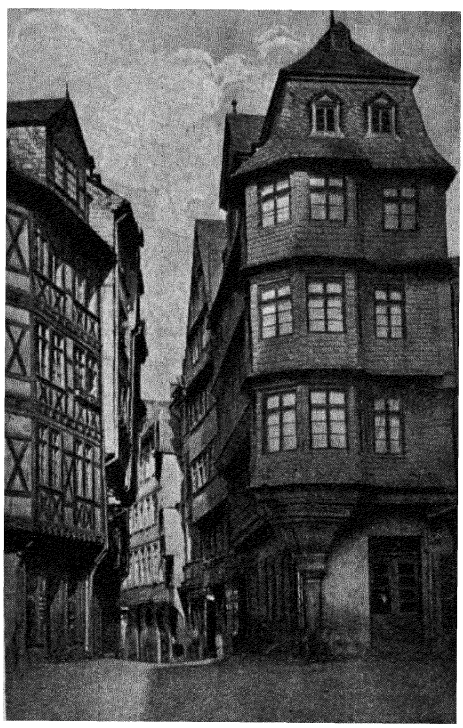
reason to be hostile to the Reformation generally. In these circles an energetic interference of the emperor, who had just come out victoriously from the first French war, was partly advocated partly dreaded, while the princes of Saxony Hesse, Brunswick-Luneburg, Anhalt, and Mansfeld, with the town of M united themselves in the "League of Torgau," in order from this time, as guardians of the Reformation, to oppose under certain circumstances even the emperor himself

The imperial diet of Speier in 1526 was already subject to this impression The emperor was again asked to call a German council, and there was no attempt, as regards the Edict of Worms to put binding demands to the separate states. Each prince was to act as he should be able to answer to God and the emperor This implied for the members of the League of Torgau an establishment of evangelical national Churches, which from this time furnished, in the so-called "Church ordinances," guides for the direction of divine service and schools—in this latter respect Luther had already, in 1524, exhorted the towns to energetic measures—as well as of alms-giving and church discipline The now generally adopted principle of the marriage of priests was of the greatest importance after Luther himself in 1525 had married a former nun, Catherine von Bora The position of the priests as a class apart was thus terminated and at the same time a condition of things was established in the Lutheran manses which was suitable to the founding of a Lutheran tradition

While the peculiar position of the territorial lords as bishops of their own national Churches was being developed, and in the reorganisation of the schools in the country the attempt was being made to raise the peasant intellectually, and to educate him to be a worthy member of the community, the communistic and revolutionary efforts, which we have noticed at Zwickau, did not die away In every part of Germany in the second half of the third decade there appeared representatives of this movement who mostly designated themselves as "Anabaptists" and were opposed by the adherents of the old religion as much as by the followers of the Lutheran views. In Zurich the

Anabaptists in Germany

Anabaptist Manz had been drowned in 1527, and at Munster, where in 1534 the Netherlanders Jan Matthys of Haarlem and Jan Beuckelszoon of Leyden wished to found a Christian kingdom on a communistic basis, the Protestant movement was completely suppressed in 1535. Political and religious aims were mixed up in the affairs at Munster. Similarly at Lubeck, where, under the leadership of Jurgen Wullenweber in 1534 the democratic elements conquered the aristocratic council and partly drove its members from the town. Here also the religious and the political revolutionary spirit met, to which later strict Lutheranism was an uncompromising opponent. But the ecclesiastical zeal of the democratic leader was here distinctly inferior to his political ardour, although he was finally executed in 1537 by the Duke of Brunswick as an Anabaptist.



LUTHER'S HOUSE AT FRANKFORT [illegible]

The diet of Speier in 1526 had created an intermediate religious position which was equally insecure for the old and the new faiths, for each party had to fear a vigorous onslaught from the other. It did not therefore cause wonder when the Chancellor of Duke George of Saxony, Otto von Pack, told the Lutheran princes about a strong Catholic league. Philip of Hesse, in excess of zeal, immediately armed against his presumed foes, at whose head naturally the emperor would stand; but his position was seriously weakened by the discovery that Pack's documents, on whose evidence he had relied for justification, were entirely fictitious.

A new imperial diet met under the pressure of these events in the spring of 1529 at Speier. The imperial proposition read at the opening held out the prospect of a council, but also disputed the validity of the resolutions passed at Speier in 1526 with respect to the Edict of Worms. A committee, it is true, somewhat modified the form of the imperial demand, nevertheless the princes of electoral Saxony, Lüneburg, Anhalt, and Franconian Brandenburg as well as the towns opposed it, and contested the right of the assembly by a resolution of the majority to abolish suddenly the imperial recess of 1526. However, the view which was vigorously supported by Archduke Ferdinand gained the day—namely, that the majority must in all cases be respected. There remained nothing for the disaffected princes but to protest against the proclaimed right, a proceeding which gained them the name "Protestants." It is to be carefully noticed that in this protest no religious but merely a constitutional question was discussed—that is to say, whether a unanimously passed decree can be abrogated by a majority. Nevertheless, a uniform religious conviction spoke in the protest, which, against authority, assumed the right for every estate in the realm to decide these questions by its own power. There was still the inclination to submit to a council.

The immediate result of this protest was the secret league, concluded in April 1529, between electoral Saxony and Hesse, as well as the towns of Strasburg, Ulm, and Nuremberg, for the common protection of their religious convictions, even against the empire, while the Swabian League began to consider itself the champion of Catholicism. The separation between a Germany of the old faith and a Germany of the new faith was thus complete. On each side princes and towns stood united, for the diet of Speier had broken up the hitherto common

principles of the towns, and no council was in the position once more to heal the breach. The soul of the Protestant League was Philip of Hesse. He had high political aims, and wished to effect a union of all who had separated themselves from the Church. His attention was, therefore, necessarily directed toward the Swiss reform movement, which ran parallel with that of Wittenberg, and was maintained in closer dependence on the humanism of Zwingli. A reconciliation of the dogmatic differences between Luther and Zwingli was the dearest wish of the landgrave, and he hoped to accomplish this by a religious conference, which met in October at Marburg.

Great as was the pleasure with which Zwingli and his Humanist friends, Hedio and Oecolampadius, accepted the invitation, it was with heavy heart that Luther appeared at the conference. It was impossible for him to depart in the slightest particular from his standpoint on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which presented the most important subject of dogmatic controversy. The conference, as might be expected, was absolutely barren in results. Luther tried vainly to conceal this fact even from contemporaries by a pamphlet, which epitomised in fifteen articles the points common to the doctrines of the two reformers, as opposed to the fundamental point of difference. The distress in the empire was, as a whole, very great, owing to the Turkish danger. Nevertheless, the imperial diet, which sat in June, 1530, under the emperor's presidency at Augsburg, was strongly influenced by the religious, or rather theological, controversies, for the papal legate and the Protestants were agreed that this was the first matter to be treated. The Protestants, in conformity with the request of the emperor, had briefly drawn up their doctrinal views in the "Confession of Augsburg," a work of Melanchthon, which offered as mild a resistance as possible to the papal opponents, and emphatically repudiated only the admission that Luther's doctrine was heretical, and asserted that, on the contrary, it coincided with the teaching of Augustine. Luther, outlawed and excommunicated, did not venture, since the elector disapproved



LUTHER AT HOME AMIDST HIS HAPPY FAMILY CIRCLE

This peaceful picture presents a striking contrast to some of those on the preceding pages In the heart of his own family the reformer could put aside his distractions and give himself up to the enjoyment of perfect rest and peace.



THE RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE AT MARBURG LUTHER AND ZWINGLI DISCUSSING THEIR THEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES
From the painting by A Noack, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co

to represent his own cause in Augsburg. Melanchthon took his place, but showed by his yielding disposition that he would not have been the right man to conduct the real struggle. He still hoped for an ecclesiastical peace, and would be content with the concession of the marriage of priests, of the chalice for the laity, and of a reform in the Mass, and therefore found support among the Catholic princes, but not at Rome. A Catholic rejoinder to the "Confession," called its "Refutation," expressed, to the benefit of the Protestant movement, an uncompromising opposition to any concession. The emperor saw in that the complete victory of his old Church, and the Protestant princes perceived at last that the breach could no longer be healed.

Landgrave Philip had already left Augsburg when the emperor wished to declare in the recess that the Protestants had been refuted out of the Bible. The latter naturally contested this point, especially by the "Apologia," composed by Melanchthon against the "Confutatio." The emperor did not accept this "Apologia." But the Protestant states, with the towns of Augsburg and Memmingen at their head, refused on their side to acknowledge the recess; they also did not wish to take part in raising the "Turkish aid."



PHILIP OF HESSE
Inspired by high political ideals, Philip of Hesse has been described as "the soul of the Protestant League." He aimed at effecting a union of all who had broken away from communion with the Church.

After the diet of Augsburg it must have been clear to the Protestant states that it would now be impossible to support the innovation in religion, as Luther demanded, and yet continue in allegiance to the emperor. He was no longer an impartial ruler, as men had fondly imagined, but a strong partisan of the papacy. A closer union among the Protestants had become necessary. Under the influence of the election of Archduke Ferdinand as king of Rome, the alliance was formed in February, 1531, at Schmalcalden in Thuringia. The rulers of electoral Saxony, Hesse, Lüneburg, Anhalt, and Mansfeld, as well as the towns of Magdeburg and Bremen, united for "the maintenance of Christian truth and peace, and for the repression of unlawful powers," while other princes and towns still hesitated to join. There was no immediate prospect of confederates in South Germany. On the other hand, relations had already been established with King Frederic I. of Denmark and King Gustavus of Sweden; even in England a new page was opened, since King Henry VIII., completely hostile to the Emperor Charles, was in his own way effecting a reformation within the Church.

These events, coupled with the fear that all South Germans would join the Schmalcaldic League, the impossibility of inducing the Pope to convene a council, and, above all, the increasing danger from the Turks, finally decided the emperor to abandon the execution of the recess of Augsburg and to conclude a preliminary peace with the Protestants on July 23rd, 1532, the so-called Religious Peace of Nuremberg. By the conditions of this the states were to maintain peace among themselves on questions of belief until the council met: under certain circumstances a diet was to be substituted for the council. In any case, all trials on religious points impending in the Supreme Court were to be discontinued for the time. The emperor by this peace formally recognised the league as a political power.

The policy of the empire had been permanently under the influence of the religious movement since 1521, and was even more so now. The development of dogma and cult became gradually an esoteric theological concern, and was no longer the chief factor in determining political action. The princes, provisionally united with a part of the towns in the Schmalcaldic League, were from this time the representatives of Protestantism, in place of the professors of Wittenberg. The religious and social age of the new doctrine was ended in order to make room for the political age.

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LUTHER BEFORE THE IMPERIAL DIET OF SPEIER IN THE YEAR 1520
From the painting by G Cattermole in the South Kensington Museum



THE PROBLEM OF THE REFORMATION

LAUNCHING OF THE NEW CHRISTIANITY

CHRISTIANITY has at no time faced so . . . a storm as at the dawn of the "New Era." The religious feeling of the mediæval Church rested on the two pillars of due submission to authority and conviction that the spiritual was antagonistic to the temporal. But doubts had been raised for centuries as to the justification for these conceptions. Humanism had made the opposite ideas the common property of educated men. There was a quickened consciousness of what the inalienable nature of man required, the consciousness that man is a personality whose impulse is towards liberty, self-determination, and unhindered development, as well as the consciousness of the position which man has to take with regard to the world around him, the wish for work in the world not less than enjoyment of the world. The child who felt himself happy under the constant care of his parents, and still dreaded the wide world outside, became a youth who wished to decide for himself and to take a place in the world by his works and by his enjoyment.

The Steady Policy of the Church

The Church, however, did not recognise the justification for this effort, nor did she educate all her subjects to religious freedom and independence, as well as to moral activity in the world and moral joy in existence No, she rigidly held to her old ideas and would gladly have seen every one hold them. She trusted still to the efficiency of her means of discipline, as if the time never comes when the son scoffs at the rod of the father.

And yet there was no other Christianity than that which was characterised by those mediæval fundamental conceptions. It was clear that the new notions were irreconcilable with the old faith. Men must either believe and live once more according to those old ideals and sacrifice the new ones, or they must hold fast to the new doctrines and abandon the old. Countless numbers had already chosen the latter alternative, they could not stand against the overpowering current of the age. But then they threw all faith away from them, since there was no other than that which was steeped in those old ideas. Custom indeed is a potent factor even in the sphere of religion. Most still preserved the religion in externals for a while; but sooner or later the need of some uniform conception of life prevailed over custom, at any rate among those who were distinguished as spiritual leaders. But alas! for that religion to which men adhere only in consequence of the law of inertia. It is true that at the dawn of the new era the number of those who, from sincere piety, wished to uphold Christianity, was still very large, especially in Germany, But the Church could no longer satisfy their religious needs, since the desire for subduing all Nature to the service of man had already begun to colour religious life, and since even in this domain mere submission and retirement from the world were felt to be an outrage on the nature of man.

Demand For a New Christianity

Whence was religion to find safety? To take the place of the old, a new form of Christianity must be given to the world, a Christianity which would not suppress man's nature, but would rather develop and indulge it, a Christianity which recognised the impulse towards religious liberty and man's dominion of Nature and tried to guide it into the right paths. It is true that the effort of the Church to crush all religious freethinking instead of inspiring a spirit of freedom unfits those who break away from her to become themselves safe guides. Religious freedom is abused in the saddest fashion, but those who thirst for truth are at any rate offered the opportunity of quenching their religious craving. Christianity may revive in them under a strange, new form. It was not mere chance that this reshaping of Christianity was effected in Germany.

Change of Creed in Germany

Even in the Middle Ages all those efforts to divest the faith, which had been transmitted from the Græco-Roman world, of its legal character, and to make it the personal concern of the individual, had originated among Teutonic peoples. The peculiarly characteristic Teutonic sense of reality which hates mere show, the depth of purpose which cannot be satisfied with outward piety, the inquiring spirit which is not contented with any reassurance from human authorities—these caused this intensifying and deepening of religious life to spring up in Germany, the heart of Europe, and to find there an enthusiastic welcome.

Religion Welcomed by the Germans

Martin Luther grew up among mediæval conceptions. He held by the Church and he obeyed the Church. A reverential awe seized the boy of fourteen when he saw that Prince of Anhalt in the Franciscan cowl walking through the streets of Magdeburg bent double under the heavy beggar's wallet: "Whoever saw him must in devotion kiss him and blush for his own worldly state." But he was consumed with an ardent longing for religious independence, and therefore for a personal conviction that he stood in the right relations to God He was a man of such astonishing inward sturdiness that it was absolutely impossible for him to flatter or delude himself in any way as to his own state. In order to win God's grace he did not shrink from the most extreme steps which the Church prescribed for that end. He renounced all that was valuable to him on earth, he entered the Augustinian monastery and undermined his health by services which he considered meritorious.

But Luther, like thousands before his time, could not rest satisfied with the idea that he [illegible] to do. For he felt, in his unflinching self-examination, more and more clearly that all his pious deeds were insufficient in the eyes of God; that all was done only from fear—in fact, in his case, with a secret indignation against God, who, in spite of everything, withheld His grace. He only sighed more loudly. "When shall I finally become pious and do enough to obtain a gracious God?" Despair threatened to master him, as he had now, as he thought, learned from experience that we cannot get for ourselves the one thing on which all depends, the real love of God: we cannot, therefore, win for ourselves God's favour "I was destined to sink into hell," he wailed. Then the general of his order, the holy Staupitz, pointed out another goal for his efforts. It is impossible for us to earn God's grace by our piety. But Christ is our refuge from despair: Christ does not frighten us, but consoles us. Through Christ we can obtain forgiveness for not being what we ought to be—forgiveness, and with it God's grace. Instead of the unanswerable question: "When shall I finally become pious?" we must put the other question: "When shall I obtain forgiveness?" And the answer runs, "Only through Christ, through faith in Him"—that is, through personal trust in Him Who brings God's grace to us.

Luther's Strivings After Godliness

Luther now read the Bible in quite a new light. "The just shall live by faith"; the saying became great and excellent to him. Faith alone justifies, and brings life. The more he learnt in the long struggle to leave the old way, which the teaching of the Church had pointed out, and to walk in the new way of trust in God's grace, the more he found that this path was the right one. His conscience was calmed. He felt that he now had actually found a gracious God. Thus from his own mental state he convinced himself that he had found the way to salvation, and that the Holy Scriptures are the sole spiritual truth.

The Great Discovery of Luther

The new Christianity which he found was nothing more than his conception of the old, old words: "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me." Luther thus attained independent faith; no human being, no Church had now any authority in his eyes. And yet this faith did not arise from his own liking. On the contrary, the objective fact, the grace of God, which was objectively present, became his subjective possession.

The terrible danger which lay in the awakening of the impulse towards independence in the domain of religion, the danger that each individual constructs some faith for himself, and is therewith contented, was to be averted. This faith was to be independent, but not arbitrary; completely subjective, and yet based on that which was present outside him; completely free and yet completely fettered: authorised by the only privileged authority, the living God. How feeble compared with that is the

authority of men, the Fathers of the Church, the Popes, the Councils! How dimly shine the beacon-lights on which the sinner, trembling before God, rests his hopes—the saints with their services and their mediation, those helpers in time of need, the pitying queen of heaven, men's penances and good works, indulgences, the sacrifice of the Mass! Whoever stands in actual communion with God needs such things no more. All that is to be retained of such observances—preaching, baptism, absolution, the Lord's Supper—is to serve only for strengthening the sanctifying trust in the grace and love of God.

How splendid a new morality might grow on such a new soil of faith! "A Christian is the free lord of all things, and subject to no one." No sort of compulsion can produce really good works, but as the good tree bears of itself good fruits, so the faith which inspires the man brings forth, as it were involuntarily, actions which are well pleasing to God. The new conditions lead to new conduct. Morality is to be quite unconcerned, whether a Church strictly enforces her decrees or not, whether she even tramples them underfoot; conduct is above all commands and prohibitions, all standards of social example. There remains, indeed, in the heart a tendency towards evil; but faith cannot palter with it, cannot gloss it over with sham work of holiness. For faith, so truly as it loves God, hates evil, and therefore fights unweariyingly against it.



AN OPPONENT OF LUTHER
This eminent German theologian, Dr Eck, was one of the disputants at Leipzig in 1519, and afterwards proceeded to Rome to stir up Pope Leo X. against the reformer

Just as the claim and essence of this morality took a modern form, so, too, did its application. The Middle Ages held that man's highest act of piety was to leave the world, and to devote himself to religious works. But whoever, in the station in which God had placed him, had attained actual communion with God knew that he had in this station to show his new spiritual attitude, that it was not *what* he did that made the difference, but *how* he did it, whether he did it from love of God, because God had called him to this work, and so in the way which was pleasing to God. What folly to consider impure the pure earthly vocations—family life, marriage, civic life! Even the most conspicuous religious work such as prayer, the founding of churches, monasticism, could be impure, while the most inconspicuous secular work is sanctified by faith and love "even were it only to lift a blade of straw." Was worldly joy to be impure in itself? Whoever has the grace of God, receives with thankful joy from the hand of God all the good that God's goodness gives; this thankfulness keeps him from misusing it. The terrible danger lying in the awakening of the sense which is directed towards the world, lest the man disregard the Creator and Lord of the world in worldly work and wordly enjoyment, and employ both only for his selfish ends and bring only destruction on himself and on his fellow-men—this danger is surmounted. Christianity has thus won a modern form. It no longer contradicts the ideals of the new era. it wishes and is able rather to keep them from degenerating. However strongly the current of freedom and subjection of Nature may flow at that new era, Luther's new gospel lends its aid so that man need not be swept away by the flood. Christianity becomes Protestant, passing from the old era to the new. Luther himself did not suspect the epoch-making importance of his religious discovery. The respect for the Church which he had imbibed from earliest infancy did not allow him to contemplate any deviation from her teaching. In order to oppose a mere abuse he nailed his ninety-five theses on indulgences to the castle-church at Wittenberg. But though their language was temperate, though they expressed little of his new revolutionising thoughts, they kindled like a flash of lightning.

Mediæval View of Piety

Luther's Influence on the New Era

When Dr. Eck had read them, he cried out: "Ha! he will do it. He is the man for whom we have so long waited." It was felt that a personality was speaking there which had an ardent longing alike for objective truth and subjective certainty. The supporters of the old order did him good service when by their opposition they

disclosed the yawning gulf between their conceptions and his. Many of the Humanists, hitherto indifferent to it, were fired for this struggle by the disputation at Leipzig between Luther and the great Roman theologian, Dr. Eck in July, 1519. The movement became a matter of interest to the German people through his treatise "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation," in which he championed with fiery words the complaints against the papal chair and the yearning desire for a really reformatory council.

Rome an Obstacle to Luther

Rome, regardless of results, passed her verdict. The papacy, with the Bull which condemned Luther, his teaching and his followers, stood as an obstacle in the path of the new intellectual movement. When it at length succeeded in drawing the emperor over to the same side, and the Pope's decision was recognised by the suspension of the imperial ban over the innovators, one of two alternatives alone was possible—either the mighty religious revolt must be crushed by force, or Rome must bow before it.. But Rome remained firm. and yet political conditions made it impossible for the emperor to carry out the part he had undertaken in accordance with the judgment of the papal legate, that of being "the obedient executor of the Roman chair."

Thus the Reformation movement, which had incorporated various component parts, found the time to become, as it were, clear about itself and to renounce all that did not agree with its real nature. Whoever wished merely for the abolition of some crying abuses, or in blind submission to the Church expected help from her alone, left Luther so soon as it was apparent that the Church persisted in her condemnatory judgment. Others thought that they ought to go further than Luther, while, in fact, they had not yet passed the slough of the Middle Ages. This sect of mystics and fanatics once more saw a contrast between the Spirit of God and that of the creature These Protestants demanded an outward renunciation of all that is earthly; they wished that the Spirit of God should speak directly in man, and despised all natural mediation and all historical development. They railed at Luther because he found a pleasure even in earthly things; they pretended that their maddest fancies were revelations of the divine spirit; they repudiated science and study, and wished to abolish everything in the Church which did not date from the apostolic age.

Mystics Who Railed at Luther

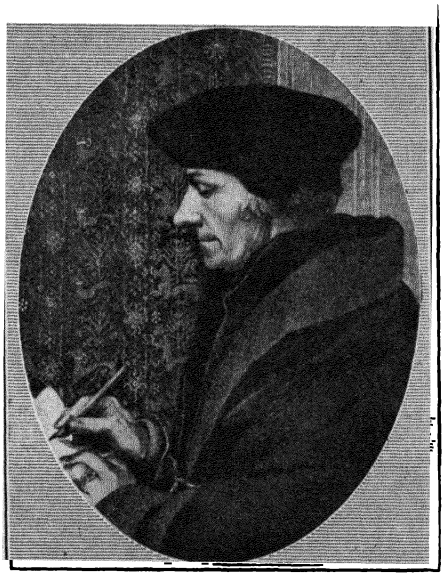
When Luther was forced to live in the Wartburg, this storm broke in Wittenberg. Professor Carlstadt wished to cease lecturing; the schoolmaster refused to teach any more. All that was the growth of time, especially the images, was to be removed by force. Luther, in spite of the prohibition of the elector, left his secure hiding-place, and preached every day for a week against these fanatics, until he had completely calmed the seething waters. In other places, it is true, especially where the Roman antagonists forced their own spiritual instruction upon the people to the exclusion of the new teaching, the sole watchword on which the disaffected were agreed was the rejection of infant baptism. But the movement of Luther was now distinctly separated from this troubled and turbulent wave.

It had to repel from itself a third party, those who complained, above all, of social evils and did not shun the path of revolution in order to abolish them. This discontent, which had existed long before Luther's appearance, was destined to burst into flames now that the Roman Church refused to concede the religious liberty demanded, and attempted to suppress all such efforts with bans and excommunication. Luther represented their legitimate grievances with fervour, but still emphasised the point that it is unbecoming in a Christian to use violence against a superior. "Let him who receives my teaching raise no disturbance." When, therefore, the "peasants" began to murder and to burn, and the "lords" became despondent from consciousness of the blame [illegible] to them for the rebellion, Luther, with the greatest determination, reminded the authorities of their duty to crush remorselessly the sanguinary revolution. Thus he lost the support of all who, in the last instance, merely wished for social, not religious freedom.

Rising of the Peasants

Many of the Humanists, owing to Luther, had become absorbed in their struggle against the ecclesiastical wrongs, and had completely devoted themselves to his teaching. The "king of the Humanists," however, the great scholar, Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, still remained a Roman Catholic, and with

him many others. He might write against the "fat paunches of the monks" and against the extravagantly exalted "triple crown of the Pope." But he attached more weight to peace and concord than to violence. "Even truth displeases me if disorder is caused by it" He was wanting in Luther's marked religious fervour. He was finally, in 1524, persuaded to write against Luther. The doctrine of free-will served him as a pretext to assert in contradiction to Luther's certainty of faith resting on experience, that in the sphere of religion there are only views, but no personal certainties Even Holy Scripture is not clear enough to give us conviction; at most, some certainty is to be obtained, since it is probable that scholars popes, and councils have found what is right. Generally speaking, less depends on faith than on morality and concord, and, in order to produce these, reliance cannot always be reposed in reasoned truth, for such truth may easily cause harm.



THE "KING OF THE HUMANISTS"
Desiderius Erasmus, the great scholar of the Humanists, was lacking in religious fervour, and while he rejoiced in the war against the "fat paunches of the monks," he also wrote in opposition to the leader of the Reformation

Thus the breach between Luther and Erasmus had become visible. Erasmus, since he had not found the religious conviction which the deepest and most religious spirits of that age desired, contented himself with a . . . probability, so that Luther answered him "The Holy Spirit is no sceptic, He has not inscribed on our hearts a vague delusion, but a potent and great certainty which does not allow us to waver, but makes us, thanks be to God, feel as certain as we are that two and three make five."

The Creeds of Erasmus and Luther

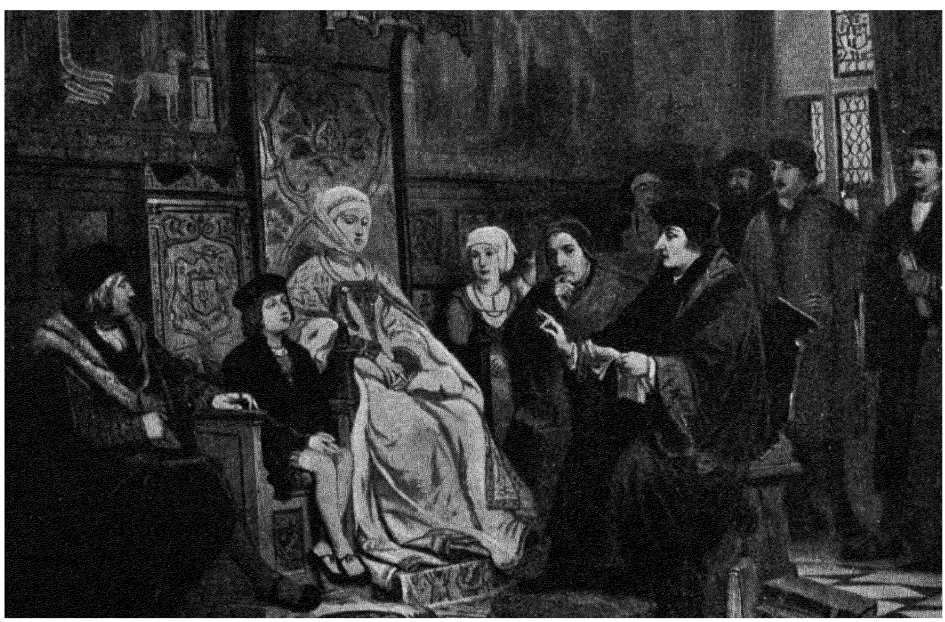
While Luther wished for a moral code which based on confidence in God, sought only to please God, Erasmus wished for "morality," which, if necessary, was to be attained even by unproved assumptions, subject to one provision only—that it did not disturb the peace of the citizens. Thus the claim of a religious feeling springing from God, and directed towards God, on which the whole Lutheran system is based, was rejected by Erasmus. The Humanists, who did not wish for more than Erasmus could offer, now severed themselves definitely from the Reformation. The supporters of the old order exulted at all the losses which the anti-Roman movement outwardly sustained. But their hopes of seeing it crushed were continually defeated, for its loyal adherents attained by their efforts in these years of schism only a still greater conviction, and in spite of all hostility won an increasing number of followers. Luther, while still in the Wartburg, began his translation of the Bible. The New Testament appeared in September, 1522, and in the next twelve years went through at least sixty-eight editions. The separate parts of the Old Testament followed, until in the year 1534, the whole Bible was completed. Luther's great enemy, Cochlæus, thus testifies to the effect of this work: "Tailors and shoemakers, even women and other simple folk, read Luther's New Testament with the greatest avidity as being a source of all truth. They were not ashamed to dispute about the faith and the gospel with priests and monks, masters and doctors of divinity."

Luther's Translation of the Bible

Equally great success was attained by the spiritual songs set to new vigorous melodies in which Luther and some of his disciples, following his example, made the newly discovered faith resound through the world; above all by the hymns, which have soared beyond the Kyrie Eleison, so characteristic of mediæval Christianity, to the proud joy felt by the child of God sure of the Grace of God: "Nun freut euch, liebe Christengemein', denn ich bin dein, und du bist mein, uns soll der Tod nicht scheiden" "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott—das Reich muss uns noch bleiben" The people sang these songs not

only in divine service, but also at their work and on the road. The divine worship hitherto held in Latin was performed in the German tongue. The first regulation of the reformed public worship that is extant, dates from the year 1522, drawn up by Caspar Kanz in Nördlingen. Luther did not follow with his German Mass until 1526, since he was reluctant to propose external innovations so long as the people were not ripe for them

In consequence of the resolutions of the imperial diet of Speier of 1526, the Lutheran states undertook to regulate the ecclesiastical system in their own provinces on the new basis, and the visitations organised for



THE GREAT SCHOLAR ERASMUS AS TUTOR TO THE YOUTHFUL CHARLES V.

the purpose revealed the pitiable conditions which had been produced through the neglect of the people of all religion, and the disorganisation of the Church through the uncertainty of recent years. Luther then gave Christianity his two Catechisms, of which the Lesser Catechism especially, a masterpiece, brought the new doctrine home to the people.

But who was to attend to ecclesiastical affairs in the Lutheran districts? Visitations had to be arranged and the parsonages filled up; the monastic property, now derelict, had to be managed and turned to other uses; a definite organisation had to be introduced for Church matters. Most of the bishops, however, resolutely opposed the new religion. Who was, then, to perform the services, which could no longer be required from them, in the separate provinces? Only the territorial lord possessed the requisite authority and power for such outward church government.

It was not a complete novelty when Luther, in his treatise "To the Christian Nobility," stated the proposition that, if the need arose, *every* member of the Church must help her, so far as possible, and when he now called on his sovereign not to refuse to help the Church of his territory in her hour of trial. On the contrary, a return had already been made in the fifteenth century to the idea prevailing in the empire of the Franks before 800, that the lord of the country had rights and duties in the Church of his territory; and the Pope himself had conceded many such privileges to the territorial lords. The princes had often done such services to the Church. If ever the corruption of the monasteries made reform imperatively necessary—the bishops having failed in this their duty—then the territorial lords had taken the reform in hand; or if heresies had broken out, they had considered it their duty to guard their subjects

from this poison, just as they protected their sovereign from hostile attacks. Luther certainly, following the text "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," once more clearly separated the spiritual and the secular power, and thus declared that the submission of the secular power to the Church and the thraldom of the conscience under some external power were alike wrong. But yet he assuredly did not wish that the secular princes should exercise a spiritual authority, or should extend their government to the very heart of the Church and subject men's consciences to compulsion.

All the same in this distinctly critical time they ought clearly to recognise their duty of attending to the outward welfare of the Church. She ought to follow her own ordinances and laws But the requisite ordinances and superintendence ought to be provided for her by the princes,

Princes Helping the Church

who must take the welfare of their subjects to heart, and who, from their prominent position in the nation, are alone in the position to do so. They certainly are able to abuse the influence that is thereby assigned to them but no form of Church government is imaginable which is not exposed to this contingency. The Church in the Middle Ages flourished however, when princes with the feeling that they were members of the Church, attended to her outward organisation, and she was on the very brink of destruction when she was secured from all interference of the secular power. The spirit that guides her is the all-important point Starting with this conviction, Luther entrusted to the territorial lords the direction of their churches in external matters

These princes render [illegible] to the cause of the Reformation It was they who in the imperial diet at Speier in 1529 "protested" that the resolution of the majority should not be published as "passed, with their good-will knowledge, and counsel" —a resolution which had laid down that those who had hitherto endeavoured to root out the Lutheran doctrine should persist in their efforts, that no one should be allowed to protect those who were prosecuted for religious opinions, and that in the Lutheran districts all the existing remnants of Catholicism were to be preserved. To assent to this, they declared, meant "nothing else than openly to deny Christ and His word."

Perfidy of Duke Maurice

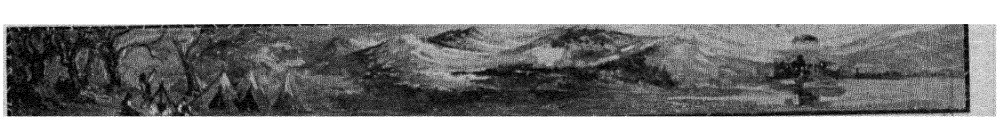
It was they who in the diet at Augsburg in 1530 solemnly, in the presence of emperor and states, professed the faith which the highest powers in Christendom had banned and proscribed; it was they who closely banded together in the Schmalcaldic League in 1531 for the protection of the Protestant faith.

The selfish policy of Duke Maurice of Saxony certainly enabled the emperor in the Schmalcaldic war to defeat and take prisoner the heads of the Protestant League in 1546 But when Maurice, in order to undo the consequences of his perfidy, turned against the emperor, the Religious Peace of Augsburg was finally, in 1555, able to make into a principle of jurisprudence the right of religious freedom and political equality for the followers of the different creeds. This applied, indeed, at first only to the authorities. They received the privilege of free choice between the old and the new faith, for the thought that every individual subject should have full liberty in the exercise of his religion was at that time still inconceivable. The feud between the parties in the Church was still too fresh and accompanied by remembrances too bitter to allow the idea to be entertained that the different confessions could live peaceably side by side in the same district

Results of the Peace of Augsburg

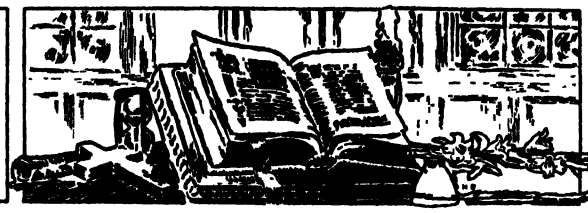
But mediæval conceptions had been so completely shattered that, after this peace no one was to be punished on account of difference of faith, subjects who held another religion were to leave the country without incurring any loss of honours or goods It is small wonder that the Emperor Charles V. could not bring himself to co-operate in the conclusion of such a peace.

ARMIN TILLE





REFORMERS IN CONFERENCE JOHN CALVIN PRESIDING AT THE COUNCIL OF
From the painting by P A Labouchere



THE TRIUMPH OF PROTESTANTISM AND THE CLEAVAGE IN ITS RANKS

LUTHER'S appearance on the scene had produced the greatest effect even on those who would not for any consideration desert the papacy. So vigorous was the note sounded in his writings, that many within the Catholic Church began to feel ashamed of the immoral life that prevailed among the clergy and laity in various places, and of the thoughtless manner in which men had made light of their sins, and, like Luther, they clamoured for a reformation. On the other hand, many good Catholics could not conceal from themselves that all the doctrines and arrangements which had been established in the Church were not unassailable.

Thus a dangerous uncertainty crept in. Even in the year 1485 Archbishop Berthold of Mainz had instituted a censorship of books in order to suppress the German Bibles, of which there had been many editions, and [illegible] men like Sebastian Brant and Geiler of Kaisersberg had declared it "a wicked thing to print the Bible in German." But now the preparation of a German Bible was advocated by Catholics in the imperial diet at Speier in 1526, and loyal members of the Church caused such translations of the Bible to be prepared and circulated.

The Bible in the German Language

Even the chief doctrine of Lutheranism, the proposition "By faith alone we are justified," was acknowledged by the Catholic party at the religious conference of Regensburg in 1541, accepted in connection with a protocol by the imperial councillor Granvelle, and sent to Rome for approval by the papal legate Contarini. The Pope indeed rejected this tenet in that crude form and the agreement fell through. But Luther's appearance must have exercised immense influence on those who still remained loyal to the Roman chair when such proposals were possible. It was high time that the Church clearly defined the boundary between herself and the Lutherans, and made it impossible for any of her members to cross it. This was done at the Council of Trent (1545–1563). "Extermination of heresies and improvement of morals" was the programme. The development, therefore, of the primitive Christianity charged by Luther, which, he said, had gradually crept into the Church in early centuries, but of which very different ideas had been permitted, were now declared to be the official teaching of the Church, and so perpetuated; by this all attempts to come to terms with Protestantism, and to be once more united, were finally excluded. It was thus distinctly declared that the tradition of the Church was to be honoured with the same reverence as the Holy Scriptures.

The Church as the Interpreter of Scripture

Bishop Brentano when asked what traditions were meant by this, declared: "We accept those which satisfy us; we emphatically reject those which clash with our belief." It is the province of the Church alone to decide what "the true meaning" of Holy Scripture may be. Thus the Church is made the authorised exponent of Holy Scripture, and the doctrine of justification by faith as proved by personal experience alone is condemned; the Church, moreover, holds the means for winning the redemption brought by Christ to man Salvation comes through her, and the seven sacraments work as instruments of grace in all the faithful.

On the other hand, the disgraceful excrescences, which had given special cause for "railing against the Church," were cut away, partly by general religious means, partly by direct prohibitions. The council resolved on various measures for the removal of all non-Roman practices, but left their execution to the Pope. A confession of faith was established which had to be sworn by the holders of any ecclesiastical office and by all teachers at the university. In this, loyal obedience

Reformation Within the the Church

was sworn to the Pope, "the representative of Jesus Christ," and a pledge on oath had to be made that "the Catholic faith, without which none could be holy, should be supported by all subjects." The "Roman Catechism" was drawn up as a counterblast to Luther's Catechism. The "Index of forbidden books" was introduced for the suppression of poisonous food for the mind.

Errors in the Vulgate

The Council of Trent finally declared the text of the Latin translation of the Bible, the Vulgate, to be "authentic," and orders were given "that no one should venture to reject it on any plea whatever." But since the text of the previous editions showed many differences, it was not clear which translation might not be rejected.

Pope Sixtus V. in 1590 prepared a "completely faultless edition," and, appealing to the guidance promised to the apostle Peter, forbade the faithful to "alter, add to, or omit the smallest particle in it." His second successor, Clement VIII., however, found so many faults in this edition that he ordered all extant copies to be brought up and destroyed, and prepared a new edition, which altered more than 12,000 passages, and included some books that were not to be found in the original. Verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, still less of translations, has not, of course, been claimed at any time by Catholics.

The Catholic Church by these declarations of doctrine definitely opposed Protestantism, and had declared a bitter war against the new era which had dawned. But afterwards a stupendous reaction set in. Once more there appeared enthusiasm for the Catholic cause, a joy of battle, a delight in conquest, a spirit of self-sacrifice. The contest with Protestantism was now changed. The Catholic writers, with astonishing diligence and acuteness, set about the task of reviving a science of theology which, while adopting the ideas of the new era sanctioned by Luther, sought to show that these contained the germs of the gravest dangers, unless associated with explicit obedience to the Roman Church and her teaching. Others boldly ventured on the domain of history.

New Life in the Roman Church

The catacombs of Rome were there to attest the high antiquity of the Roman teaching and the customs of the Church. What would now have become of the Catholic Church in Germany if it had not at last been roused to a vigorous struggle? Even in those countries where, according to the injunction of Duke William of Bavaria that "he who recanted shall be beheaded, he who does not recant shall be burnt," the anti-Roman movement had been most mercilessly crushed, as, for example, in Austria and Bavaria, Protestantism had nevertheless gained much ground. For example, in 1556 the states of Lower Austria would grant aid against the Turks only on condition that free exercise of religion was conceded them. The Emperor Ferdinand was obliged to grant them at least the communion in both kinds. A few years afterwards, even the prelates declared to the emperor that his whole land would fall away from the Catholic faith if the marriage of the clergy and the communion in both kinds were not conceded.

The situation became even worse in 1564, on the accession of Maximilian II., who had been brought up in the Lutheran faith. Only consideration for Spain and the Catholic princes of the empire deterred him from formally going over to the Protestant Church. He granted free exercise of religion to his states. A large part of the nobility introduced the Reformation for themselves and their subjects. A Venetian reported as the result of his observations in Germany that only one person in ten was still Catholic. In a short time the Catholic Church in Germany must have disappeared.

Protestant Triumph in Germany

But a well-equipped army, ready for battle, was now prepared to reconquer for the Papal Church all that had been lost. We read in the official history of the Jesuit order, "God in His eternal wisdom has placed Ignatius Loyola to confront Luther, the scandal of humanity and bane of Europe, that hog from Epicurus's sty, that child of evil, whom God and men detest." All the orders created by the mediæval Church had shown themselves incapable of resisting the Reformation.

These monks had either themselves joined the Reformation or they had opposed it in a way which caused the world to laugh at them, for they fought with the weapons of a bygone age, with an antiquated conception of life. The intentions of the ex-soldier, the Spaniard Ignatius, were something so new that the Inquisition, when men and women, filled with

enthusiasm, joined him in his home, became suspicious and arrested him. In fact, he, the saviour of the Church, narrowly escaped condemnation. At Rome he wished to place himself and his army, "the Company of Jesus," at the orders of the Pope. But there, also, he met with universal distrust. Only his consummate skill in estimating and entering into the peculiar nature of his opponent won over the Pope. "Here is the spirit of God," cried the latter as he read the following sentence in the constitution of the order which lay in front of him; "this company and all individuals [illegible] the warlike services of God in true obedience to our most sacred lord, the Pope" The order was confirmed by the Pope on September 27th, 1540.



FOUNDER OF THE JESUITS
Ignatius Loyola, who belonged to a noble family in the Spanish province of Guipuzcoa, resigned the career of arms for the service of religion He founded the Society of Jesus.

What was its importance for the history of religion? It sought to adapt Catholic Christianity to an era dominated by new ideas, and to offer to Christianity, in place of the new doctrine which Luther discovered and praised, a substitute which was to be found and used equally in the Catholic Church. No impression could be made any longer on the new era with the mediæval ideal of retirement from the world. This new order, therefore, was not intended to retreat from the world and consume its strength in asceticism, but to work in the world and on the world. Nor does it wish to withdraw its converts from the world. They may remain in the world, if only they remain subject to the Church in spite of secular enjoyments, and are useful to the Church with their secular work Even due submission, the other ideal of mediæval piety, grew dim to many at least, before the impulse to win independence and to possess a personal sense of religion. Ignatius showed one way to content this aspiration. The means which Luther desired for the purpose and declared to be attainable—namely, that the individual man should acquire personal communion with God through faith, and thus become a new man, subduing his sinful inclinations —were said to be folly and to contain the greatest of all dangers, since the individual would feel himself at liberty to disregard the Church. The soldier Ignatius knew another way. Just as the strength of the body is so built up by military training that its full powers are at the service of the will, so the strength of the soul must be developed by "spiritual training" until all unregulated impulses submit to the control of the reason. If the man is thus properly trained, he can himself dictate his emotions and has the inspiring consciousness of personal development. The eagerness for self-dependence that marked the new era found a full satisfaction in the domain of religion. Luther promised the happy condition of religious self-dependence only to an inner conversion such as God alone can effect. Ignatius did this more surely; even that sovereignty of reason over the other powers of the soul, which the man can create for himself by exercise, fills him with elevating self-trust. By this very sovereignty over himself the man wins an immense power over others who are not yet become so independent.

Ideal of Mediæval Piety

Self-Dependence in the Realm of Religion

Just as control over one's own strength was represented by Ignatius as the highest consummation, so sovereignty over others was to be the ultimate object of all efforts. Ambition, that deeply rooted defect of ecclesiastical Catholicism, will flourish in this order, and will more and more destroy the nobler and divine components which ecclesiasticism had retained from the primitive Christianity. In what field especially were these warriors to display their activity? Oral confession, which by Protestants was despised, must once more be revived, for whoever submitted to it showed his willingness to allow himself to be ruled. Nothing else afforded so favourable an opportunity to regulate men's consciences. At a time, then, when worldliness was omnipotent and the

disinclination for confession and penance widespread, the masses could not become once more accustomed to confession unless "the yoke of Christ was lightened," as the Jesuits termed it.

The Jesuits Revise the Moral Code

They therefore applied their greatest ingenuity to a revision of the moral code, the precepts of which were to be followed in confession, and tried to establish such elastic principles that consciences must have become dulled; but the task of confession was made far more simple. Sin, it was said, consists merely in the wrongful act, which is committed not from ignorance or passion, but deliberately. It is not always necessary for a man to do what he himself considers right: he may, contrary to his conscience, obey that which an authority has declared to be permissible. "A woman, for instance, has murdered her husband in order to marry her paramour and has afterward sinned with him. Must she, then, run the risk of death and shame by revealing this circumstance in confession?"

Since one authority, Henriquez, answers in the affirmative, and another, Lessius, in the negative, according to this "probable" view it is permissible for a man to be silent on the point even against his own conscience. Therefore in an act the intention has always to be considered. "It is allowable for a son to desire most earnestly the death of his father, yet not so as to wish any harm to the father, but so as to wish some good for himself—namely, the rich inheritance which will then come to him." Again, it is permissible to deceive others by the choice of words which they are bound to understand in a wrong meaning. Similarly, a man may think of something more than is said. If "someone who has killed a 'Pater' is questioned on the matter, he may reply that he has not killed the 'Pater,' since he is thinking of another of the same name." Such conduct is justifiable in a man whenever it is a question of "preserving his person, his life, or his honour, protecting his property or exercising any virtue." As a confessor might mitigate the penance for sinful love, so he might do also with unbelief. Whereas in earlier centuries a mere assent to that which the Church taught was sufficient, it was now declared to be enough if the faith was not actually disputed. "A man is capable of receiving absolution," so the doctrine is laid down, "even if he cannot define the dogmas of the faith." It became possible in this way to bring those who were devoid of all theological training to a formal but honest submission to the Church, which showed itself in confession.

Tricks of Casuistry

A complete series of other orders or unions owed their rise to the anti-Protestant movement in the Catholic Church. Their ideal was no longer abandonment of the world, but activity in the world. The old irrevocable vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience kept many devout Catholics from joining religious orders, and the need was felt for a new expedient to meet the times. The institutions of Vincent de Paul (1576–1660) became most successful, especially the Society of the Sisters of Mercy, founded in Paris in 1634. These took their vows only for one year. In addition to the nun who is withdrawn from all mankind, the universal sister comes forward. The cloister is no longer their secluded world, but the home which offers them training and rest. What was their final aim? Vincent explained to the sisters: "It has never been God's will when He founded your community that you should minister to the body only, for there would never be lack of persons for that. The intention of the Lord is rather that you help the souls of the poor to find entrance into paradise." Thus the conversion of the heretics is a primary duty of his missionaries and sisters, and the rejoicing is great when in this or that hospital some score of "unbelievers" are brought back to the fold of the Church.

Sisters of Mercy

Catholicism, thus strengthened and flushed with victory, could set about the recovery of what had been lost. First some compensation was looked for in foreign countries. After 1542 the Jesuits worked in East India, Japan, and China. Since their results did not seem sufficiently rich, it is said that they so far adapted themselves to circumstances that they preached Christianity as a Chinese philosophy, and prostrated themselves in devotion before images. Nobili came forward after 1606 as a Brahman, and allowed the baptised to remain in their heathen customs. When other Catholic missionaries came there, a hot dispute raged over this question; but the results obtained by the Jesuits with such

" clemency " were so immense that even the prohibition by the Pope of a method of conversion which roused such ill-feeling could not induce them to abandon this procedure. In Japan they were able to baptise many hundred thousand people, until in their lust for power they meddled with politics and thus called forth a terrible persecution, which ended in the country being completely barred to all Christians. In Paraguay, however, they were able to found an independent state according to their wishes, a model state which consisted of young Indians ruled by them. Pope Gregory XV., in order to give unity, combination, and permanence to the Catholic missions, founded the " Propaganda " at Rome in the year 1622.

Catholicism sought to counteract the movements of the Reformation wherever they showed themselves in Europe, partly by Jesuitical subtlety, partly by actual violence. In Scandinavia, however, Lutheranism remained victorious. But the Inquisition raged mercilessly in the Netherlands after 1555. Yet the people did not allow themselves to be brought back to the Catholic Church, and the northern provinces, after the most prolonged and sanguinary struggle obtained in 1648 religious and political liberty. Since in France, notwithstanding every persecution, the number of Protestants increased, the penalty of death was pronounced in the year 1557 on all who did not adhere to the national religion. Blood flowed in streams.

The Terrible Massacre of St. Bartholomew

The shameful massacre of the Protestants assembled for divine worship at Vassy gave the signal for civil war. After religious liberty and civil equality had been reluctantly conceded to the Huguenots by the Peace of St. Germain in 1570, the Catholic court party employed the most terrible treachery imaginable. The massacre of the Protestant malcontents in Paris began on St. Bartholomew's Night in 1572, and swift messengers carried the order to murder throughout the land. Henry IV., by the Edict of Nantes in 1598, assured to the Protestants their religious and political rights; he fell beneath the dagger of the monk Ravaillac.

Richelieu, indeed, broke the political power of the Huguenots, who prosecuted Catholics in turn, but he also confirmed their ecclesiastical privileges in the " Edict of Grace " of Nîmes in 1629. The often-attempted destruction of the French Protestant Church was completed only some decades later.

The Reformation found supporters in Italy and even in Spain. But there the Church had a free hand, so that in a short time, through severe coercion, the last trace of anti-papal movements was obliterated. In 1570 both countries were " purified " in a Catholic sense. Even in England, under the Catholic Mary (1553–1558) Parliament agreed to restore the papal supremacy. More than a hundred Protestants went into exile, and those who openly continued in what was defined by law as " heresy " and maintained their Protestantism were burnt at the stake or beheaded.

Protestantism in England

During Elizabeth's reign the tables were turned, and Catholics were hanged for refusing to conform to the established religion of the Church of England. Then certain of the Catholics plotted to depose Elizabeth and place Mary Queen of Scots, a Catholic, on the throne.

The plot was detected, but it was said that Jesuits instigated the conspiracy, and from that time forward, and right on to the twentieth century, the Jesuits have not been given any legal permission to reside in England.

In Germany the Jesuits, in their chief centres, Vienna, Cologne, and Ingolstadt, undertook the extermination of Protestantism. All evangelical preachers were driven from Bavaria after 1564, the Protestant nobles were excluded from the diets, and all Protestant subjects who would not be converted were forced to emigrate. The spiritual princes followed this example. Ferdinand II. of Austria, educated by Jesuits, before he mounted the throne took a solemn vow in front of the miraculous image of the Virgin at Loretto that he would at all cost put an end to heresy in his hereditary dominions. Yet in many parts of his realm there were hardly any Catholics left; at Graz, the capital of Styria, only three were to be found. Ferdinand did not rest until he had brought back all his subjects to the fold of the Church, or had expelled them from his land. The action of the Jesuits became bolder and bolder. It was soon openly stated in print that the Religious Peace of Augsburg could no longer be

Ferdinand's Zeal for the Church

kept; then, that it was an easy thing completely to stamp out the plague of heretics in Germany, since there was no leader among the Protestants who was formidable in a war, and, besides that, they were divided among themselves, for the Lutherans and Calvinists did not hold together. This observation corresponded only too closely to the reality. In Switzerland, by the side of the movement which Luther had inaugurated, a somewhat altered form of the opposition to Rome had been developed by Zwingli independently.

Zwingli's Place in the Reformation

Ulrich Zwingli, born on January 1, 1484, and thus of almost the same age as Luther, enjoyed a conspicuously Humanist education, studied under Conrad Celtes in Vienna, and devoted himself especially to the theology of Erasmus In 1506 he was curate at Glarus, and as such expounded the Bible and studied Origen. But after his expulsion by the French party, who hated him for his sermons against the mercenary system, he went as secular priest to the pilgrimage resort of Maria-Einsiedeln, and began in 1516, actually before Luther, to preach in favour of reformation, but without visibly leaving the Church. Here, and still more at Zurich, where he lived after 1519, he adopted a gradually more independent style of explanatory writing and took up an anti-French attitude in politics. In 1522 his opinions as to such institutions of the Church as fasting and celibacy became accentuated; he called for a moral reform as the result of "justification by faith."



A GREAT SWISS REFORMER
The Reformation movement in Switzerland owed much to the zeal of Ulrich Zwingli. When, instigated by Rome, the five papal cantons went to war with the two reformed cantons, in the year 1531, Zwingli was slain in the struggle.

In the next year, in a discussion at Zürich, which had been started in consequence of a complaint brought by the Bishop of Constance before the council as to the religious innovations, Zwingli rejected everything which did not precisely conform to the ordinances of the Scripture; he was thus far more radical in his proposals than Luther, and met with the approval of the people of Zurich. He married in 1524 Anna Meyer, née Reinhard, a widow aged forty-three, and administered the communion in both kinds.

From Zurich the ecclesiastical reform of the sovereign congregation spread to the other Confederates; in Appenzell the Mass was abolished in 1552. But immediately an opposition was raised among the "five places," Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, and Zug, which, as favouring the French mercenary system, had been dissatisfied with Zwingli's protest. The reformer now, in 1525, demanded war against the five cantons But the danger was averted this time; Zurich actually gained the triumph of not being excluded from the federation, notwithstanding the antagonistic demands of the original cantons, and of finding a comrade in the faith in the canton of Berne. After the democratic municipal government had been introduced into Berne in 1528, the cantons of St. Gallen, Glarus, Schaffhausen, and Basle adopted the Reformation according to Zwingli's ideas. At the same time, fortunately, more friends were won for it in South Germany. In the towns of Constance Muhlhausen, Nuremberg, and others there was lively sympathy with the Reformation at Zurich, which was based on civic independence; and Zwingli might fairly dream of a larger league of followers when Philip of Hesse invited him to the religious discussion at Marburg. We know how his hopes were deceived. And now the Five Places were ready to defend their old faith by the sword. They allied themselves with Austria, but received no assistance from that quarter, and were obliged, in the summer of 1529, to conclude the first Peace of Cappel, which established the equal rights within the federation of the cantons of both religions Zwingli had thus obtained a great success, and was by no means conciliatory when, on the part of the Schmalcaldic League, the question was put to him, whether he was willing to attach himself and his followers to the union; he still hoped for a great South German League with the towns predominant. A political organisation would bring him nearer this

The Great Success of Zwingli

end. Zurich and Berne were, according to his wish, to obtain, constitutionally, the foremost place in the federation. Zwingli wished, therefore, to proceed with the utmost rigour against the five cantons who professed the old religion, but he did not find any support from Basle or Berne. The attempt was now made to isolate the five cantons by a blockade of provisions; but they quickly rose against Zurich, and won a complete victory on October 11th, 1531, at Cappel. Zwingli himself was slain and his body was quartered. After a second defeat sustained by the citizens of Zurich, the second Peace of Cappel was made in November, which



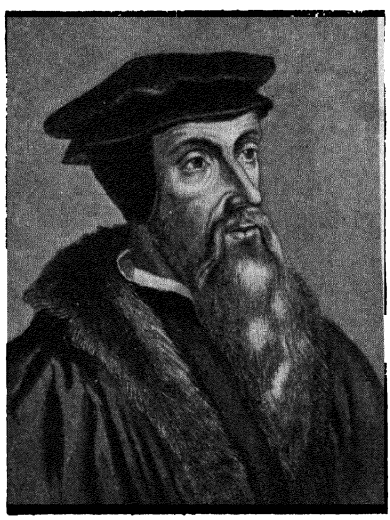
THE GENEVANS AFFIRMING THEIR RENUNCIATION OF CATHOLICISM

assured to the Catholic as well as the reformed states their own confession, but demanded from both the dissolution of their treaties with foreign powers. The Reformers were conquered, and the old religion recovered lost ground. The South Germans, who adhered to the new faith, having nothing more now to hope for from the Swiss, attached themselves more closely to the towns of Central Germany which were members of the Schmalcaldic League.

The distinction between the Lutheran and the Swiss parties may perhaps be traced to the different conceptions of the Deity emphasised by their founders. Luther claimed that he reached by personal experience the certainty that God is absolute Love. This idea, he said, had filled him with rapture and given him rest. Zwingli, on the contrary, the more independent he became by freeing himself from the influence of Luther, looked on God as the Highest Being, as the Omnipotent. If he called God "the highest good" he did not include in that expression that which makes God our highest good, but that which tends to make Him in Himself and for Himself the highest. Luther and Zwingli both insisted on God's honour, but in different directions. Luther wished to preach trust in the love of God for, according to him, God's highest honour, in contradistinction to that on which the selfish man rests his honour, consists in condescension, in giving and blessing. But since man can be saved only on the path of completely free choice, Luther would not hear of any sort of compulsion. He rejoiced if only some individuals attained the true faith, persecution of the truth did not cause him any astonishment. Zwingli, on the other hand, wished that the majesty of God should be maintained at all cost. He therefore wished to create a Christian community, in which God's law must be followed by all, he would, therefore,

make persecution of the truth impossible, and would, on the other hand, repress all error, so that he did not despise political undertakings for the attainment of his objects.

The contrast was visible in the different positions adopted towards the sacraments. Luther regarded them as proofs of God's love, which wishes to give us heavenly gifts, Zwingli, as proofs of our obedience to God. Luther adored the condescension of the Lord, who in the Holy Communion unites himself with His believers, according to Zwingli's view the exalted divinity cannot so unite himself with what is earthly. Not the body and blood of Christ at all but bread and wine only, are received. Zwingli declared as early as 1525 that his Lutheran opponents were "impelled by another spirit", and in the religious conference at Marburg in 1529, where Zwingli, full of his political plans, tried to effect a union with the Wittenberg party, Luther could not refrain from the expression "You have a different spirit from ours." Although little suspecting the real tendency of this whole discussion, he hoped for a settlement of the dispute in the future.



JOHN CALVIN

He was born at Noyon in Picardy, and joining the Reformers he became one of the great figures of the movement. He did a lasting work for Geneva, where his system of ecclesiastical discipline was established.

This Swiss movement, in a slightly altered form, spread far beyond its home. Five years after the death of Zwingli, in the year 1536, Calvin set himself the task at Geneva of founding a community in which everything bowed before the law of God. Every individual citizen was obliged to bind himself by oath to a confession of faith. All members of the congregation were subject to a constant supervision by lay elders. He at last put his ideal into practice after terrible struggles and the unwearying application of the strictest measures. What had at first to be extorted by the severest penalties became gradually public custom. No traces of ungodliness or of religious indifference were now visible. The prescribed Church ordinances and legal rules of life governed everything. Calvin thought by this to have established the supremacy of God. He gave the reformed Christianity its permanent stamp. The party which was started by Zwingli was almost entirely disregarded by him, as he placed Luther, on account of his greater depth of character, far higher than Zwingli; and by his extensive correspondence and his numerous writings he acquired great influence far beyond the borders of Switzerland. Geneva afforded a refuge to the French, English and Scottish exiles who had been driven from their homes for their religion's sake, and when quieter years came they returned to their country filled with the spirit of Calvin. He founded in his native Geneva a university which provided the foreign reformed congregations with preachers and inspired them with the strict Calvinistic spirit.

Thus Protestantism parted into two streams. The true Lutheran spirit laid no stress upon the point whether a man subjected himself in externals only to the commands of God, but feared that such conformity to the law might hinder a man from recognising his inward alienation from God and from seeking and finding fellowship with God. The reformed spirit, on the other hand, emphasised the point that God was the only and the absolute Lord, and it wished to bring about the execution of this Lord's will. Even if all cannot be led to salvation, yet all can be forced to outward obedience. Calvinism had, therefore, a strict legal character; but it was able far more than Lutheranism to persist in outward works, to produce a universal adherence to the Church and observation of morality, to create national churches and to maintain them in discipline and order. Again, there was an inclination to fight, on behalf of the honour of God, with purely secular means when spiritual means were insufficient. In Geneva, which contained some 20,000 inhabitants, during the five years of Calvin's rule no fewer than fifty-eight sentences of death and seventy-six decrees of exile were pronounced. In France, the

Netherlands, and Scotland the Calvinists were able to combine into a political party and to take up arms repeatedly in defence of their faith. But, on the other hand, this zeal awoke a noble spirit of sacrifice and a great impulse toward action. Hence it followed that while Luther wished to work only where his calling made it his duty, the Calvinists wished to spread the honour of God in every part.

Calvin, for this reason, was not long satisfied with the results that he had attained in Geneva. Just as he gradually supplanted the teaching of Zwingli throughout Switzerland, so he wished to conquer the Lutheran districts of Germany. About 1551 he seemed, in fact, to be near the realisation of this plan. All evangelical communities of Europe had come under his influence. Only North-east Germany held fast to Lutheranism. And the man on whom, after Luther's death, the leadership of the Lutherans had fallen, Melanchthon, was himself no longer loyal to the teaching of the German reformer. The Hamburg preacher, Westphal, first warned men of the danger that Calvinism was threatening to absorb all Protestantism. Bitter struggles ensued, which opened the eyes of the supporters of Lutheranism to the fact that they, as the heirs of what their fathers won, would have to fight desperately for the maintenance of this inheritance. Even in Electoral Saxony the friends of Calvin's teaching were able to win the supremacy. When, in 1574, it was finally clear to the elector, who held sound Lutheran views, what their intentions were, he threw their leaders into prison and deprived of their offices all preachers who refused to assent to the Lutheran doctrine.

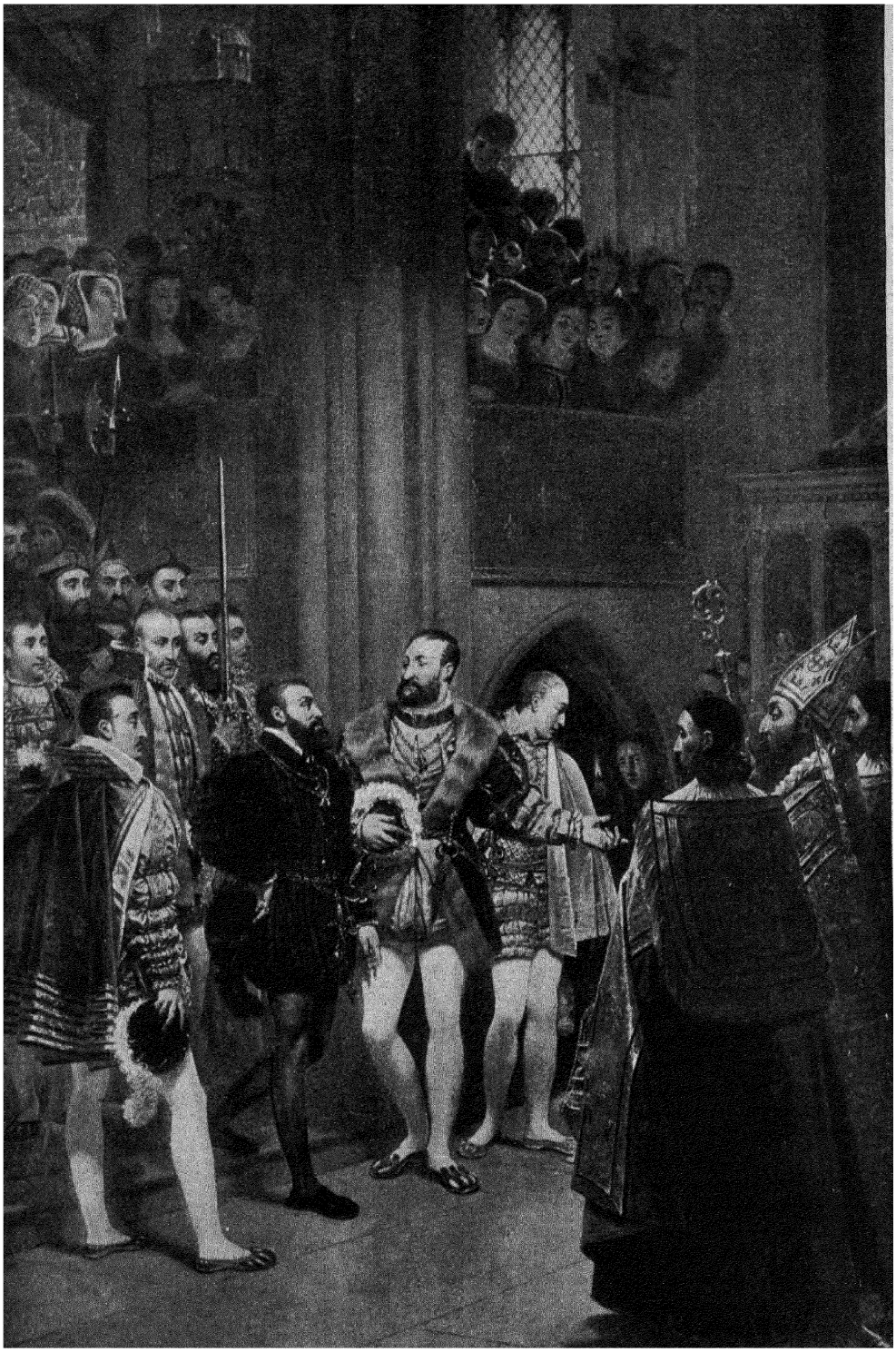
Disputes Among the Protestants

The individual Reformed Churches had already drawn up confessions of their own in the period between 1559 and 1566. But when Arminius at Leyden came forward against the doctrine of Calvin that God has predestined some to damnation, others to salvation, and found numerous followers, the Synod at Dordrecht (1618 to 1619) tried to draw up a confession which would hold good for all Protestants and which declared that the doctrine of predestination was right, but mitigated its too repellent severity. It is true that all the Reformed Churches did not accept the resolutions of Dordrecht. But still an attempt was made by both Protestant Church communities to prevent the continual unrest of the congregations by fixing definite limits. At the same time another form of Protestantism was established. Elizabeth of England hoped finally to secure tranquillity for her country by considering, as far as possible, the wishes of those who were favourable to Rome. With this object the Thirty-nine Articles, which were drawn up and determined the special character of the English national Church, a peculiar mixture of the reformed and the Catholic spirit. Thus, Western Christianity was divided into four specific Churches. In connection with these events the succession of the Lutheran elector, John Sigismund of Brandenburg, to the Reformed Church in 1613 was of great importance. Indeed, the excitement in the country at this change of confession was so great that he thought it prudent not to yield to the promptings of his Calvinistic surroundings, but rather to issue a declaration that he would not force on any congregation a preacher whom they suspected. But still many ways lay open to the elector by which he could restrict Lutheranism

The Divisions of Western Christianity

The consequence of all these occurrences in the domain of religion was the Thirty Years' War. The Protestant Churches in Germany, and as a result the Reformation generally, would have been annihilated had not Gustavus Adolphus, influenced alike by political and religious motives, interfered in the war of religion. The end of this terrible period was the complete exhaustion of both sides. The Catholic party could no longer conceal the knowledge that it was now impossible to destroy Protestantism—that it must be recognised as an independent power. The Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, established the equality of the religious parties, ending not merely a thirty years' war, but rather one that had lasted one hundred and thirty years. It recognised the claim to existence, which the mediæval Church denied, of those who represented the ideas of the new era in the field of religion. If the Catholic Church wished, however, once more to extirpate those ideas, she could not again, in Germany at least, attempt the destruction of their representatives. The independence of Protestantism was definitely established.

Protestant Independence Established



FRANCIS I OF FRANCE & CHARLES V OF GERMANY VISITING THE TOMB OF ST. DENIS

From the painting in the Louvre by Baron Gros



THE EMPIRE UNDER CHARLES V.

THE PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM

EVEN during the lifetime of the Emperor Maximilian his grandson Charles had been ruler in the Netherlands, and at the beginning of 1516, after the death of his other grandfather, Ferdinand, had also become king of Spain as Charles I. But he had at first no independence and was entirely in the power of his councillors, while no very friendly feeling towards him prevailed in the Netherlands owing to the pressure of taxation, and open insurrection broke out in Spain. In 1519 he was elected Emperor in succession to Maximilian, and the youth of nineteen, sovereign in three realms, saw himself, apart from the internal difficulties in all three lands opposed to the rivalry of the two most important political powers of the time, the Pope and the French king. All prospects pointed to a stormy future.

Charles, immediately after the election in Frankfort on June 28th, 1519, was forced to make important concessions to the princes in a capitulation: and he did it by his Spanish plenipotentiary, who could not, any more than himself, fail to see the wide-reaching consequences of these promises. It was not until October, 1520, that the "Roman emperor elect" put foot on German soil and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. One of the first acts of his reign was to summon a diet to Worms for the [illegible] of the year 1521. The new emperor was eagerly expected in Germany, and not least among the friends of the Reformation; for much, if not everything, depended upon his attitude. He also had good reason to be interested in the personality of Luther. In the first place, he might, under certain conditions, be used as a weapon against Rome; and, secondly, it was important to conciliate, or at any rate not to incense, his patron the powerful Elector of Saxony.

Crowning of Charles V.

But we know the course taken by the discussion of the religious question at Worms. The emperor had indeed other subjects much more at heart. He wished to discuss the administration of the peace of the empire, the appointment of a council of regency to represent him, the expedition to Rome, and the recovery of the territory alienated from the empire. But however much he exerted himself, he could not succeed until he had conciliated the states by the discussion of the religious question, which was demanded on all sides. Finally, indeed some isolated points in the political domain were settled. The succession in the hereditary dominions of the Hapsburgs was assured to Archduke Ferdinand. Charles's younger brother; as regards the government of the empire, it was agreed that it should be mainly in the hands of the states, but that no alliances with foreign powers should be made without the sanction of the emperor. The Supreme Court was revived and an imperial defence system established, since a central fund, with a *pro rata* division among the states, was created.

The Real Rulers of the Empire

The [illegible] of these matters was most important for Charles. But it was no end in itself, but merely a necessary preliminary for him, since he did not wish to be disturbed for the moment in his international plans. On his accession he had taken over the quarrel with Francis I. of France both on account of Burgundy and also of Naples; and the fear of Charles's superiority in Italy, in case he should lay claim to Milan, drew Pope Leo X. towards France. An armed collision was inevitable. The attitude taken up by the Pope was the most important question for Charles, for he could do nothing against France without him. The clever diplomacy of the legate Hieronymus Alexander solved the problem, since, weighing against each other according to their importance the political and ecclesiastical position of the Pope, he recognised the latter as the

Emperor and Pope in Treaty

most weighty. By means of the treaty which Emperor and Pope made on May 1st, 1521, he compelled Charles to adopt a fundamentally hostile attitude towards the reform movement, while the alliance of the Pope with King Francis, which appeared appropriate on purely political grounds, was now dissolved. France, on the other hand, gained an ally in Ferrara, and secured for herself, in spite of the already mentioned protest of the citizens of Zürich, the right to enlist troops in the Swiss cantons. The sympathies of the English inclined more toward Charles. so that the greater power seemed to rest on his side, especially since the Swiss, faithless to their compact, went over to the papal side in the autumn of 1521.

England Favourable to Charles

The imperial army, under the leadership of Prospero Colonna, conquered in the course of the year 1521 the larger part of Milan without encountering serious difficulties, since the hated French governor, Odet de Foix, Vicomte de Lautrec, lacked the money to pay his soldiers. At the end of the year, only Genoa, Cremona, and the Castle of Milan were still French. A renewed attempt of the French arms in the next year to expel the invaders failed completely; in fact, Lautrec, defeated on April 27th, 1522, at Bicocca by Colonna and the German Landsknechte under George von Frundsberg, was compelled to evacuate Italy altogether.

Henry VIII. of England openly declared war and sent an army into France. Charles was now master of Italy. In August, 1523, there was a renewal of the alliance between him, his brother Ferdinand, Henry VIII., Pope Hadrian VI., the Duke of Milan, and the small Italian republics for the common protection of Italy against Francis, who was preparing a new expedition to Italy for 1524. Francis wished to place himself at the head of the army, and was already on the way when he heard of the plan of his ambitious cousin Charles, Duke of Bourbon, to go over to the emperor. He therefore remained behind himself and sent only his general, Bonnivet, who achieved some small successes. Meantime the English invaded the North of France once more, and a German army ravaged Burgundy. On April 14th, 1524, the combined French and Milanese army of Bonnivet was completely vanquished by the German marksmen at Gatinara on the Sesia, where the Chevalier Bayard, the "knight without fear and without reproach," heroically met his death.

English Army in France

Charles of Bourbon, together with the Spaniard Pescara, the husband of the poetess Vittoria Colonna, had commanded the army in this campaign. Now, when the power of France in Milan was completely broken, and Francesco Sforza was again installed as duke, he induced Charles himself to invade France; but Marseilles could not be taken, and Pescara was obliged to withdraw to Italy. King Francis now pressed close after him into Milan and sat down before Pavia, while the German army, without any supplies, was seeking a refuge in the mountains.

These successes of the French arms at once detached allies from the emperor. Venice went over to Francis, and the Pope and Florence entered into a treaty of neutrality. The German Landsknechte, so soon as their claims for pay were satisfied, reassembled, and, strengthened by a reinforcement of fifteen thousand Germans, invaded Milan territory, where King Francis during the winter of 1524 to 1525 had carried on a wearisome investment of Pavia. The Germans advanced in February, and the Landsknechte were eager for a battle. It was fought on February 24th, 1525; the Imperialists, under the Constable of Bourbon and Pescara, won a complete victory. King Francis was severely wounded and taken prisoner; his army was annihilated, Bonnivet slain, and the artillery lost. The emperor was proud of this victory. He wished to make a wise and full use of it, but failed to do so, and wasted time in long negotiations, while at the same time he demanded too many humiliations from the French crown. England concluded peace with France in August; Pope Clement VII. had already taken the French side. The other states of Italy had now to fear the supreme power of Charles as much as formerly that of the French king.

King Francis Defeated and Imprisoned

Liberated Milan voices were now heard against the imperial liberator. A peace between Charles and Francis was finally concluded in January, 1526, at Madrid, which would have meant the complete overthrow of France if it had been Francis's will to keep it. Nothing less than the cession of Burgundy and the abandonment of all claims on Naples, Milan, and Genoa was demanded of him. But Francis, before

he actually swore to the treaty, had determined to break it, and expressed this intention in a proclamation to his councillors, denouncing the treaty as having been procured by constraint.

Only a few months elapsed before the Emperor Charles saw himself faced by another hostile combination. In May the Pope, King Francis, the Duke of Milan, and Venice, concluded the Holy League in order to expel from Italy the imperial troops which still held the Milanese territory, and to restrain King Francis from carrying out the treaty into which he had entered. The Pope at once released him from his oath. Burgundy, notwithstanding the energetic protests of the emperor, was not ceded; even pressure on Francis's ally, the Pope, by a warlike demonstration of Colonna against the Medici in September, 1526, had no effect. The Constable of Bourbon had meantime the power in his hands at Milan, but could offer resistance to the league only after a reinforcement by twelve thousand Landsknechte, which Frundsberg brought him at his own cost The general found himself forced by want of money to lead his army into the hostile states of the Church in February, 1527; nevertheless, a mutiny broke out on March 16th at Bologna among the Landsknechte, which was with difficulty suppressed The deeply mortified commander was prostrated by a fit of apoplexy —to which he succumbed at his home in Mindelheim on August 20th, 1528.



THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. Charles V. became, at the age of nineteen, sovereign in three realms, having been ruler in the Netherlands and king of Spain before his election as German Emperor

Bourbon's resolve to march on Rome itself was now fixed. He rejected an armistice, which the Pope wished to buy with a large sum, and stood by the beginning of May before the walls of Rome. In the storming of the city, which began on the very day after his arrival, May 6th, 1527, Charles of Bourbon was slain. His Landsknechte avenged his death, took the city, and began a terrible scene of pillage and murder. The Pope remained a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo, and the league brought him no help; he was compelled, therefore, to submit to an agreement by which 400,000 ducats and some strongholds were given to the army.

Pillage and Murder at Siege of Rome

The Emperor Charles had taken no share at all in this expedition, but lost his power over the Landsknechte. At the same time England allied herself closely with France; and the emperor had been deprived of all his conquests of 1525. The French army found a friendly reception everywhere in Italy, and in the autumn of 1527, with the help of Genoa, besieged the imperial city of Naples. Fortunately for Charles, pestilence raged in the French army, and Marshal Lautrec himself finally—August 15th, 1528—succumbed to it; and the Genoese leader Doria, who felt himself slighted by the French, placed his ships at the service of the emperor in 1528. Further French operations failed, until at last, in accordance with the heartfelt wishes of both sides, the "Ladies' Peace," mediated by Louise, mother of Francis, and Margaret, aunt of Charles, was concluded on August 5th, 1529, at Cambray; France by it renounced all pretensions to Italy and the feudal lordship over Flanders and Artois. Charles, reserving his claims, left Burgundy in the hands of the French, and set at liberty for a ransom of two million crowns the sons of Francis, who were still remaining in power. Francis, who was to marry a sister of Charles, undertook the duty of reinstating the followers of Bourbon in their possessions. During his progress through Italy, which Charles began immediately after the signing of peace, a treaty was negotiated with Venice and the Duke of Milan. The emperor received from both considerable sums of money, of which he was able to make good use. The Pope crowned him at the beginning of 1530 as emperor at Bologna.

Misfortunes of the French Army

After a ten years' war Charles, now a man of thirty, appeared finally as the bringer of peace to Italy, and the conqueror of the French rule. Yet his position, apart from the religious dissension in the empire, which then began to influence all political life, was by no means favourable, for the West was continually threatened by the growing danger from the East, the victorious army of the infidel Turks.

We have already traced the growth of the Turkish power up to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Sultan Selim I., who died in 1520, had made conquests mostly on Asiatic soil and had subdued Egypt. But his son, Suleiman II., surnamed the Magnificent, once more attacked the European powers, conquered Belgrade in 1521, and drove out in 1522 the Knights of St John from the island of Rhodes, since their Grand Master, Philip Villiers de l'Isle Adam (1521–1534), appealed to the Christian powers in vain for help. The Knights defended themselves heroically, and at last, on New Year's Night, 1522–1523, they left the island unmolested under the command of Villiers. The Emperor Charles assigned to them on March 24th, 1530, the island of Malta, with Gozzo, Comino, and Tripolis as a home, and thus once more pledged them to wage war against Turks and pirates.

The Knights Driven From Rhodes

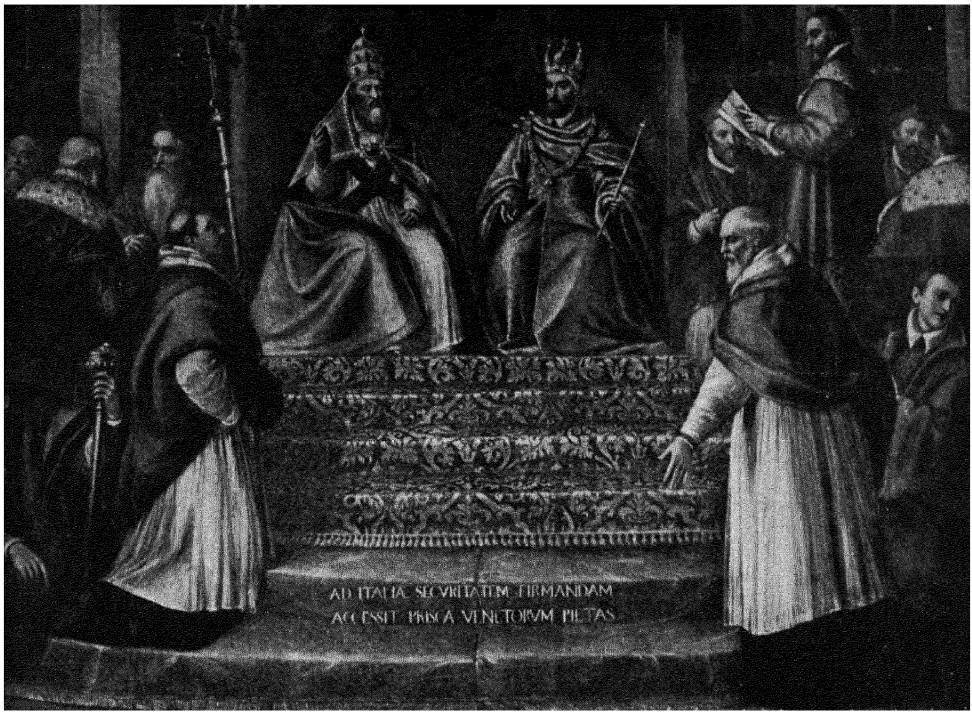
When, on August 29th, 1521, Belgrade fell before the Turks, Lewis II., who had mounted the throne in 1516 at the age of ten, was king of Hungary. The Turks came once more, in 1526, with an enormous army against Hungary. The king advanced to meet them with an inadequate force, and was defeated and slain on August 29th, near Mohacz, while the victors without difficulty took the capital and marched onward, devastating the country with fire and sword. As King Lewis was dead, the old pretensions of the house of Hapsburg were revived. Archduke Ferdinand found, however, an opponent in the voivode of Transylvania, John Zapolya, who allied himself with France and the Sultan, and was elected king by a section of the people on November 10th, 1526.

Nevertheless, the representative of the Hapsburgs was elected on December 16th, 1526, by another section, in a diet at Pressburg, under the influence of the queen-widow, Mary of Austria, and on his advance in the summer of 1527, Zapolya was forced to retreat to Transylvania. Ferdinand was crowned at Stuhlweissenburg in November, and so linked Hungary permanently to the house of Hapsburg, just as at the beginning of the year he had connected Bohemia with it. Thus the Austrian monarchy was founded.

At the same time the Turkish danger became an imperial danger in a more real sense than before, for the imperial hereditary lands were the first objects threatened by the attack of the unbelievers. Suleiman came forward as the avenger of Zapolya in 1529, conquered Ofen on September 8th,



INCIDENT IN THE SACK OF ROME. THE DEFENCE OF THE CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO
In the storming of Rome, which began on May 6th, 1527, Charles of Bourbon was slain, and avenging his death, his Landsknechte took the city amid scenes of pillage and murder. In the castle of St. Angelo, which Benvenuto Cellini is here seen defending, the Pope was for some time kept a prisoner. Cellini, by his own account, was the hero of the fight.



THE CROWNING OF CHARLES V AS EMPEROR BY POPE CLEMENT VII. AT BOLOGNA, 1530
From the picture in the Palace of the Doges at Venice

and caused his protégé to be proclaimed king. On September 27th he actually appeared with 120,000 men before Vienna and began the siege. All Europe trembled at this event; but the heroic defence of the garrison so far saved the situation that the Sultan was induced, by the murmurs of his troops and the threatened lack of provisions, to withdraw on October 14th, 1529, after he had destroyed the churches and devastated the country far and wide.

The Council of Regency, which had been established on the basis of the resolutions at Worms in 1521, had no longer the character of a board representing the states, but that of an official body, and therefore possessed little reputation in the empire. It had hardly gained any influence on Protestantism and its development. The emperor himself was, as we know, entangled in great international schemes, and could not, therefore, directly have any part in it, so that the imperial diets of the third decade had very little significance for the constitution and administration of the empire. On the other hand, within the territories, in connection with the Church reform, important alterations were effected, which resulted in the development of the absolutism of the princes and in the suppression of the states

Charles at War with the Turks

The diet of Augsburg in the summer of 1530 was the first at which the emperor, having been absent for nine years, was once more present after having at length achieved a victory. There was work enough to do, for, in addition to the aid against the Turks urgently needed by the empire, it was essential to deliberate over a great number of imperial laws, among others over the criminal code, the so-called Lex Carolina. But the religious question, the solution of which was required by the Protestants before they would consent to aid against the Turks, gradually by its importance supplanted all other subjects of deliberation. It was only after the Religious Peace of Nuremberg, in 1532, that the emperor found himself in a position to carry out the long-cherished plan and to put an imperial army into the field against the Turks. During the summer more than 70,000 men advanced to the East. Nearly two-thirds of them were

troops from the emperor's patrimonial dominions, but still it was an imposing army that marched out against the enemy.

Suleiman had little good fortune in his campaigns of 1532. He besieged in vain the small Hungarian town of Guns, which was bravely defended by Nicholas Jurischitsch. At Gran also the siege was unsuccessful, and the fleet of Genoa won some decided victories at sea. It would have been easy to win back the whole of Hungary by force of arms. But Charles left the army for Italy, in order to come to an understanding with the Pope about the Council, while the licence of the troops became the pest of the country. No great battle was fought, and the capture of some Turkish standards by the Palsgrave

encroachments of the Hapsburgs. In 1531 some towns, among others Frankfort, Hamburg, and Lubeck, had joined the league, and other towns of Upper Germany had followed them: only Nuremberg held aloof. The members of the league had created a military organisation for themselves similar to that which had been formed by the nearly extinct Swabian League.

In 1535 the alliance was renewed for ten years. Philip of Hesse undoubtedly took the lead in political questions, while electoral Saxony, under John Frederic, sank more into the background. Philip understood how to turn to the advantage of the league all interests hostile to the Hapsburgs both at home and abroad. His greatest



THE TROOPS OF KING FRANCIS I. OF FRANCE

In this old print, representing the troops of King Francis of France, the various types of which his army was composed are illustrated. The different types here shown are thus indicated (a) arquebusier, (b) gendarme, (c, d) drummer and piper, (e) captain of infantry, (f, g) pikemen and halberdiers, (h) Swiss captain and sub-lieutenant

Frederic was of little moment. During the protracted negotiations which emperor and Pope carried on at Bologna the advantages gained through the Peace of Cambray in 1529 were lost, for the Pope and all other Italian powers gradually inclined more and more towards the French side, without Charles being quite clear on the point himself. Charles left Italy for Spain before any result had been obtained, and from that country undertook an expedition to Tunis against the robber Moors, and was afterwards involved in a new war (1536–1538) with King Francis.

The German princes had meanwhile been left to themselves, and formed in the League of Schmalcald not only a political representation of evangelical interests, but at the same time a union against the

success was the restoration to his duchy in 1534 of Duke Ulrich, who had been expelled from Wurtemberg in 1519. This was tantamount to ousting the Hapsburg Ferdinand from his position in South Germany.

Würtemberg now adopted the Lutheran doctrine and became a member of the Schmalcaldic League, although Ulrich himself showed little gratitude to the landgrave. King Ferdinand was compelled, in a treaty at Kaaden on June 29th, 1534, to consent to the new state of things, and was unable to prevent Protestantism continually gaining ground in all parts of Germany and even in the crown lands of Eastern Austria. Besides Pomerania and Anhalt, the duchy of Saxony and the powerful Brandenburg joined the league in 1539, and the course of the Reformation

in England and the northern kingdom resulted in a political union of the rulers in those parts with the league.

While the new faith made such progress, Pope Clement VII. died. His successor, Paul III. (1534–1549), was from the outset willing to yield to the imperial request for a council, and on June 2nd, 1536, consented to summon it to Mantua for the end of May, 1537. He invited the Lutherans to it. Their leader had really nothing to say against it, but composed for this purpose the so-called "Schmalcaldic Articles," the contents of which, however, demonstrated the impossibility of taking part in the meeting. A national German council would in any case have been acceptable, but no one in the circle of the Protestants would consent to the meeting of a general council.

Since 1536 the emperor had [illegible] involved in a war with France, [illegible] would not yet consent to renounce his claims in Italy. Charles now invaded Southern France and ravaged it mercilessly. Although the French arms were supported by a simultaneous movement of the Turks which was aimed against the republic of Venice, and by the help of the Protestants, yet the success of the war was trifling, and the exhaustion of the two antagonists led to a truce for ten years from July 18th, 1538; the Pope negotiated it, and it was conducted at Nice. The reconciliation of the two sovereigns seemed so complete that they were able to plan a common war against the Turks; but first the German Protestants were to be brought back again to the universal Church by peaceful methods according to the emperor's wish.

The Protestants, by the widening of their league, had plainly infringed the conditions of the Religious Peace of Nuremberg. It was therefore thoroughly opportune that the Catholics in Nuremberg united themselves, on June 10th, 1538, in a counter league, organised on the model of the Schmalcaldic League, with the object of protecting the Peace of Nuremberg while excluding foreign powers. Duke Henry the Younger of Brunswick was the leader of the union. The summons to fight was welcomed by the members of the Schmalcaldic League, for the Elector of Saxony,



COMMON FOOT SOLDIERS ADVANCING TO THE ASSAULT

The foot soldiers attached to the army of Francis I are represented in this illustration, the divisions being—(i) musketeer, (k) standard-bearer, (l) captain, (m) colonel, (n) halberdier, (o, p) drummer and piper, (q) arquebusier.

in the event of a favourable result to the war, could make good his claims to the Lower Rhenish Duchy of Cleves against the emperor. But Charles was now inclined for peace. He tried, when the possibility of a council disappeared, to bring about an agreement by similar contrivances on a small scale—a proof that even yet he was not aware of the opposition between the old and the new faith.

The "Grace of Frankfort" had already led, on April 19th, 1539, to a compact between both religious parties, from which indeed neither side expected much. The emperor had quietly brought about an [illegible] understanding between Catholic and Protestant theologians in June at Hagenau, and in November, 1540, at Worms; and on the occasion of the Diet of Regensburg,

in April, 1541, he wished to crown the work. The antagonists, among them Eck and Melanchthon, actually agreed before long on the most important points of the faith; once again the attempts at union were rejected in Wittenberg and Rome. The most essential result of the arrangements at Regensburg was that a spiritual prince, the Archbishop of Cologne, Count Hermann of Wied, began on this basis to introduce the Reformation in the archbishopric, and thus to prepare for the secularisation of a spiritual principality.

Victories of the New Doctrine

There were then all along the line conspicuous successes of the new doctrine and the Schmalcaldic party, especially since at this very time Francis I. also was ready once more for an alliance against Charles. The struggle between the Catholic and the Protestant league might have begun, and on the whole the latter seemed to have the advantage. But the latter was now no longer compact, and openly split up when the bigamous marriage of Philip of Hesse, concluded with the assent of the reformers of Wittenberg, was known, and John Frederic was deeply affronted by the insult to the Saxon princess, Philip's lawful wife. Hesse and Saxony were separated, and the previous leader of the Protestants planned an alliance with the emperor, in fact actually entered into it, on June 13th, 1541, although with some provisions as regards the League of Schmalcalde.

The League itself was now shattered, had no longer any suitable leader, and could not seize its opportunity when, in 1542, King Francis, supported by Sweden and Denmark, once more began open war against the emperor, while Suleiman took possession of all Hungary. The leaders of the league remained inactive. They never once supported the Duke of Juliers against the emperor, but, on the contrary, used the opportunity to secularise the bishoprics and seize the confiscated spoils. On March 24th, 1543, Duke William of Juliers had won a victory through his general, Martin von Rossem, with French help, over an imperial army at Sittard. But Charles now obtained Henry VIII of England as an ally, and in the summer appeared on the Lower Rhine with a splendid army of 40,000 men. Düren was soon won, and the whole district was in Charles's hands; the duke, in virtue of his submission made at Venlo on September 6th, 1543, ceded Zütphen and Guelders to the Netherlands, and was forced to promise to break off all relations with France and to restore Catholicism in his dominions. The princes of the league may now have been prepared for an attack of the emperor on their weakened alliance. But the diet of Speier in 1544 produced an acknowledgment from the emperor that he was willing to abandon the idea of the general council and to settle amicably religious troubles within the empire.

Henry VIII. in Alliance with Charles

The princes, after this victory, joined with their forces in the war against France, which led to a peace on September 18th, 1544, at Crépy-en-Laonnais, where it was arranged that king and emperor should join in common cause against the heretics. Francis also agreed to share in the war against the infidels. But a truce with Suleiman, who indeed held the greater part of Hungary, temporarily averted the Turkish peril in the autumn of 1545.

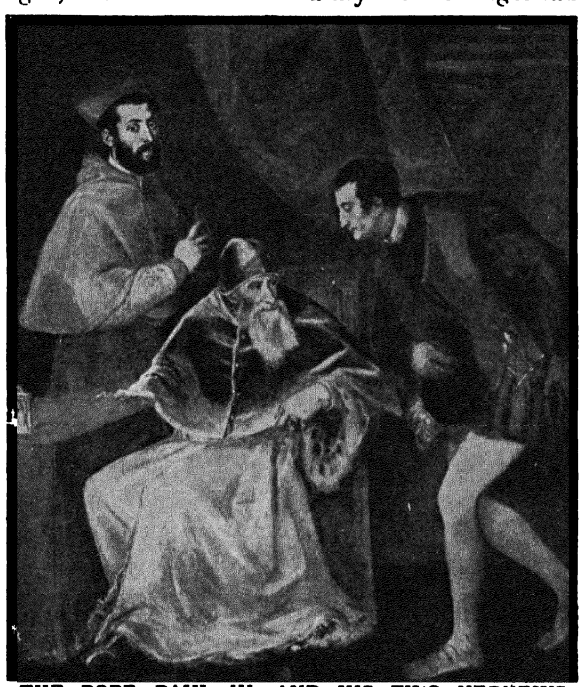
At the beginning of the year 1546 the emperor seemed free to subdue the heretics by force of arms, especially since the Pope, at the council which was eventually held at Trent towards the end of 1545, made a vigorous attack on the Protestant teaching, and promised his support with troops and money in the event of a war against the Schmalcaldic League. A formal treaty was made between Pope and emperor in June, 1546. William of Bavaria joined Charles, and so did some Protestant lords; the Hohenzollern [illegible], Hans and Albert, and Duke Eric of Brunswick, entered into the service of the emperor. But the young Duke Maurice of Saxony became gradually more important than these princes.

The Pope's Attack on Protestantism

He had withdrawn from the League of Schmalcalde in 1541, and, together with Philip of Hesse, whom he joined in opposition to electoral Saxony, had made overtures to the emperor. He was devoid of religious enthusiasm, but was brave and politic. An alliance with the emperor held out brilliant prospects and he was therefore not reluctant to accede to this in the diet of Regensburg in June, although he did not break off every connection that joined him with the League.

The emperor and the Pope were now concerned chiefly with the preparations for a religious war. But such a declaration could not be bluntly made in Germany,

if the support of the towns and the knights was to be assured, since they were averse only to the princes, not to the Lutheran doctrines. The fact that Protestant princes were allied with the emperor seemed indeed to argue that the war would not be for religion, but the co-operation of the Pope pointed the other way. The emperor had cleverly begun to work with both means; but it must have been doubtful whether he could succeed in keeping his word to both parties. The Protestants were long unwilling to believe that the preparations were made against them, although Philip, who now once more adhered to the league, warned them of their danger. The states were assembled for the diet of Regensburg. It was certainly felt that warlike movements were impending; but there was a reluctance to question the emperor until the Protestants ventured to do so, and received the answer that the imminent business was the punishment of some refractory princes. This only suggested the Landgrave Philip, who had not come to the diet. The emperor wished by his declaration to separate Hesse and electoral Saxony, but this he did not succeed in doing. Contrary to expectation, the league now held together, and even the towns stood loyally by it.



THE POPE PAUL III. AND HIS TWO NEPHEWS
From the painting by Titian

The campaign was opened towards the end of June, 1546. But the man who had always recoiled in horror from a religious war, although in his later years obedience to the emperor did not seem to him so essentially a Christian duty as before, did not live to see this war. Martin Luther died on February 18th, 1546, at Eisleben. But his marvellous personality influenced, although often in a way which history must condemn, the moulding of ecclesiastical matters in Germany for many years after the Reformer had passed away.

At the beginning of the war the emperor was still holding a diet at Regensburg, and remained there until the first days of August, although he had only a small bodyguard with him. His troops were still in foreign countries, while the league had more than 50,000 men in the field. Had they advanced directly on Regensburg they must have succeeded; but instead of this, they split up their forces, took Donauwörth on July 20th, and, when at last they came into conflict with the imperial army before Ingolstadt, were unable to gain any victory. Meanwhile reinforcements to the extent of 20,000 men joined Charles's army, and by the end of autumn the position became hopeless, when Maurice declared open hostility to his cousin, the elector, on October 27th, after he himself had been invested with the title of Elector of Saxony in the place of the proscribed prince. In conjunction with King Ferdinand he occupied the electorate, and by this movement compelled the forces of the league stationed in Swabia to withdraw at once to Central Germany. The emperor had thus become master of the south, for the towns surrendered to him, and Duke Ulrich of Wurtemberg was forced to abandon his resistance.

At the beginning of 1547 the Catholic creed was completely restored in the Archbishopric of Cologne. Hermann von Wied resigned on February 25th, and was forced to make way for his former coadjutor, Adolf von Schaumberg, while the army of the league broke up in Central Germany. John Frederic's one aim was the

reconquest of his dominions. But while he attempted this, Charles returned unmolested from Bohemia to Saxony, and surprised him on April 24th, 1547, at Mühlberg on the Elbe. Ferdinand and Maurice were with the emperor; the Saxons deserted their strong position in the town, and were defeated in the pursuit by Duke Alva, the imperial commander-in-chief, on the moors of Lochau. The Saxons were completely routed, John Frederic was wounded and captured, and soon afterwards Wittenberg fell into the hands of the emperor. In North Germany only Hesse, Bremen, and Oldenburg remained unsubdued. Philip did not wish to commit himself to an uncertain struggle, and accepted the mediation of the Elector Maurice, who made an agreement with the emperor to the effect that the landgrave, if he submitted, should not be further punished.

Death of King Francis

Philip of Hesse came, but, contrary to the spirit of the agreement, though according to the letter of it, which excluded only perpetual imprisonment, was thrown into prison on June 19th. Thus the two princes, formerly the most powerful in Protestant Germany, languished in prison, while Charles was freed by the death of King Francis on March 31st, 1547, from his dangerous rival, and on June 19th bought a truce for five years from the Turks at the price of a yearly tribute.

The hope entertained by the Pope of a yielding on the part of the Protestants was not fulfilled; on the contrary, the emperor had to grant them complete liberty in the exercise of their religion, while his representatives at Trent did not show any special friendship towards papal pretensions, and were, above all, resolutely opposed to any removal of the council to Italy. Paul III., however, took that step; on March 11th, 1547, he removed to Bologna, ostensibly from fear of the plague. A schism in the old Church now threatened, for in Bologna Charles did not wish to co-operate in the reform of the Church, and since the Pope refused, he was compelled to take it in hand himself —at any rate, so far as Germany was concerned.

Proposals of the Diet of Augsburg

The diet of Augsburg in the autumn of 1547 produced a scheme, the Interim of Augsburg, in which King Ferdinand had a considerable part. The religious system in Germany was to be re-established in conformity with this until a universally valid decree of the Church council should be passed. This system of faith was formulated by the middle of March, 1548. It sufficiently expressed the conquest of the Protestants. Its main requirement was a reversion to the old Church, and it conceded only two points, the communion in two kinds and the marriage of the clergy; for the rest, an attempt was made to evade the real dispute by expressions which admitted of various interpretations.

But no unity was produced even on this basis, which was supported by the assent of the Catholics. The Interim was to be binding only on the Protestants, while the members of the old faith refused to comply with it. The emperor's well-meant scheme accordingly came to nothing. He succeeded better in strengthening his absolute power as emperor, for the towns, treated with equal unfriendliness by sovereign and princes, now lost their political influence.

Charles now filled the Imperial Chamber with councillors appointed only by himself, and the Netherlands were united with the empire as "a Burgundian circle" on June 26th, 1548, but were at the same time declared independent of the Imperial Chamber. The protection of the empire only was contemplated, without any prejudice to the independence of the disturbed territories. Although the Interim was hated by the whole nation on account of its unreasonable demands, and found only here and there a formal recognition, Charles attempted, in connection with the diet of Augsburg, to win support for the election of his son Philip. This time, however, he found opposition, not only from his brother Ferdinand, who had an earlier claim in consequence of his election as king of the Romans, but also from the whole body of princes. Their experience of Charles deterred them from accepting an unmitigated Spaniard like his son; national safety demanded a definite refusal.

Charles's Ambitions for His Son

On March 9th, 1551, after Philip had already been invested in 1550 with the Netherlands, an agreement was made between the emperor and the king that Ferdinand should be emperor after Charles's death, but should be succeeded by Philip, who would become meanwhile king of the Romans, while Ferdinand's son, Maximilian, was eventually to succeed Philip. Thus nothing was definitely decided

as to the all-important position of the electors, in fact, the arrangement was to be regarded as a compulsory one so far as the younger line of the Hapsburgs was concerned. It was a scheme to fix the empire in one dynastic family.

The diet at Augsburg of 1550–1551 was thinly attended. Much ill-feeling was aroused by the high-handed policy of Charles and his followers towards Germany, especially since Charles, in spite of the urgent requests of the princes, did not consent to dismiss the Spaniards, who were unconstitutionally kept under arms. In addition to this, there was the peculiarly severe imprisonment of the Landgrave Philip, which had been felt by all princes as a degradation of their order generally. Briefly, there was a general tendency towards rebellion against the emperor, and the power to do so seemed ready to hand. Efforts had already been made in 1548 to form a new alliance in the north-east of the empire, and hopes had been raised of French help, and of the co-operation of Protestant Denmark. Dukes Albert of Prussia and John Albert of Mecklenburg, as well as Margrave Hans of Kustrin, formed a league in February, 1550. And when Maurice of Saxony, who felt himself deeply injured by the emperor, made overtures to the members of the Northern League, a secret treaty was formed in May, 1551, at Torgau to protect the liberty of the princes against the emperor. Maurice, by virtue of the powers vested in him as imperial agent, had previously enrolled an army without attracting notice, in order to enforce against Magdeburg the long-postponed ban of the empire, and continued at the head of these troops. The Ernestines were induced to become neutral; and while it was resolved to spare King Ferdinand as much as possible, negotiations with France were set on foot, which, being successfully conducted in the winter of 1551–1552, were brought to a conclusion on February 14th, 1552, at Friedewald in Hesse.



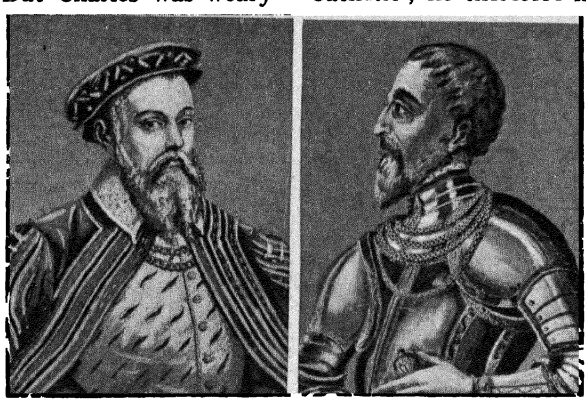
FREDERIC THE MAGNANIMOUS
John Frederic, known as the Magnanimous, favoured the Reformation movement and introduced Lutheranism into Saxony, of which country he was elector. The above portrait is from the painting by Titian, at Vienna.

Henry II promised his help in the war against the emperor, in return for which he was allowed to hold, as "Vicar of the Empire," the towns of Metz, Toul, Verdun, and Cambray. These proceedings did not remain unnoticed; but the emperor did not himself attach any credence to the reports which reached him at Innsbruck, where he lay sick. He was therefore greatly astonished when the storm burst on him in March. King Henry invaded Lorraine with 35,000 men, and the princes advanced into South Germany as far as Augsburg. Charles was still unwilling to believe in the complicity of Maurice, especially since Maurice had just joined Ferdinand in order by his aid to bring about an agreement between emperor and princes. The town of Magdeburg surrendered to the victors on April 4th. The emperor had no resources at his disposal, and was obliged to win time by negotiations. Ferdinand and Maurice met at Linz on April 18th. A larger meeting was summoned for May 26th at Passau, to prosecute the negotiations, but Maurice did not countenance any lull in hostilities. He wished to cut off the emperor completely, and actually forced him by an advance to the Alps to fly into Carinthia, whither he was accompanied by John Frederic of Saxony, now released from captivity. Maurice took Innsbruck shortly before the beginning of the negotiations at Passau, and the members of the council assembled at Trent fled in order not to fall into the hands of the elector.

Shortly after the appointed day the deliberations of the states began at Passau. The emperor and even his brother were refused access to it; nor was French influence to govern the assembly this time. The demands of Maurice were, in Church matters religious toleration, and in politics the regency of the princes and the destruction of the imperial supremacy. His princely colleagues were easily induced to assent.

Charles was no longer the acknowledged master. When, at the end of 1552, he marched against King Henry, and invested Metz, Maurice had already followed King Ferdinand to the war against the Turks. In Central Germany the licentious Hohenzollern Margrave Albert, at any rate not hindered by the emperor, began a wild career of lawlessness and rapine. The princes of South Germany formed a league against him, and the Elector Maurice finally conquered him on July 9th, at Sieversshausen. Unhappily the elector was wounded in the battle, and died on July 11th. Albert was again defeated on June 13th, 1554, near Schwarzach, in Lower Franconia, and fled to France.

Without the help of the emperor the princes had restored peace and order in the empire in 1554. But Charles was weary of his sovereignty and began to withdraw from public life. That very year he transferred all sovereign rights in Germany to his brother Ferdinand; his son Philip became, in October, 1555, ruler of the Netherlands and of the Spanish possessions in Italy, with the title of King of Naples; in January, 1556, he similarly received the Spanish crown. The emperor retired in September, 1556, to San Geronimo de Yuste, and died there on September 21st, 1558.



MAURICE OF SAXONY AND THE MARGRAVE ALBERT

Maurice of Saxony was a supporter of Charles, but when his opportunity came he forced the emperor into . to the Protestants. He conquered when the princes of South Germany formed a league against him

It now rested with Ferdinand to arrange the affairs of Germany and to convene the diet promised in the Treaty of Passau. It met on February 5th, 1555, at Augsburg. The Protestants demanded a religious peace with recognition of the confessions, taking into account the actual conditions existing at the time of the Treaty of Passau. This recognition was, however, to apply only to the states and not to the subjects, whose confession was still to be dependent on that of the territorial lord. Ferdinand was forced to submit to these demands. The following points were agreed upon: the peace had no limits of time; it was valid for all estates of the empire, to which the right attached of changing the religion of their district, but this referred only to the confession of the Catholics and to that of the adherents to the confession of Augsburg, not to that of the followers of Zwingli. From this time the empire took the Lutherans legally under its protection, and the princely power of the Catholic princes was at the same time greatly strengthened since they henceforth superintended the property of the Church. The death penalty for heresy was abolished, and all were to have free right to leave the country. It was, however, settled at the same time that a spiritual prince might indeed personally go over from the Catholic to the Protestant faith, but in this case his district or his spiritual office must remain Catholic; he therefore must be separated from it. This last proviso was called "the Ecclesiastical Reservation." The Protestants laid a formal protest against it, but they took care not to hazard the whole work by a too obstinate insistence on an untenable point. So, on September 25th, 1555, the Religious Peace was established by the recess, and remained in force up to the Peace of Westphalia.

With the religious question the constitution of the empire was necessarily modified, and the government by the states took over, in every important point, the still existing imperial powers; thus the new organisation of the Imperial Chamber put the nomination to the posts and the examination of procedure into the hands of the states. And the new system of circles, intended to facilitate the judgments of the Imperial Chamber, produced the result that the last royal privilege, the maintenance of the Public Peace, became the right of the several states. Even the law of the empire [illegible] by this the fact that the territory of the prince had assumed the character of a complete political organisation.

WILHELM WALTHER



Inquisition deliberately lit by Ferdinand and Isabella for a political object answered their purpose, and made Spaniards of all the realms exalted fanatics, convinced of their spiritual superiority and divine selection to fight God's battle upon earth—fit weapons now for Ferdinand's hand.

But, in spite of Ferdinand's consummate cunning, all his plotting went awry. His only son was married to the Emperor Maximilian's daughter, and his second daughter married to the emperor's only son, Philip, sovereign in right of his mother of Flanders, Holland, Luxemburg, and the vast domains of the house of Burgundy, while his youngest daughter was married to the heir of England, and his eldest daughter became Queen-Consort of Portugal. With, as he thought, all the strings of European policy in his expert hands, Ferdinand saw in prophetic vision France enclosed in a ring of enemies, impotent to stay the forward march of Aragonese ambitions in Italy and the East. But death stepped in, and other men with ambitions as strong as those of Ferdinand renounced his selfish tutelage. One after the other his children died, until he found that the heir of the joint crowns of Castile and Aragon was his mad daughter Joanna, and, after her, her elder Flemish-Austrian son Charles, who would inherit an empire extending over Central Europe from the North Sea to the Danube, with Spain and part of Italy, as well as the vast undefined territories which the Genoese Columbus had discovered for Isabella, little to Ferdinand's delight, as the drain of men for America drew from Castile the strength he needed for his own ends. Ferdinand, before he died, foresaw the disaster to Aragon that the merging of her crown into that of a world-wide empire would produce, and he tried his best to defraud his elder grandson of the Aragonese realms in favour of the younger brother Ferdinand, who was as Spanish as Charles was Flemish.

But fate and Cardinal Ximenez stood in the way; and in 1516 the sallow foreign boy, Charles, with a greedy gang of Flemings, came to Spain to enter into his inheritance. Though few thought it at the time, Charles was a genius, and he soon saw that Spain must be the centre of his great empire. When once he had crushed, at Villalar in 1520, the Castilian demand for Parliamentary financial control, Castile alone of all his realms was powerless to resist his demands. Castilians were haughty and bigoted, and the policy of the emperor, like that of his grandfather, was to inflame their pride to the utmost. Materially, Spain was poor, and she ruined herself utterly, but her men-at-arms trampled over Europe and America triumphant, the sword in one hand, the cross in the other. To the world Spain was a symbol of potency and wealth inexhaustible, but the policy upon which she squandered her blood and treasure abroad was not her own. She was spent in crushing heterodoxy in Germany and Flanders, in holding back the Turk from Hungary, and in ousting France from Italy; and Spain benefited nothing. The hollow fame was hers, the apparent power, but in the day of her glory she ruined herself for an idea at the bidding of her king and the prompting of her pride.





SPAIN AND FRANCE
IN THE TIME OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

OF the great tasks Spain set itself after the fall of Granada, the colonisation of America was but one, and, for the moment, not the most important. Ferdinand the Catholic devoted his chief energies to making Spain the dominant power in Europe, and he looked upon the riches of America only as means to this end. He had given the heiress presumptive to the throne, his daughter Joanna, in marriage to Philip the Fair of Burgundy and Austria, and thereby made quite possible a Spanish-Hapsburg empire. After Philip's premature death there opened up before his eldest son, Charles, the prospect of a world-embracing, irresistible empire.

However, when Isabella of Castile died, Aragon and Castile, which had been united with such difficulty, seemed only too likely to separate. But the fact that Philip the Fair survived his mother-in-law for only a short time, and that Joanna was mentally incapacitated from governing, made it possible for Ferdinand to act as regent of Castile until his death in 1516. Cardinal Ximenes was able to preserve quiet for a short time longer, and the peaceful and prosperous development of Spain at that time was largely due to him. He was a typical exponent of Spanish policy, which made for absolutism in close alliance with the Church.

A Period of Spanish Prosperity

Never was a prince, in entering upon his government, confronted with such a number of momentous questions and problems as was Charles I. of Spain, afterwards Charles V., Emperor of Germany. A tremendous movement was shaking the nations of Europe. The movements of the Renaissance and the revival of learning, originating in Italy, had reached the Germanic peoples in the north, and had there prepared the ground for the rise of a national civilisation, which was also under the influence of Christianity. At the same time, the movements broke down some barriers between the nations of Europe. It was before the eyes of all civilised Europe that the great events of the time were brought to completion, and the convulsive struggles of the waking spiritual life were felt, like the heave of an earthquake, in the remotest corners of the continent. Thus it was a peculiarly unfortunate circumstance that Charles V. should have united under his rule two nations whose aims and ideas were entirely opposed. On the one hand was Spain, a country roused to the height of religious fanaticism by its conflict with the Moors, and in closest connection with the papacy; on the other hand was Germany, struggling for intellectual and religious freedom. No middle course was possible; the ruler was bound to rely on one or other of the two nations. It is not surprising that Spain gained the preference.

Charles V. Ruler of Two Nations

A people united under an absolute monarchy, well versed in the arts of war, promised to be a much more valuable instrument in the hands of an ambitious ruler than Germany, divided into a number of petty states, struggling for intellectual independence. The future of each nation was then definitely decided. Spain threw in its lot with the Roman Church once and for all, and by its opposition to the Reformation gained a short period of splendour at the price of permanent intellectual and material stagnation. Germany preserved its independence of thought after a desperate and costly struggle, suffered for centuries under the wounds which it received, and never succeeded in wholly driving out the influence of Rome.

Rome's Influence in Germany

However, for the moment, other questions demanded instant solution. Upon the death of Ferdinand I. absolutism was by no means firmly rooted in Spanish

soil. Its lack of popularity with the industrial portion of the population was sufficiently obvious. The towns had readily come forward to help to crush the nobility, but they were by no means disposed to sacrifice their own rights to the Moloch of absolute monarchy; and the short-sighted policy of the youthful king, who brought his Flemish friends to Spain, and bestowed upon them the highest dignities in the land, gave the towns the opportunity for resistance which they desired. In reality, a far larger question had to be settled than the question of the privileges of the towns, many of which were antiquated and void. The point in dispute was whether a wide-reaching foreign policy, which could be carried out only by an absolute monarchy, was henceforward to take precedence, or whether this should give way to a sound domestic policy for the purpose of advancing material prosperity, which the industrial and manufacturing classes could carry out in conjunction with the crown.

Honours for the King's Favourites

At the Cortes of Valladolid, in 1518, the representatives of the towns assumed a bold position, while the nobility, who had not yet recovered from their crushing overthrow by the previous king, remained in the background. In Aragon, also, and Catalonia, as in Castile, Charles had to listen to many bitter truths before the usual oaths of allegiance were taken and money-grants made. Charles had, meanwhile been elected Emperor of Germany, and before starting for that country he made an attempt to procure the necessary supplies in an irregular way.

Thereupon disturbances began to break out, and after the emperor's departure there came a formidable revolt of the *comuneros*—the Castilian towns. Toledo, the ancient capital, headed the movement; the inhabitants of Segovia manifested no less zeal for freedom. Juan de Padilla undertook the leadership of the revolt, and succeeded in driving out the regency which Charles had established in Valladolid, and winning over most of the Castilian towns to the confederacy. Among the demands of the town were several which show that the revolt was occasioned not merely by economic causes, but that the citizens raised their voices as the representatives of a broader enlightenment. They asked, for instance, that the nobles be taxed as the citizens were; that the natives of America should not be treated as slaves, should not be transported to the mines as labourers. To give an appearance of loyalty to their movement, the towns opposed the emperor in the name of his mother, the mad Joanna.

Castilian Towns in Revolt

Unfortunately there was no unity among the rebels. The nobles, as a whole, stood aloof from the movement, or supported the crown, which had more in common with them than the citizens had. The regents therefore found time to oppose a small, but well-trained, force to the army of the people. On April 21st, 1521, a battle was fought at Villalar, which resulted in the complete defeat of the citizens and the capture of their chief leaders. In a short time the revolt was at an end; the leaders paid for their presumption with their lives, and the towns with the loss of their rights. Spain was henceforward a ready instrument in the hand of an absolute monarch, and the foreign policy of the emperor, with all the glory it was to bring, could now break forth in full splendour. A rising of the lower classes and labour guilds in Valencia, socialistic in nature and having nothing to do with the revolt of the Castilian towns, was also suppressed in the course of a few years. The guilds had availed themselves of the universal right to bear arms, which had been instituted as a protection against the attacks of the Algerian pirates, to form *germanias*, or brotherhoods, of their own; they then turned upon the powerful feudal nobles, who found a support in the Moriscos, the Moors who had remained in the country.

Feudal Nobles Supported by the Moors

The situation enabled the government to take measures of great importance. It crushed the germanias with cruel violence, and thereby shattered the growing presumption of the citizens. At the same time, the intervention of the Moriscos in the quarrel gave it an excuse for grinding down this industrious class in the nation by restrictive measures, and for obliging a part of them to emigrate, to the great loss of the country and especially of the land-holding nobility. Christianity was then made obligatory upon all inhabitants, and the Inquisition was set to watch the zeal of the new converts with argus eyes. The old popular assembly of the Spanish kingdom, the Cortes, was naturally out of

place in the new absolute government. The Cortes of Castile were convoked for the last time in full session at Toledo in the year 1538. Once again the nobles ventured to oppose the financial policy of the crown, and were successful. Henceforward only particular orders, chiefly the procurators of the towns, were summoned to the assembly to vote supplies. There were no further protests of any importance against the burden of taxation, which increased rapidly under Charles V.

Shattered Dreams of Charles

Charles V.'s dreams of a universal monarchy were shattered by the hostility of France and the religious movement in Germany, notwithstanding the great sacrifices which Spain had made in money and men. For the moment, the country succeeded in bearing up under the heavy burdens which Charles had laid upon it. Here and there were traces of the decay of economic prosperity; but thanks to the Moors who had remained in the country, industry, on the whole, throve. Where the old Christian population was still in existence, Isabella, more than all others, had succeeded in planting new industries and ensuring their success, occasionally by artificial means. Under Charles V., Spain was still progressing, and those best foundations of national prosperity, agriculture and cattle-breeding, were still actively carried on.



FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC & HIS QUEEN ISABELLA
It was the ambition of Ferdinand to make Spain the dominant power in Europe, and all his energies were bent in that direction. During his reign Granada, the last Moorish kingdom in Spain, was conquered. Christopher Columbus found a warm friend in Isabella, when he sought assistance for his enterprises, but Ferdinand was not so sympathetic.

The districts inhabited by the Moriscos, such as Valencia, Murcia, and Granada, were similarly in a most flourishing condition whereas in the old Christian provinces the lust for adventure and the drain of men in the continual wars had made deep gaps in the peasant population. In the Moorish provinces the nobles, to whom most of the land belonged, had a particular interest in furthering the development of agriculture. Upon the high plateaus of the interior a grave change was going on, similar to the experiences of other countries, especially England, a change which worked most disastrously for the labouring portion of the population. Sheep-raising made great strides—Spanish wool had a wide reputation for excellence—and was taken up by the nobles and extended as far as possible. The price of corn was kept down by law, the peasants found themselves unable to live by agriculture and were bought out of, or expelled from, their holdings. Where thousands of peasants had once tilled their fields, boundless pastures extended, trodden by millions of sheep and by the few herdsmen who attended them. But when the peasants were once driven from their land, when the elaborate system of irrigation had fallen into ruin and the villages were deserted, it was impossible for a long period to bring the land again under cultivation. Thus Spanish prosperity was largely dependent upon the Moorish population; but the national instinct, which made for purity of race, was irresistible when strengthened by the authority of the Church. It forced the crown and the nobles to choke up the sources of the nation's wealth. Such suicidal action was not complete under Charles V., or else its disastrous effects were counteracted by good fortune on other sides; but under his successor, Philip II., Spain shot up to a dazzling height of apparent strength and power and plunged with unutterable rapidity into ruin. Louis XII. died on the first day of the year 1515, and Francis of Angoulême succeeded him on the throne. The chivalrous king wished to win back Milan for his crown, crossed the Alps in summer, and defeated in the sanguinary battle of Marignano the Swiss of the Duke of Milan. The Pope now wished to be on friendly terms with the victorious king, and the Swiss confederation preferred to make a treaty of peace with him. The position

The Great Battle of Marignano

of the French in Italy grew stronger and stronger, especially since, after the death of Ferdinand of Aragon, on January 23rd, 1516, a friendly treaty was effected at Novon between Ferdinand's grandson, the future Emperor Charles, and Francis by which the daughter of Francis was betrothed to Charles, and the French claims on Naples were promised her as a marriage portion. A treaty with the Swiss was concluded in the autumn of 1516, by which a yearly sum was guaranteed to every canton, that is the treaty, by virtue of which the Confederates so long served under French pay, the same which incurred the bitter criticism of the patriotic reformer Zwingli. We know how the Emperor Maximilian in his latter years concluded peace alike with King Francis and with Venice, and how then under the Emperor Charles, the fortune of war and diplomatic skill brought great results and still greater hopes now to one side, now to the other, until the Peace of Crépy shattered Francis's expectations of an extension of his dominions



FRANCIS I, KING OF FRANCE
He succeeded his father-in-law and uncle, Louis XII, on the throne of France in 1515, and during his reign the Reformation broke out. Francis has been described as "Protestant abroad" while "Catholic at home."

The king, during the period of his reign (1515–1547) was under the influence first of his ambitious mother, Louise of Savoy, and then of his chancellor, Antoine Duprat. His extravagances brought such uncertainty into all his actions as sovereign that his reign was in many respects very unprofitable for France. The Concordat of Bologna settled afresh the relations with the supreme head of the Church in 1516; the Pragmatic Sanction was put aside, and the right of the crown to appoint bishops and abbots was admitted,

An Empty Royal Treasury

while the Pope recovered his right to the annates. The country was dissatisfied with this innovation, since the clerical posts were now given away merely by personal interest. The Parlement for a long time withheld its consent, but was obliged finally to yield to the wishes of the despotic king. The perpetual emptiness of the royal treasury, which was inconsistent with the sums lavished on favourites, was partially remedied by the most unworthy transactions, while the king himself sacrificed his oath and his honour in political treaties without any thought of keeping his promises. Francis, and still more his mother, behaved with the same faithlessness to the Constable Charles of Bourbon as to the emperor, since the former was deprived of the inheritance of his wife, and was finally driven by this treatment into the enemy's camp. Nothing perhaps damaged the king more in the eyes of his contemporaries than the fact that he repeatedly entered into negotiations with the Infidels, the bitterest foes of Christianity, just as, though a good Catholic and keen opponent of heresy, he did not shrink from allying himself with the Protestant princes, and all from enmity to the intolerable power of the Emperor Charles. The old position towards England continued under Francis, and we know how Henry VIII temporarily came to an agreement with the emperor in France A year before the death of Francis, on June 7th, 1546, a peace was at length effected with England, as well as with the empire. While the vicissitudes of the war kept France continually in unrest, the material welfare of the people had been promoted to some extent by the king; the silk industry was introduced at Lyons in his reign. He created a national fleet, and thus gave opportunity for voyages of discovery in the New World and the foundation of French settlements in Canada. He perfected the apparatus of war, especially artillery. He liberally supported scholars and artists. Leonardo da Vinci was brought by him into the country; Raphael is said to have been his court painter.

The Faithless Francis of France

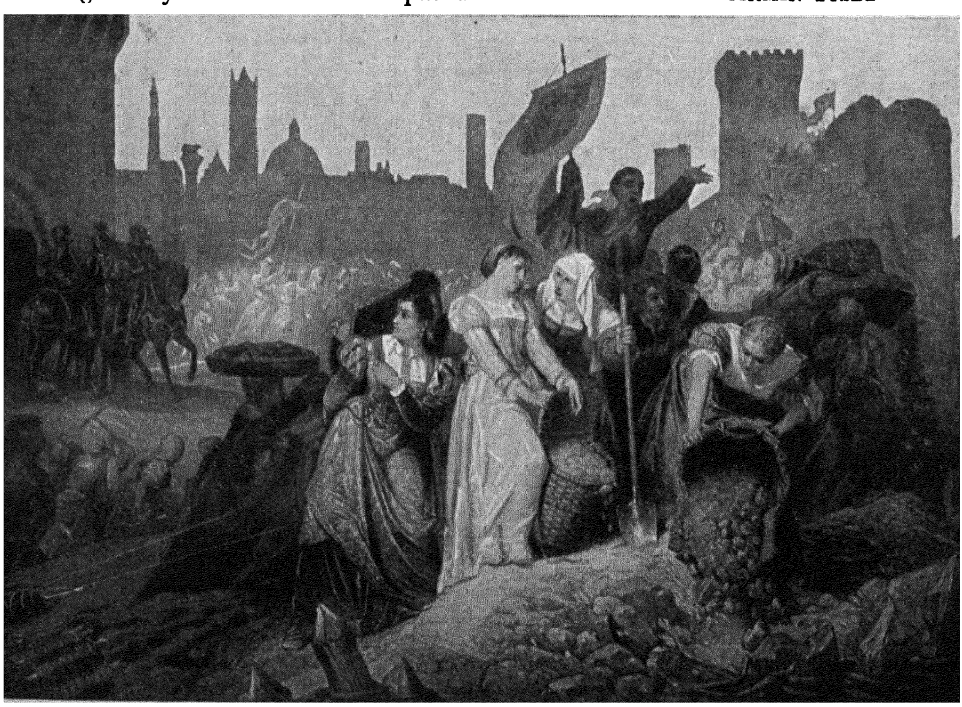
At his court for the first time accomplished ladies played a prominent part, but at the same time a licence in manners was introduced which was hitherto unknown. The new teaching of the Gospel had soon spread on French soil. But its followers

were immediately subjected to the bitterest persecution, in which the king, departing from precedent, assigned their persecution and punishment to the temporal courts. The king himself clung obstinately to the old faith, although he suggested the opposite to the Schmalcaldic princes, and invited Melanchthon to his court for the discussion of religious questions. In January, 1535, he ordered six Protestants to be burnt at the stake, and in 1545 he mercilessly massacred the remnants of the Waldensian community in Provence.

Lutheranism had, during the first twenty years of the century, found friends everywhere, and in all classes, including the king's sister, Margaret of Navarre, and the court poet, Clément Marot. But persecution, as well as the German origin of the doctrine of justification, may have hindered the growth of a sect and any dissemination of the teaching among the masses until the Church reform in France received a real head in John Calvin, who, leaning more on Zwingli than on Luther, began a work which was in many respects conducted along independent lines. His religious system at Geneva acquired the more importance since it found considerable support in France, although Francis's son, Henry II. (1547–1559), persecuted the heretics no less violently than his father, from whose system of government he otherwise deviated in many respects.

The chief power at the court of Henry was his mistress, Diana of Poitiers—after 1548 Duchess of Valentinois—a reckless opponent of the new Church, which, definitely formulated in Calvinism, had a stronger basis than before, when individuals rather than dogmas were involved in it. And at the same time court intrigue readily availed itself of the new confession as a pretext for getting rid of objectionable persons, since an edict of 1551 made it the duty of the judges to search out heretics wherever they might be. Henry's foreign policy resulted in the recovery of Calais, which England had held for 200 years; but otherwise his reign is important mainly as the time when the seeds of the religious discoveries which distracted France for the next half century were sown.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ
ARMIN TILLE



LADIES OF SIENA ASSISTING IN DEFENCE OF THE TOWN AGAINST CHARLES V. IN 1553



ENGLAND UNDER HENRY VIII.

CHANGES IN SOCIAL AND COMMERCIAL LIFE

WIDELY different from his father's was the spirit in which Henry VIII. approached the problems of home and foreign policy. He began his reign by sacrificing his father's Ministers, Empson and Dudley, to the popular outcry against these too faithful agents. Aspiring, versatile, accomplished in the new learning, the friend and patron of scholars, capable of making heavy sacrifices for a whim or a generous impulse, Henry VIII. was the antithesis of his father. He threw himself into the religious controversies which Luther had aroused, and earned by his pen the title of "Fidei Defensor", he trifled with extensive plans of foreign wars and conquests, dreamed of [illegible] France, and offered himself as a candidate for the empire.

Yet for many years he allowed his government to be controlled by a statesman who had imbibed the main principles of the old Henry's policy. Thomas Wolsey, at first the king's almoner, afterwards Archbishop of York and cardinal, aimed at gratifying his master's ambition by skilful mediation between the continental powers.

The Power of the Great Wolsey

Of necessity the cardinal embarked at times in enterprises for which England had adequate resources. After he had, in 1511, brought England into the Holy League which had been formed by Spain, the Venetians, and the emperor to expel the French from Italy, Wolsey was compelled to find troops and money for useless attacks on the French frontiers (1512—1513), in which his master reaped some trifling laurels by the Battle of the Spurs (Guinegate) and the capture of Thérouanne and Tournay.

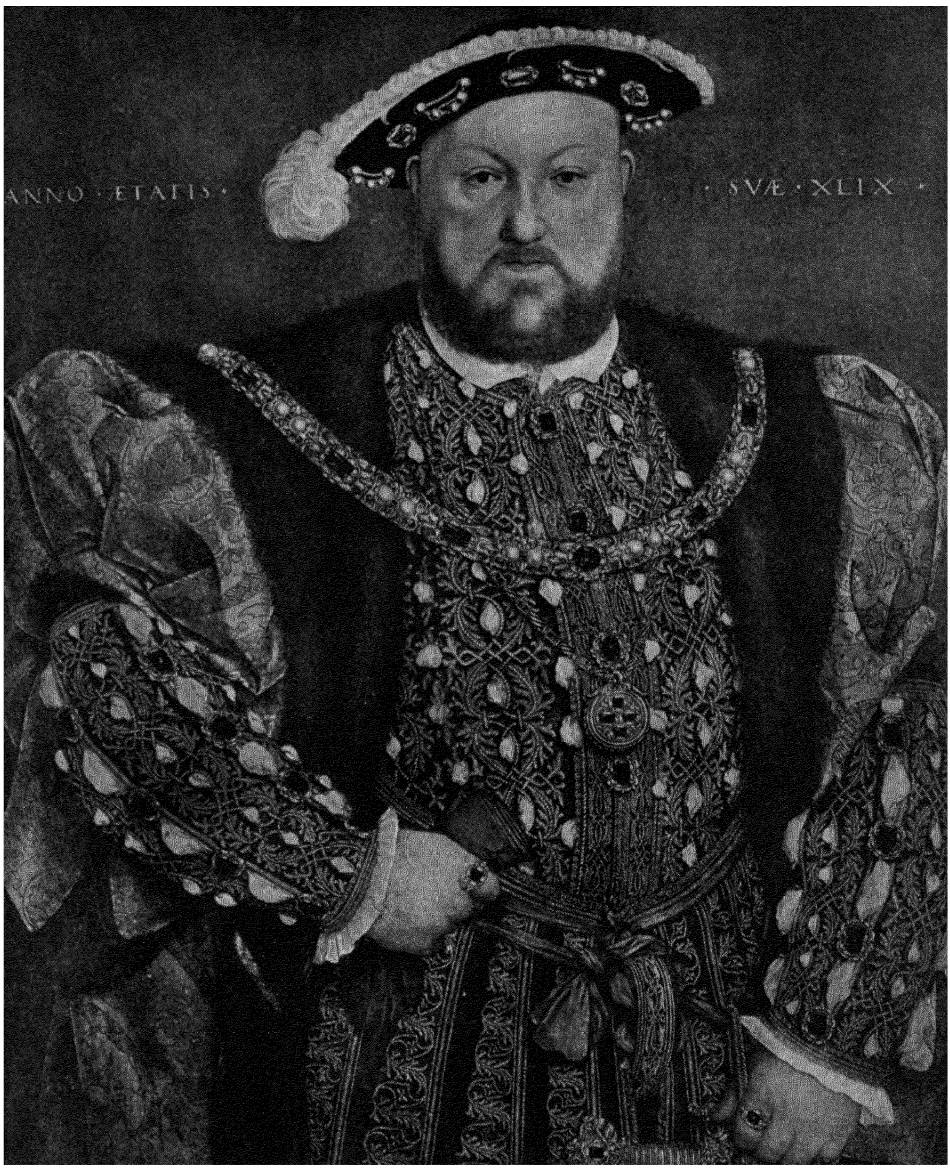
The most brilliant success of the war was won upon English soil in the absence of the king. James IV. of Scotland, invading England in the interests of France, was defeated and slain at Flodden Field in August, 1513, rather through his own rashness than from any remarkable skill on the opposing side. Wolsey was fortunate in being able to wind up the war by advantageous treaties both with France and Scotland. His abilities were better displayed in the course of the fierce rivalry between the houses of Hapsburg and Valois, which began when Francis I was defeated by Charles V. in the imperial election of 1519. It has been supposed that Wolsey's dealings with Francis and the emperor were inspired by the ambition of procuring the papal dignity for himself. He was certainly tempted with this bribe on more than one occasion by Charles V., and would doubtless have accepted the tiara if it had been offered in good earnest.

Wolsey's Tortuous Intrigues

But the main object of his tortuous intrigues was to [illegible] his master. He succeeded in convincing Charles and Francis that the attitude of England must decide the issue of their quarrel. He bargained alternately with each, and in 1520 was formally accepted as a mediator. His hope was to maintain the equilibrium of France and the empire. When war broke out he took the side of Charles as that most acceptable to the king, who never ceased to dream of emulating Henry V., but, after the defeat and capture of Francis at Pavia in 1525, all the weight of English influence was used to save the French kingdom from dismemberment.

But the principle of maintaining the balance of power began to weary Henry VIII.; and Wolsey without his master's confidence was powerless. At home the cardinal was unpopular; he had concerned himself little with domestic questions, although some have discovered in one of his measures the germs of a new and fruitful reform. To improve the intellectual standard of the clergy he began at Ipswich and Oxford to build and endow great colleges, the funds for which were provided by the suppression of small and depopulated monasteries. He may have hoped to forestall those attacks upon the Church which there were the best reasons for expecting. But his best

Improving the Standard of the Clergy



KING HENRY VIII OF ENGLAND

From 1509 till his death in 1547 Henry VIII occupied the throne of England, and, in spite of his many failings and cruelties, held a warm place in the affections of his people. The King's relations with his wives, whose portraits appear on the opposite page, were anything but happy, and the whole story of his domestic vagaries reflects very little credit on him. With but scant sympathy, if any, for the Reformers, Henry made use of the Reformation for his own ends, but little imagined that his personal policy would have such a far-reaching effect on the destinies of the nation.

From the painting by Hans Holbein

energies were given to diplomacy, and it was currently supposed that he thought of England merely as a treasure house, to be despoiled for the benefit of his master and himself. He made heavy demands upon the Commons, which provoked unfavourable comparison between his administration and that of Henry VII.; nor did he improve matters by attempting to browbeat recalcitrant members, and to raise benevolences when the liberality of Parliament proved insufficient.

Like all his house, Henry VIII. was sensitive to popular discontent. Now, as more than once in later years, he resolved to make a scapegoat of his Minister, and his

plan was brought to a head when Wolsey pressed him to cement an alliance with France against the empire, by repudiating Catharine of Aragon and marrying a French princess. The king caught at the first half of the plan. He was weary of Catharine and mortified that she had borne him no male heir to make the future of the dynasty secure. But he had fallen under the spell of Anne Boleyn, a lady of considerable attractions and doubtful reputation, who appeared at his court about 1522. Wolsey was instructed to obtain from Rome a declaration that the marriage with Catharine had been null and void *ab initio*, and he was soon allowed to see that his French policy must give way to the wishes of Anne Boleyn.

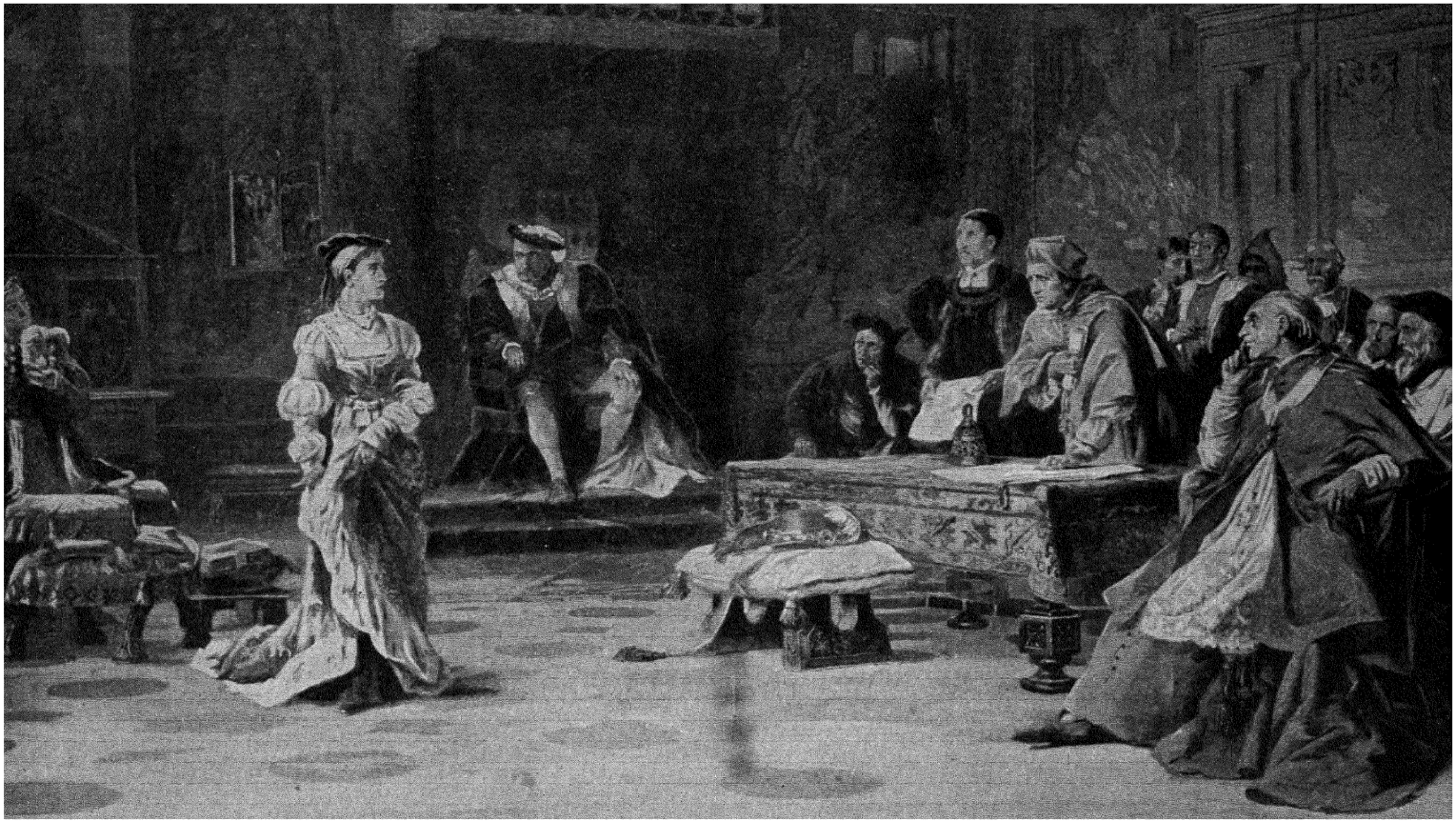
The course which Henry desired the Pope to take was repugnant both to ecclesiastical law and to the conscience of the age. The marriage with Katharine had been contracted under a dispensation from the Pope, the validity of which Henry had never seriously questioned during eighteen years of married life. The plea that the legitimacy of Catharine's daughter, the only offspring of the marriage had been questioned by a French ambassador was a convenient fiction. The divorce was demanded neither by dynastic considerations nor by the foreign policy of the king. It threatened, in fact, to estrange a large proportion of his subjects and to irritate Charles V without leading to a closer connection with Francis.

Yet Wolsey, rather than forfeit his position, undertook to press the king's suit at Rome. Possibly the cardinal counted on the Pope's refusal to set aside the dispensation of his predecessor, and Clement VII. did, after much hesitation, insist upon reserving the case for his own decision with the full intention of deciding against the king. But the Pope's firmness proved the ruin of Wolsey, who incurred the suspicion of having opposed in private the concession for which he pressed in public.

The cardinal was suddenly stripped of all his honours and the greater part of his wealth. Permitted to retain the archbishopric of York, he lived for a time in seclusion, but he was at length accused of treason and summoned to stand his trial. He died of a broken heart in 1530 on his way to answer a charge to which

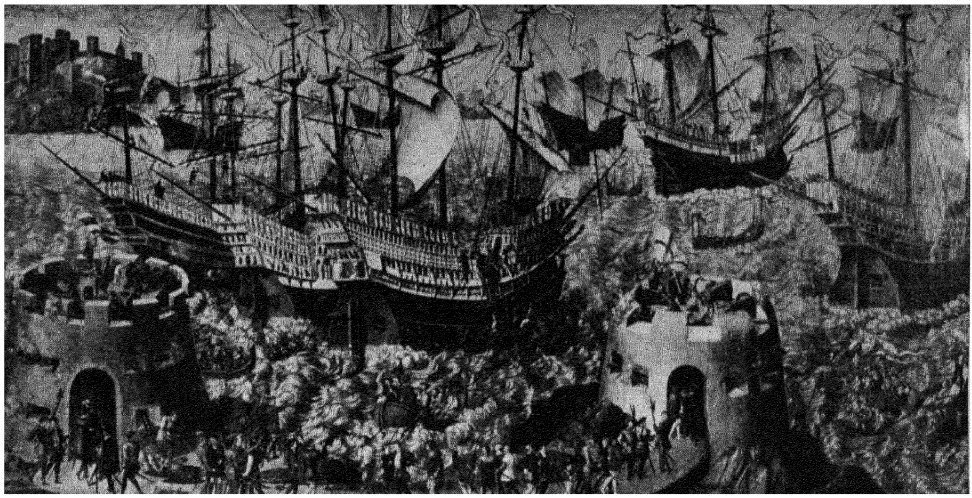


THE SIX WIVES OF KING HENRY VIII.



THE TRIAL OF QUEEN CATHARINE AT BLACKFRIARS IN THE YEAR 1529

King Henry VIII was only eighteen years of age when he married Catharine of Aragon, and after nearly twenty years of wedded life he fell in love with Anne Boleyn, and sought a divorce from his queen When the trial opened at Blackfriars on May 31st, 1529, Catharine threw herself at Henry's feet in sight of all the court and made a pathetic appeal to him After a long delay, the marriage was annulled, and Anne Boleyn, to whom in the meantime the king had been secretly married, was publicly crowned and recognised as queen

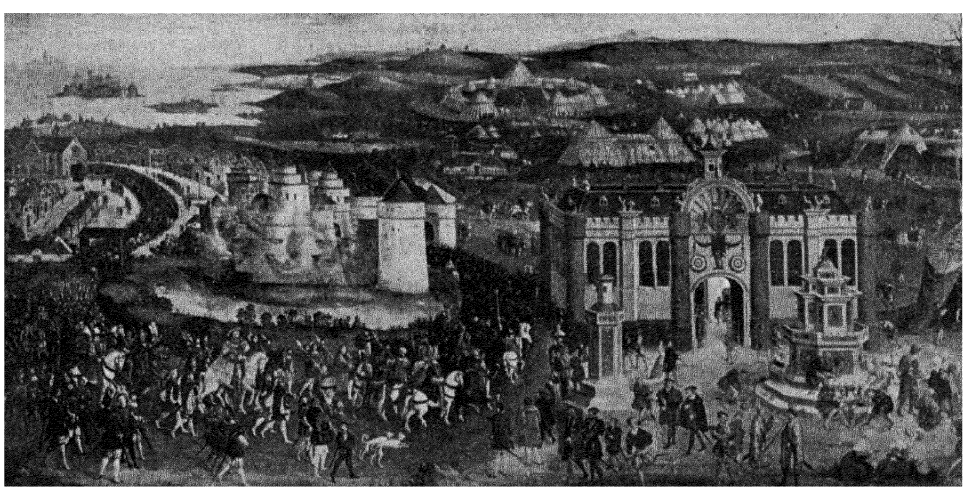


HOLBEIN'S PICTURE OF KING HENRY VIII EMBARKING AT DOVER

In 1520 Henry VIII. sailed for France to have an interview with Francis I. Accompanied by Queen Catharine and his entire court, the king embarked at Dover and was escorted across the Channel by a great fleet of warships

his whole career gave the lie, and his death removed from the scene the last and most skilful exponent of the foreign policy devised by the king's father. The idea of [illegible] the balance lay dormant, until the religious struggle on which Germany had already entered and England was entering had divided Europe into two hostile camps, and dynastic ambitions had become inextricably confused with dogmatic controversies.

Before 1530 England was distinguished from her continental neighbours partly by the possession of a constitution in which a unique importance was assigned to popular representatives, partly by a social system in which there existed no sharp and impassable frontiers between class and class. But the whole of the national life was overshadowed, at the close of the Middle Ages, by an ecclesiastical system which was framed on a model common to all the nations of the West; and in matters of the faith England like all other catholic communities accepted the authority of Popes and general councils. The Reformation intensified the insularity of English life and



THE MEETING-PLACE OF KINGS: "THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD"

This is a companion picture to that appearing at the top of the page The meeting of Henry VIII and Francis I occurred on English territory, in fields between the towns of Guisnes and Ardres, and was attended by great magnificence So grand, in fact, was the display made by the nobility of both England and France that the spot where the meeting took place was named "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," there being no fewer than two thousand eight hundred tents, many of them covered with silk and cloth of gold, pitched on the surrounding plain.

national character, for the nation left the Catholic communion without entering either of those two Protestant Churches which rose, in the sixteenth century, to a position of international importance. Although highly conservative in tendency, the Anglican communion bears little resemblance to any other. The principle of subordination to the state, which its leaders accepted from the first, gave it stability as a national Church but incapacitated it for any wider sphere of action. Even Scotland after some hesitation refused to accept Anglicanism and threw in her lot with Calvin of Geneva.



CARDINAL WOLSEY

Originally the son of a small farmer, the crafty Wolsey established himself in the good graces of Henry VIII., rising in 1515 to be Lord Chancellor of England and cardinal. He was disappointed at not being elected Pope.

This peculiar character of Anglicanism is due to the circumstances under which the English Reformation took place. There were Lutherans and other Protestants in England when Henry VIII., unable to procure a divorce from the Pope, decided to deny the authority of Rome. But the English Protestants were then a mere fraction of the nation, and they were not invited to advise the government in the work of destroying and remodelling ecclesiastical institutions. Henry VIII. intended that there should be no changes of dogma, or only changes of the slightest kind. His object was to bring the courts, the revenues, the patronage of the Church entirely under his own control, to make what confiscations seemed convenient, to allow such alterations in the forms of service as were imperatively demanded by his subjects. The first effects of the Reformation were, therefore, constitutional and legal. The growth of a strong Protestant party, attaching paramount importance to certain dogmas and certain forms of Church government, was a gradual process. The earliest changes effected by Henry VIII. were indeed sanctioned by Parliament. But Parliament did little more than register edicts which it did not care, perhaps did not dare, to resist. The body which should have been the chief guardian of liberty became the most reliable instrument of despotism.

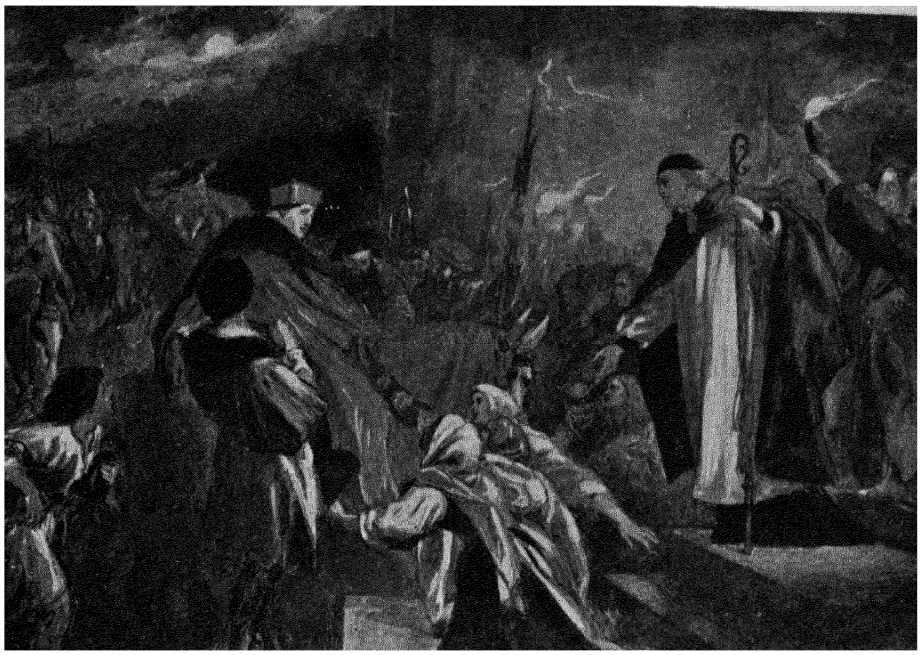
It must not be supposed that the impulse towards ecclesiastical reform was



THE PROUD CARDINAL WOLSEY ON HIS WAY TO WESTMINSTER HALL

Preceded by a person of rank bearing his cardinal's hat, Cardinal Wolsey is here represented as going in procession to Westminster Hall. According to Cavendish, the biographer of the cardinal, Wolsey would issue forth "apparelled all in red, in the habit of a cardinal, with a tippet of sables about his neck, holding in his hand a very fair orange, whereof the meat or substance within was taken out and filled up again with part of a sponge wherein was vinegar or other confections against the pestilent airs the which he commonly smelt when passing among the press."

From the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in [illegible]



WOLSEY AFTER HIS FALL SEEKING REFUGE IN LEICESTER ABBEY

Wolsey's star, so long in the ascendant, waned at last, and the proud cardinal, incurring the displeasure of his sovereign, was driven from office, all his wealth and estates being confiscated On his way from York to London to answer a charge of treason, the fallen churchman, broken in body and spirit, sought refuge in Leicester Abbey, and it was there, shortly before his death, on November 29th, 1530, that he gave utterance to the memorable words, "Had I but served my God with half the zeal I served my king, He would not in mine age have left me naked to mine enemies."

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in South Kensington Museum

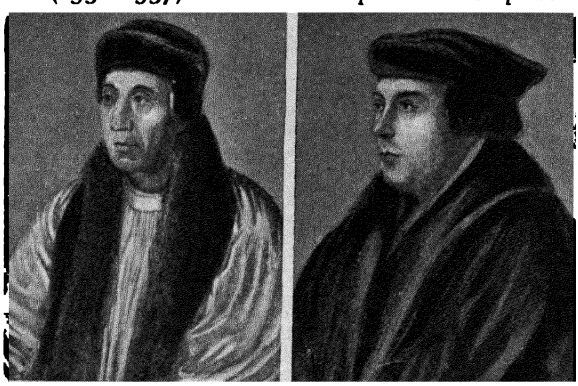
wholly wanting in the nation The claims of the papacy to rights of patronage, jurisdiction, and taxation had been long resented. Even in the fourteenth century those of the first class were attacked by the statute of Provisors in 1351, those of the second and third by that of Præmunire in 1353, and both measures were renewed with increased severity by the parliament of Richard II. Wycliffe's attacks upon the abuses of the Curia were the most popular and best-remembered aspects of his teaching Under the Lancastrians England had taken some interest in the conciliary movement, of which the ultimate object was to reform the government of the Roman Church. And under the Tudors we can distinguish two parties of different composition which were profoundly anxious to raise the tone of popular religion.

The Renaissance in England, as in Germany, was coloured by devotional feeling; the great Oxford scholars were also religious reformers. Nowhere were the satires of Erasmus on the Church more eagerly read and discussed than in the cultured circles of which Warham, More, and Colet were the leading spirits. Lutheranism secured an English following between 1520 and 1530; and the sect, though chiefly composed of obscure and humble enthusiasts, had caused anxiety to Wolsey before his overthrow. But in parliament the Lutherans and the scholars were practically unrepresented, and the latter were, almost without exception, repelled into extreme conservatism by the feeling that the king, acting under purely selfish motives, was likely to overwhelm the true and false elements of the national faith in a common ruin.

Among the Lords and Commons Henry depended for support partly upon those who were irritated by the very tangible abuses of the Church courts, by the excessive fees of ordinaries, by the moral censorship of immoral ecclesiastics; partly upon those who looked for a share of the Church's wealth; but chiefly on the timid and inexperienced, who believed that the divorce was essential to save the dynasty, and the ecclesiastical revolution, to put the legality of the divorce beyond all possibility of question.

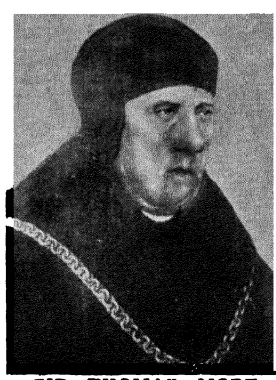
For seven years Parliament was engaged in the work of reforming the Church. Legislation moved slowly at first, while there was still a hope of intimidating the

Pope; nor, when this hope failed, could the king secure all that he desired at once. Each new step raised new fears of resistance, and the momentous work was interrupted by a serious rebellion, the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536–1537). The chief measures aimed against the Church were as follows. In 1529 popular sympathy was conciliated by legislation against pluralities, excessive fees, non-residence, and clerical trading. In 1531 the clergy were compelled, by the threat of a præmunire, to acknowledge the king as the supreme head of the Church, besides paying an immense fine. In 1532 benefit of clergy was restricted, and the payment of first-fruits to Rome was abolished. In 1533 it was forbidden to bring appeals before the Roman Curia, and an act for submission of the clergy provided that no convocation should meet or pass any canons without the royal licence. In 1534 the king received the power of nominating to all archbishoprics and bishoprics—by the *congé d'élire*; and the Act of Supremacy made it treason to deny the king's power in matters ecclesiastical. In 1536 the work of spoliation was begun by the suppression of the smaller monasteries; and in spite of the rebellion to which this measure gave occasion, the greater monasteries shared the same fate within the course of a few years (1537–1540). The enormous spoils, both land and movables, were squandered chiefly upon courtiers, or used as bribes to secure the loyalty of the great families. A few new bishoprics were founded and endowed with monastic lands, but this measure, though loudly advertised, does not account for a tithe of the confiscations.



WILLIAM WARHAM AND THOMAS CROMWELL

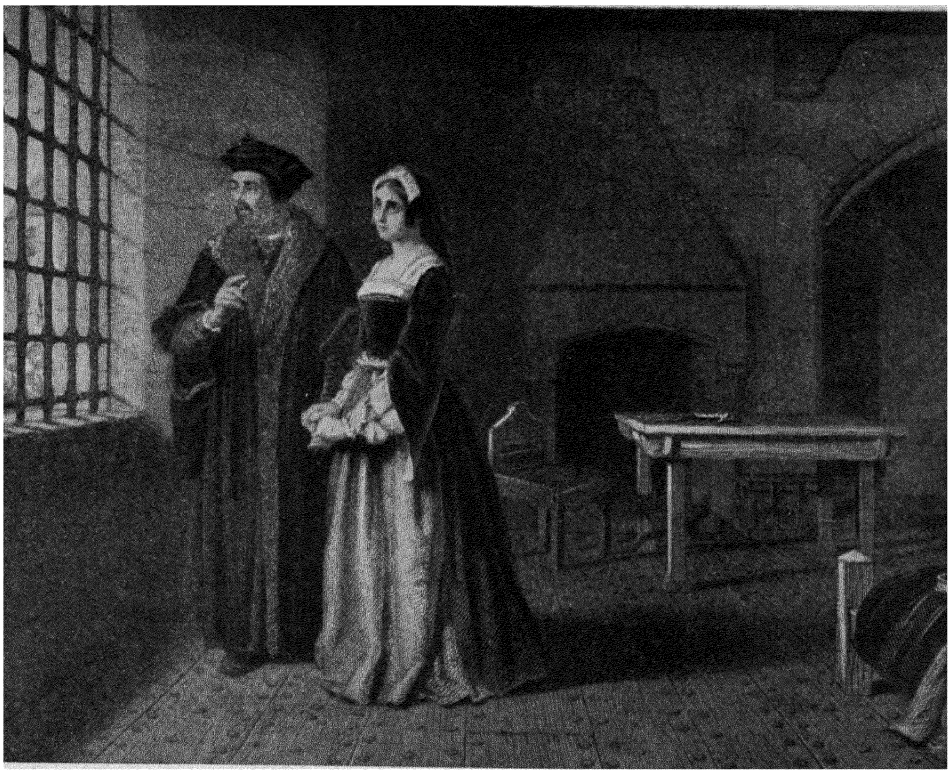
William Warham, born in 1450, was elected Archbishop of Canterbury in 1504, and from 1506 till his death, in 1532, he was Chancellor of Oxford University. Thomas Cromwell was associated with Wolsey, and was created Earl of Essex in 1540. But his days of honour were soon over, and in July of that year he was beheaded on Tower Hill.



SIR THOMAS MORE

When Wolsey fell from place and power, Sir Thomas More, against his own desire, was appointed Lord Chancellor. He was beheaded in 1535.

The moving spirit in the councils of the king, the man who shaped his legislation and intimidated Parliament to pass it, was the base-born Thomas Cromwell, one of Wolsey's servants, who had not only escaped the shipwreck of his master's fortunes, but had afterwards wormed himself into the favour of the king. Imbued with the lessons of the Florentine Machiavelli, this upstart made it his first object to establish an autocracy. He was of no religion, he had no scruples, and though free from the vice of wanton cruelty, he persecuted, without distinction of creed or class or merit, all who criticised the revolution. He burnt Anabaptists to vindicate his master's orthodoxy; he beheaded More, the leader of the Humanists, and Fisher, the most revered of the bishops, for objecting to the royal supremacy. He pacified the rebels of 1536–1537 by lying promises, and removed the fear of future risings by indiscriminate executions. His spy system was perfect; he knew everything, and forgave nothing. But he fell at length a victim to the despotism which he had created. He attempted, in his fear of a Hapsburg ascendancy, to bind Henry VIII. inextricably to the cause of the German Protestants. The king followed his Minister's advice so far as to issue the Ten Articles in 1536 and to marry the sister of the Duke of Cleves. Then he drew back, for he had no mind to be a heretic in dogma or in foreign policy. The Six Articles, enacted by Parliament in 1539, announced the adhesion of the English Church to the real presence, the communion in one kind, clerical celibacy, and auricular confession. In 1540, Cromwell was attainted and

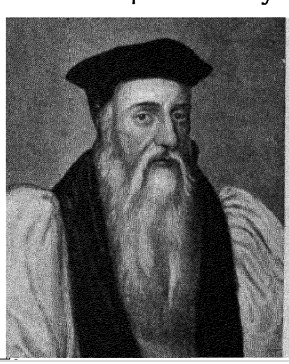


SIR THOMAS MORE IMPRISONED IN THE TOWER

There is here represented an episode in the closing days of Sir Thomas More. Looking one day from his prison window in the Tower, he saw four monks on their way to execution, and he called the attention of his daughter Margaret to those "blessed fathers who were going as cheerfully to their deaths as bridegrooms to their marriage."

From the painting by J. R. Herbert, R.A., in the National Gallery

sent to execution. His place at the king's ear was taken by reactionaries, who atoned for their assent to the royal supremacy by the severity with which they persecuted heterodox opinions. Still the party of moderate reform gained ground at court and in the nation. It was represented by the Primate, Cranmer, a pliant but well-meaning theologian, who drifted by imperceptible stages towards the Protestant position and exercised no little influence on the king. An English version of the Bible, prepared by Tyndale's rendering, the English Litany, and a primer of English prayers, were the great services of Cranmer to the national Church. Though opposed and denounced by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the chief of the reactionaries, Cranmer retained to the last his influence over Henry.





Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, joined the Protestant cause and was burned at the stake in 1556. In Miles Coverdale the Reformation movement had a loyal friend. His translation of the Bible appeared in 1535 with a dedication to Henry VIII., he died in 1568

The Reformation began with a violent change in foreign policy. Yet the king reverted at the earliest opportunity to the leading ideas of his first Minister, in so far as he aimed at preserving the attitude of a neutral and a mediator. But he could no longer venture that of Wolsey It was Henry's good fortune that

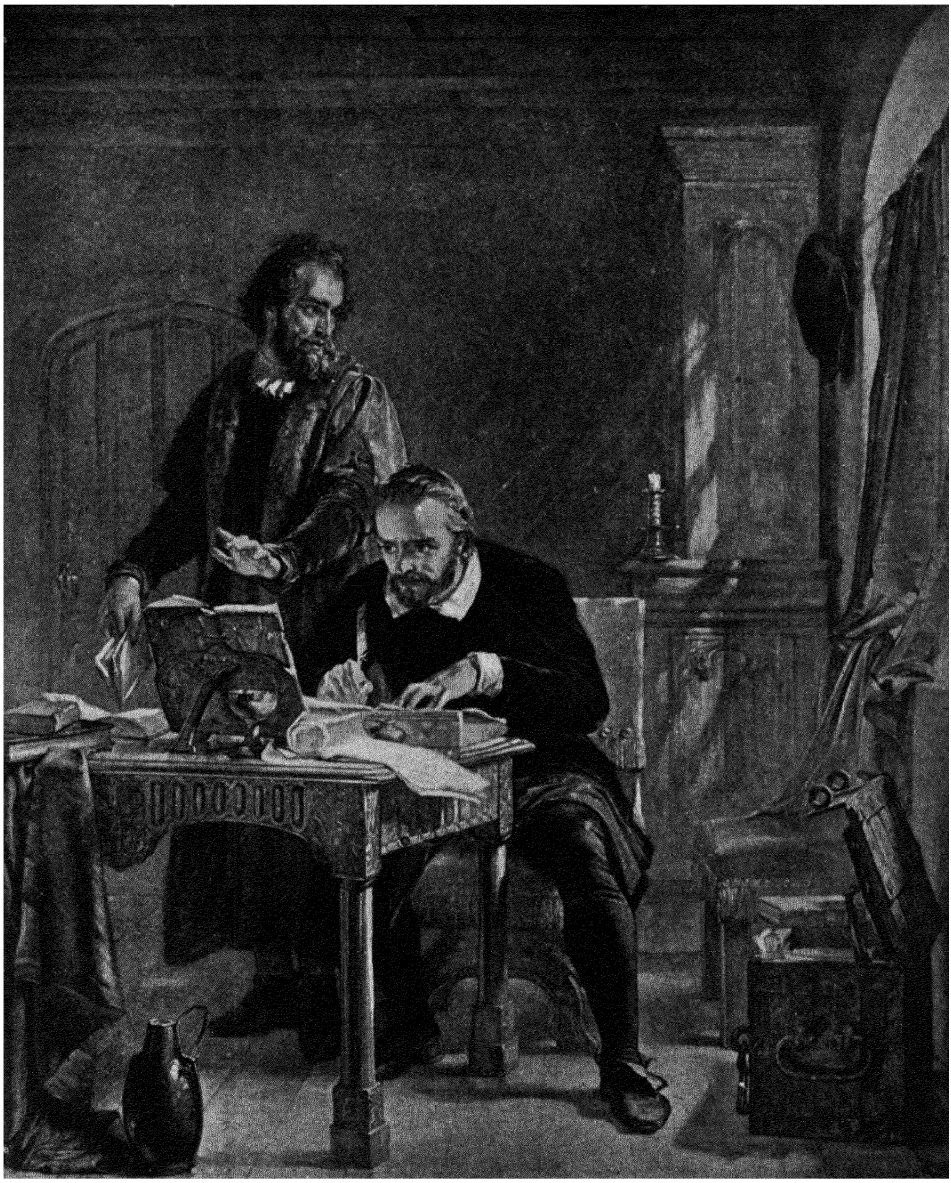
the English Reformation coincided with a crisis in the relations of Hapsburg and Valois, and that the crucial years which followed his destructive legislation were those in which the Protestants of Germany engrossed the mind of Charles V. England was thus able to dispense with serious alliances, dynastic or religious What attention the king could spare from domestic affairs was concentrated chiefly upon the Scottish question In Scotland also there were two parties hostile to the Church—the one Lutheran, rapidly becoming Calvinistic by conviction, the other consisting of greedy nobles who coveted the lands of bishoprics and conventual establishments. Henry entertained some hopes of luring his nephew James V. to embark upon the same course as himself; failing in this, he neglected no opportunity to foster an English party in the northern kingdom. James retaliated by reviving the French alliance, which he cemented by his marriage with Mary of Guise, and this step led to the outbreak of hostilities. A Scottish army prepared for the invasion of England, in response to an English raid into Scottish territory. At the battle of Solway Moss that army met with an overthrow disastrous and complete, the news of which came as a death blow to the Scottish monarch.

On the death of James, in 1542, the crown of Scotland passed to a minor, Mary Stuart. Her mother, who shared the duties of the regency with Cardinal Beaton, had work enough to cope with heretics at home, and would gladly have concluded peace with England; but



"THE AMBASSADORS" A NOTABLE PAINTING BY HANS HOLBEIN

Hans Holbein, the famous Dutch painter, came to England during the reign of Henry VIII., and painted numerous pictures of court life and prominent personages. "The Ambassadors" is one of the most famous paintings of the artist



TYNDALE TRANSLATING THE SCRIPTURES

The devoted scholar and reformer, William Tyndale, was born in Gloucestershire in 1481, and with other Reformers fled to Antwerp when their enemies were seeking their destruction There they wrote books in English in condemnation of the doctrines of the Catholic Church, Tyndale's translation of the New Testament was welcomed in England, but it was considered imperfect and inaccurate, and many copies of the work were publicly burned in London. In 1535, Tyndale was arrested, and, after being kept in confinement for sixteen months, was put to a martyr's death.

From the painting by Alexander Johnston

Henry pressed his advantage harried the Scottish border, and encouraged the Scottish Protestants to murder Beaton in 1546. The English king hoped by this policy to secure the complete control of Scotland, and to unite the crowns by a marriage between his son and Mary Stuart. But he did not live to realise the folly of thus provoking a high-spirited and patriotic nation. He died early in 1547, leaving his own inheritance to a minor, and his death was the signal for English troubles not less acute than those he had fostered so unscrupulously in Scotland.



ENGLAND UNDER EDWARD & MARY
AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE REFORMATION

A CHURCH of ambiguous complexion, a despotism newly established and dependent upon popular support, a bitter feud between reactionaries and radicals, such were the legacies of Henry VIII. to the nation. His numerous marriages, divorces, and settlements of the succession had introduced another element of confusion into politics. By Catharine he left a daughter, Mary; by Anne Boleyn, whom he married in 1533 and beheaded in 1536, a daughter, Elizabeth; by his third wife, Jane Seymour, who died in 1537, a son, Edward VI. The crown had been settled on Elizabeth before her mother's fall. It had again been settled on the children of Jane Seymour in 1536, Mary and Elizabeth being declared illegitimate. A third Act of 1544 settled it on Edward VI. and his issue, with remainders to Mary and Elizabeth. Finally, the king, in a will authorised by Parliament, provided that, on failure of his children and their issue, the descendants of his younger sister, Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, should succeed in preference to those of Margaret of Scotland.

Henry's Legacy to the Nation

More than one rebellion, and a fatal struggle between a Stuart and a Tudor queen, were the outcome of the hopes aroused or disappointed by these dispositions. It availed the king's children but little that he had deliberately persecuted and proscribed the families of Yorkist or Lancastrian descent. The heirs whom he recognised were sufficient to provide posterity with war and strife. Under the will of Henry VIII. the government, during his son's minority, was to be vested in a council of which he had fixed the composition. The members were chosen apparently with reference to their religious opinions. Most were committed to Protestant principles, and Gardiner's name did not figure on the list. In his later years Henry had shown himself all but convinced that the Reformation, if it was to be permanent, must be carried further. It would seem that he deliberately left to his executors the fulfilment of a policy which, however essential, was absolutely opposed to his earlier declarations. So at least the Council of Regency interpreted their mandate, and they selected as protector of the realm that one of their number who was most inclined to an extreme reformation. This was the young king's uncle, the Earl of Hertford, or, as he soon became with the goodwill of his colleagues, the Duke of Somerset.

England Under a Council of Regency

The duke was an idealist, though not untainted with the sordid materialism of his age. Economic reforms floated confusedly before his mind, and his one difficulty was where to begin in remodelling a world which indeed called urgently for many changes. His first step was to relax the tyranny of the dead king. A Parliament which met in 1547 was allowed to repeal all persecuting statutes enacted since the time of Richard II., and most of the new treasons which had been created since 1352. The cancellation of the Six Articles gave relief to Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Calvinist alike. A statute was also repealed by which the late king had been empowered, under certain restrictions, to give his proclamations the force of law. So much the long-suffering Commons imperatively demanded, and Somerset, if he did not approve all these concessions, saw no possibility of denying them.

Foreign Preachers in England

It was with greater zeal that he lent himself to the religious policy of Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, and the foreign preachers who flocked to England on the news of Henry's death. Already, in 1547, the Regency sanctioned a book of homilies and a set of injunctions to the clergy by which war was declared on images, the worship of the saints, and pilgrimages, while a new statute of confiscation handed over to the government the endowments

of chantries, and also those of guild and other corporations so far as they had been appropriated to religious purposes. A Lutheran communion ritual, issued in 1548, proved but a halfway house to an English Book of Common Prayer in 1549; the universities were subjected to a drastic visitation, in consequence of which the adherents of the Henrician settlement were for the most part expelled to make room for Calvinist divines and teachers.

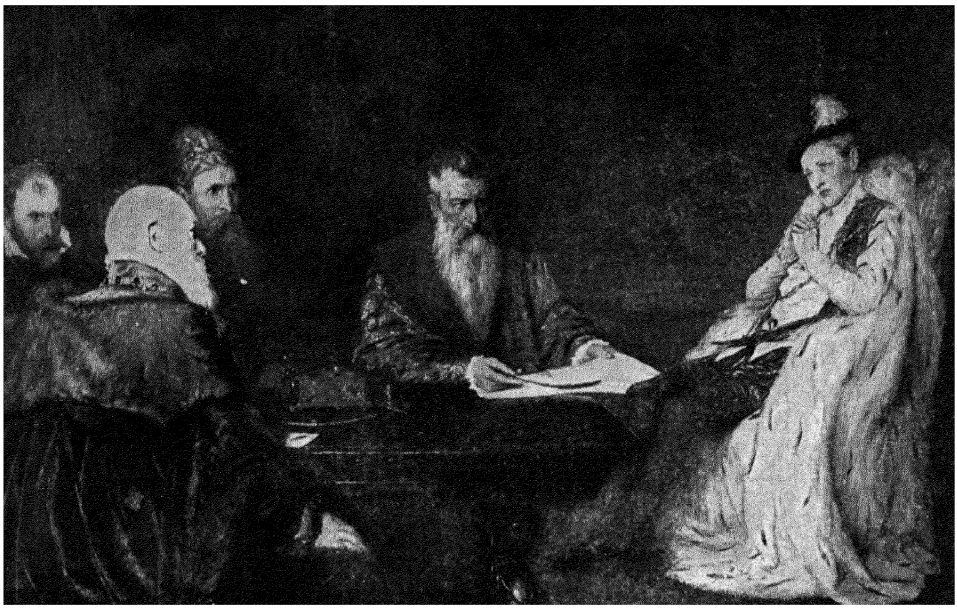
In religion the Protector, though moving fast and [illegible] all pretence of compromise, was cordially supported by Cranmer, by a majority of the bishops, and by a large minority of laymen. The conservative majority were stunned by the suddenness of the attack, and the innovators found it unnecessary to apply the severer forms of persecution. Several members of the Regency, many of the rising class of gentry, amassed enormous fortunes by the new confiscations. But there was more difficulty when the Protector turned his attention to the social evils of the day. Here it was scarcely possible to suggest any remedies acceptable to the landowning interest, which ruled supreme in both houses of the legislature, and yet it seemed impossible to neglect complaints and protests which were only too well founded.



THE YOUNG KING EDWARD VI
He was only nine years of age when his father, Henry V[illegible] to the throne, a [illegible] formed. Before [illegible] settled the crown on Lady Jane Grey

From the beginning of the Tudor period there had been signs of an impending social revolution. They were early made the subject of remedial legislation; they are vividly described in the preface to the Utopia of Sir Thomas More; they furnished Latimer with copious material for homilies against the self-seeking of the upper classes. The oldest and most extensive cause of suffering was the substitution of sheep-farming for tillage. To create extensive pastures the landlords appropriated common lands and did their best to destroy the old system of manorial husbandry to which the country owed the boasted yeoman class, the backbone of every English army. The great profits of sheep-farming naturally produced a rise of rents which told heavily against the tenant farmer. The demand for agricultural labour decreased, and the government did everything in its power to prevent the rate of wages from rising above the standard which had been fixed by legislation at a time when prices were much lower than they had now become. The suppression of the monasteries intensified these evils by bringing in a new race of landlords who treated their lands as a commercial speculation, and presented, both in their methods of farming and in their relations with tenants, a sharp contrast to the conservative and easy-going policy of the evicted monks. It is no wonder that the sturdy vagrant became a familiar feature of the highways and a terror to substantial men, or that the problem of the aged and impotent poor caused the government profound perplexity.

Legislation of terrible severity was initiated against the former class by an act of 1531. The latter were at first, in 1531, ordered to beg their bread under protection of a royal licence, and afterwards, in 1536, made a charge upon the alms collected by the churchwardens of their respective parishes. But the causes producing both the one class and the other continued to operate with increasing force. Pauperism throve chiefly in the open country, but the towns also were suffering from the plague-sore. Changed conditions of trade and the restrictive policy of the guilds had reduced many once thriving communities to destitution. The debasement of the coinage, begun by Henry VIII. and continued under the Protectorate, contributed in some degree to the ruin of doubtful credit and precarious speculations. There was a vague but angry feeling that the economic depression was an outcome of the recent changes in religion. Of those who felt



THE BOY KING EDWARD VI. AND THE COUNCIL OF REGENCY
From the painting by John Pettie, R.A.

themselves aggrieved, some desired reaction, others preferred to demand that the rights of property should be revised no less summarily than the government and the doctrine of the Church.

Somerset failed to understand the complicated nature of the economic situation. He thought a few simple measures would suffice, and in 1548 appointed land commissioners with orders to enforce the old laws against enclosures. The commissioners reported that it would be well to legislate against large holdings, absentee landlords, and the practice of farming for commercial gain. These wild proposals were rejected by Parliament, to the intense disappointment of those who had expected that the land commission would bring back the Golden Age, and Somerset committed the mistake of encouraging the popular outcry against the landed classes, and of publicly condoning the destruction of enclosures.



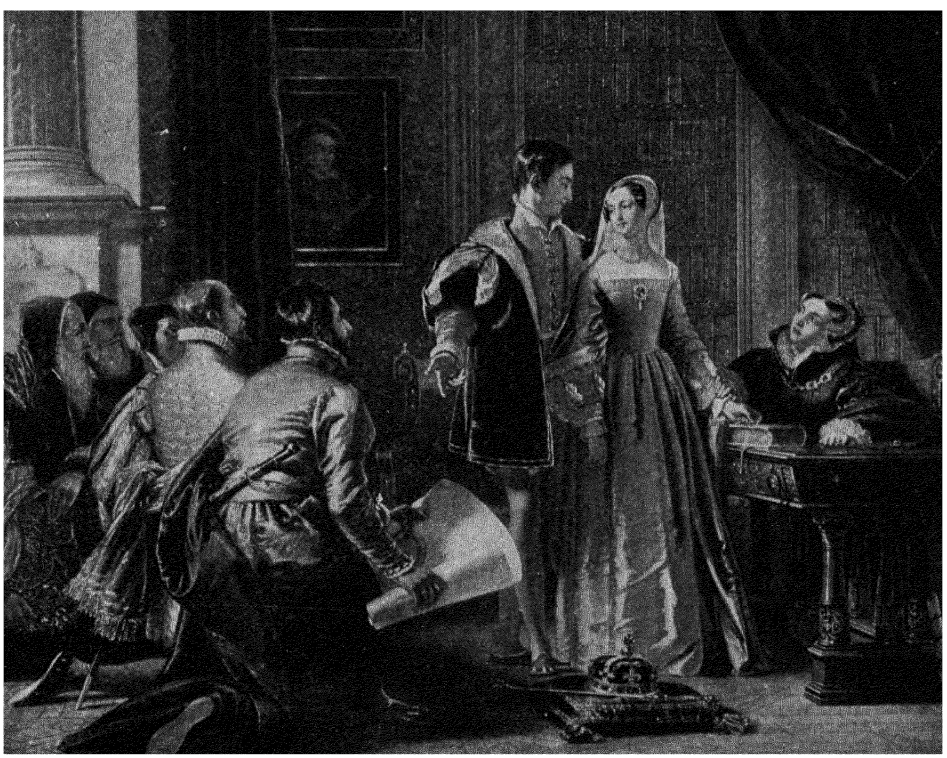
THE DUKE OF SOMERSET
The Earl of Hertford, on the death of King Henry VIII., became the chief figure in the Council of Regency and was made Duke of Somerset, he was executed in 1552.

An unsuccessful war with Scotland still further aggravated his unpopularity. The French connections of the queen-mother, Mary of Guise, sympathy for the Scottish reformers whom she had begun to reduce with the aid of French troops, and the hope of uniting the two crowns by a marriage between his nephew and Mary Stuart, all these were plausible reasons for interfering in the north. In conception the policy of the Protector had obvious merits, in execution it proved a humiliating failure. The English victory at Pinkie Cleugh, in 1547, had worse consequences than a defeat; they were realised in 1548 when Mary Stuart was sent to France to be educated in the Catholic faith and as the future bride of the dauphin Francis. The indignation of Scotland at English interference gave Mary of Guise increased facilities for the employment of French troops, the Protestant cause declined in Scotland, and there was a danger that the country might be used in future by the Catholic powers as a base for the reduction of England. Close on the Scottish failure followed the risings of the peasants in Devonshire and Cornwall against the new Prayer Book; in Norfolk, under Robert Ket, against enclosures, in 1549. The Council of Regency, though easily

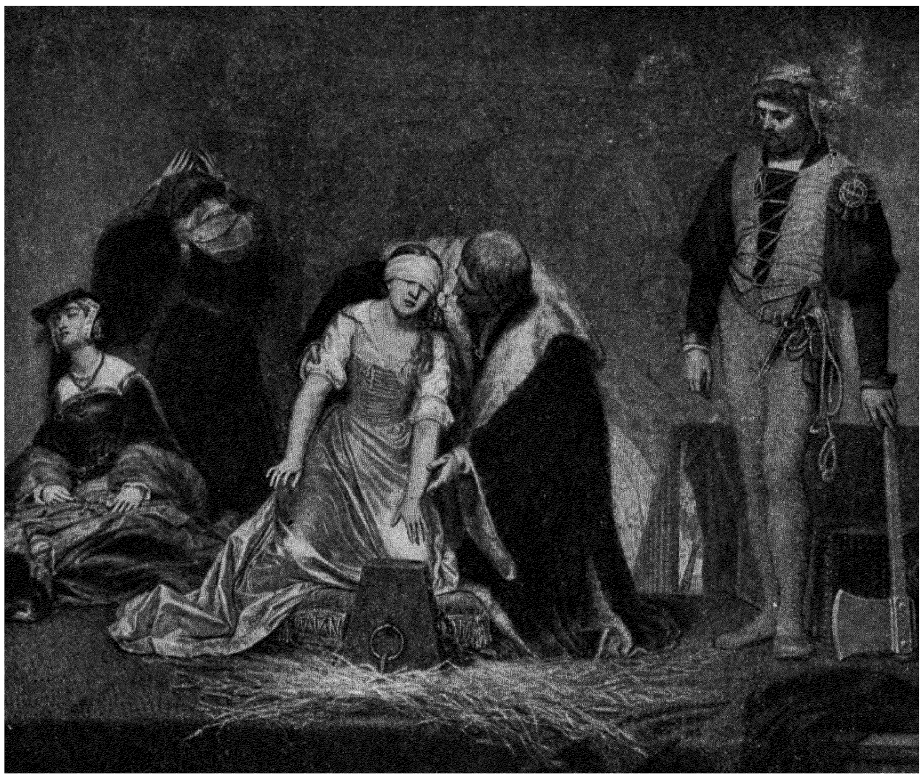
victorious over both rebellions, was thoroughly alarmed. In 1549 Somerset was removed from his office and imprisoned in the Tower. With his fall disappeared the title of Protector. The office of regent was put into commission, being vested in the Council as a whole. But the moving spirit, the protector in all but name, was Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, a coarse and self-seeking adventurer, who enriched himself and his colleagues with a total disregard of public interests. From purely selfish motives he threw in his lot with the more fanatical reformers, and carried to extremes the policy of Somerset. The immigration of foreign Protestants, chiefly refugees from Germany, was encouraged, and professional chairs were founded at Oxford and Cambridge for Peter Martyr and for Bucer. In 1552, a second Prayer Book, adopting the Zwinglian theory as to the Eucharist and other controversial questions, was substituted for the comparatively moderate book of 1549. Forty-two Articles, the first Anglican confession of faith, were issued in 1553, ostensibly with the approval of convocation, but in reality upon the sole authority of the Council, and subscription was required from all the clergy. Iconoclasm, the disuse of vestments, the denunciation of all forms and ceremonies, were warmly encouraged, under cover of the excitement produced by the official preachers the government proceeded with the confiscation of endowments and church plate.



A QUEEN FOR NINE DAYS
Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen of England in London on July 10th, 1553, but occupied the throne for only nine days.



[illegible] JANE GRE[illegible] OFFERED THE CROWN [illegible]D
At the death of Edward VI, Lady Jane Grey's father-in-law, the Duke of Northumberland, and other nobles approached her with the offer of the crown. In this picture the artist, Mr. C. R. Leslie, R.A., represents that eventful moment in her life. Her husband is seen standing by her side; her mother, the Duchess of Suffolk, is seated at the table, while the Duke of Northumberland, with an unrolled document in his hand, is kneeling before her.



THE EXECUTION OF THE UNFORTUNATE LADY JANE GREY

Even while Lady Jane Grey was being hailed as Queen of England, Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII., was on her way to London to lay claim to the throne, and she was proclaimed queen in London on July 10th, 1553 The fate of Lady Jane Grey was thus sealed, and six months later she was beheaded at the Tower, meeting death with calm fortitude. While on the scaffold she made an affecting speech, telling the bystanders that her offence was not in having laid her hand to the crown, but in not rejecting it with sufficient firmness. Her husband also died at the scaffold.

From the painting by Paul Delaroche

Those whose opposition Northumberland had reason to fear stood in the greatest peril. Somerset was brought to the block on unsubstantiated charges in 1552, the Princess Mary, who obstinately refused to abjure her mother's faith, would have shared the same fate if the Council had not feared the effect of such a crime on public feeling It was plain that her brother, a sickly and precocious youth, would not live to attain his majority; and Northumberland trembled for his head if Mary should succeed in accordance with the will of Henry VIII.

To avert the danger the duke pressed his ward to make a will altering the succession. This was done; and Edward designated as heiress of the crown the Lady Jane Grey, a granddaughter of Mary of Suffolk, the second sister of his father. Jane Grey had been already married to the son of Northumberland, who hoped in this way to secure the crown for his posterity. Immediately afterwards the king's death left it to be decided whether the new settlement was to prevail against the old; whether Protestantism was to hold the field over the Erastian Catholicism which the legislation of 1530-1540 had set up and that of 1547-1553 had overthrown.

The issue of the struggle was not long in doubt Northumberland was detested; time had cast a halo over the memory of Henry VIII., whose opinions it was understood that his elder daughter represented. While Jane Grey was solemnly proclaimed in London, the Princess Mary fled to the eastern counties and appealed to her father's friends They responded with enthusiasm; the supporters of Northumberland melted away, and before many days had passed, he, his son, and the Lady Jane were prisoners in the Tower. The Duke's

execution followed as a matter of course, and excited no sympathy. But the other members of the dynastic conspiracy escaped lightly; public apprehensions as to a violent reaction were calmed by the Queen's assurance that she intended to put no force upon men's consciences. The promise was ill kept.

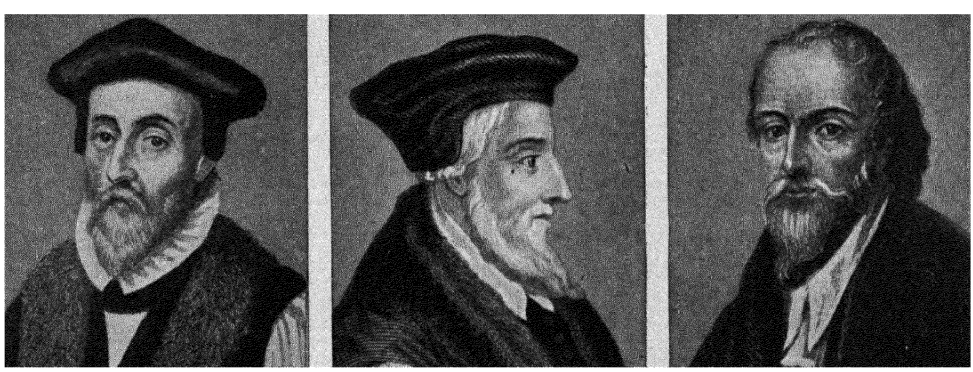
The leading reformers—Ridley, Coverdale, Hooper, Cranmer—were soon committed to prison, though not till they had been allowed the opportunity of seeking exile, and although the foreign Protestants were allowed to depart unscathed, the queen's coronation was followed by a step which boded ill for the future of the new faith. She determined to marry Philip, the son and heir of Charles V., the greatest of Catholic sovereigns. This could only mean the restoration of the unreformed religion, which again could lead only to persecution. A Protestant conspiracy was accordingly framed with the object of setting up Elizabeth as queen.



POLE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
This English cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church came to the throne with the object of winning it back to the old faith. In this mission, however, he failed

miniously routed; and Mary could afford to treat all but the ringleaders with contemptuous lenity, though Lady Jane and her husband were now sent to the block.

Parliament, meeting a few weeks later—in April, 1554—was asked to sanction the Spanish marriage. It did so upon condition that England should not be expected to assist the Hapsburgs in their unceasing struggle with the house of Valois. Shortly afterwards Philip came to England and the marriage was celebrated. The terms of the marriage settlement had been so framed, by the wish of Parliament rather than of Mary, as to leave him no influence in the government, and he soon withdrew in disgust from a country in which he found himself both unpopular and insignificant. But the marriage had disastrous consequences. Disappointed in her hope of children, Mary sought consolation in a devoted support of the true faith. It was against the wishes of her husband that



Hooper — Ridley — Latimer

THE MEN WHO LIGHTED A CANDLE THAT HAS NEVER GONE OUT

Hooper was a Cistercian monk at Gloucester, but was won over to Protestantism by a study of the writings of Zwingli, and was eventually burned at the stake. Nicholas Ridley was arrested, and, along with Cranmer and Latimer, was, in 1554, tried and condemned for heresy, being burned at Oxford in 1555. As the lighted faggot was laid at Ridley's feet, the aged Latimer cheered him with the prophetic words that will never die "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out"

The leader was Sir Thomas Wyatt, who led an army of Kentish Protestants to London in the hope of seizing the queen and capital. But the rebels were ignoshe became a persecutor, so far as he was concerned the fears of the Protestants were unfounded. The advice of his father and his own common-sense showed him the



HOLBEIN'S PORTRAIT OF QUEEN MARY

T[illegible] Henry VIII by Catharine of Aragon, Mary came to the throne of England in 1553, and once more [illegible] Roman Catholic religion Part of her reign was taken up with stern prosecution of the reformers, many of whom perished at the stake. Her marriage to Philip II of Spain had disastrous consequences Calais, the last of England's Continental possessions, was lost in 1558 and the queen grieved at this humiliation declared that when she died the name of Calais would be found stamped upon her heart Her death occurred in the same year, 1558

undesirability of persecuting a sect from the good will of which he might derive the most substantial aid. But Mary would not be restrained; the warnings of her husband were outweighed by the encouragement which she received from her cousin, Cardinal Pole. The cardinal was sent to England as a papal legate in 1554 to receive from Parliament the tokens of national repentance. He remained to direct the queen's policy, with the narrow zeal and the blind hopefulness of a repatriated exile Parliament insisted that there should be no interference with the impropriators of ecclesiastical endowments. But for heretics the two houses

showed less sympathy, and the persecuting statutes of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. were re-enacted.

Early in 1555 the legate began to use against the reformed preachers the powers which had been thus conferred. Some of his victims recanted, but more were burned. The government struck at the leaders as a matter of course. Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer were all brought to the stake as quickly as the formalities of legal procedure would allow, but the inquisitors were soon busy with obscurer victims. The number of those who suffered has been much exaggerated. There were rather less than three hundred in four years, and these were drawn from a comparatively narrow area, from London and the eastern counties. The sixteenth century witnessed many epochs of more destructive persecution. But the reaction which the burnings excited was all the greater because they left the great majority of Protestants untouched. The queen's severity was sufficient to exasperate, not enough to produce the apathy of despair.

To all but the queen and Pole and a few kindred spirits it was soon evident that England could not be reclaimed for the old faith. Mary herself recognised this fact before her end, and the knowledge added bitterness to the disappointments of her private life. These were sufficiently grievous in themselves. To childlessness was added the early loss of any affection which her husband had ever felt for her. The Spanish connection brought upon herself and Pole the displeasure of the fiery Paul IV., who was at feud with Charles and Philip, and a French war, into which she allowed England to be drawn at the instance of her husband, led to the loss of Calais in 1558, the last of the Continental possessions. Of this humiliation she said that when she died the name of Calais would be found stamped upon her heart.



ARCHBISHOP CRANMER ENTERING THE TOWER OF LONDON AS A PRISONER

Archbishop Cranmer was another of the Protestant leaders who suffered death for his convictions, and in this picture he is seen entering the Tower through the Traitors' Gate. He was induced by his judges to recant some of the doctrines he had espoused, but as this did not save him he revoked his recantation. When he came to the stake, on March 21st, 1556, he thrust his hand into the flames, saying, "That unworthy right hand!" thus carrying out the resolution he had made that the hand which, contrary to the heart, had penned the recantation should be first punished.

For a month or two more she threw herself with increased zeal into the work of persecution; but at the end of 1558, prematurely aged by disease and grief, she died. A large minority of her subjects received the news with joy. It was the general hope and expectation that her successor, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, would sweep away the agents and the apparatus of Mary's propaganda. England was not yet Protestant; but four years of Pole and Mary had discredited the militant and ultramontane Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation.

H. W. C. DAVIS

THE PLACE OF HENRY VIII IN HISTORY

BY MARTIN HUME M.A.

UNDER Henry VII. England had been slowly and unconsciously ripening for the vast social upheaval that was to transform it into a modern state. Feudalism was still the framework of English institutions, but its power was spent and its disappearance before the changing conditions of life was inevitable. The powerful ancient nobles had to a great extent perished in the long civil wars, and the towns had increased enormously in wealth and population. With the growth of commerce coin was becoming everywhere the principal standard of value, and the old form of tenantry by service was already nearly obsolete. Most of the land of England was held on copyhold tenures, giving to the tenants fixity of possession for long periods, usually on light rents and with various fines and forfeits on demise, and nearly a third of the soil of the country was owned by the ecclesiastical foundations.

Such a state of things was an ideal one for the tillers of the soil and for those who worked for wages. The frequent plagues had cleared off surplus labour, the statutes of labourers had all been inoperative, and the growth of town industry, especially cloth manufacture, rendered competition for workmen keen, while the commutation of feudal service for a small payment in money or kind as manorial rent, made the husbandmen prosperous and free as they had never been before.

THE KING'S HEAVY YOKE ON LABOUR

It is calculated that at this period ten or twelve weeks of labour in a year would enable a workman to provide for himself and family, for while the ordinary labourer's wage was fourpence per day, or that of an urban artisan sixpence or sevenpence, wheat fluctuated in price between four shillings and five shillings per quarter.

This happy state of things could of necessity be only transitory. The servile yoke of villeinage had been shaken from the neck of labour; but a still heavier one was being forged to replace it. Henry VII. depended for the support of his usurped throne upon Parliament and the commercial and industrial classes, for whom peace and stability were vitally necessary; he repaid their attachment by levying much of his heavy exactions upon the landowners and gentry. His foreign policy, moreover, tended greatly to benefit the mercantile classes. For the purpose of gaining the support of his upstart dynasty by the powerful combination on the Continent, headed by Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain, he entered into a series of foreign alliances which greatly extended the facilities and security for English oversea trade. By his prompt recognition of the new fact that thenceforward the possession of coin would mean wealth and power, and by his crafty diplomacy, he prepared England also to play a prominent part in the world drama that was to occupy the succeeding century. This was the condition of affairs in England when Henry VII. died, in April, 1509. Change was imminent, for the world was throbbing with new thoughts, and the old gods were dying.

CHARACTERISTICS OF HENRY VIII

The man who in England was to personify the national revolution was fair of seeming, debonnair, and bright of wit. But Harry Tudor's prime belied his gallant youth; for his was a nature that craves persuasion that all its deeds are good, whatever they may be. Concupiscent, passionate, and supremely vain, he was made to be a self-deceiving tool of greater men than himself. The vast changes he effected in social and religious life, and in the position of England politically, were not the result of far-seeing calculation on his part, but of circumstances over and beyond him, of which the effects were precipitated by Henry's opportunist action, at the bidding of his passions or at the instance of stronger minds.

His marriage with Anne Boleyn was the result of clever intrigues of the French party and the reformers; his repudiation of the papal supremacy was an ebullience of offended pride, urged by Cromwell for selfish political ends; his suppression of the monasteries

and the confiscation of ecclesiastical wealth were the outcome of his lavish prodigality; and, perhaps, the most disastrous of all his acts, the successive debasements of the coinage, were an attempt to disguise the effects of the waste incurred by a vain, showy, but ineffective foreign policy. That the final result attained was in some cases good for England is incontestable. The atrophy of feudalism would have passed away in any case; but Henry's patronage of shipping, and his care for foreign commerce, hastened its disappearance, while his breaking up and distribution of the vast monastic estates, though entailing terrible hardship, enormously stimulated the production and circulation of wealth in the form of wool and cloth.

The new class of landowners created by Henry speedily ousted copyhold tenants where they could, and turned arable lands into sheep runs. The enclosures of commons and limitation of manorial rights by the same class of owners increased the dependence of the rural populations, and sent husbandmen flocking into the towns to become weavers and to fight, as they had never fought before, for a living wage. Deprived of the aid and succour in distress previously extended by the monasteries to their class, their wages paid in coin so base that at last the silver shilling contained 75 per cent. of copper, the labourers, when the change was complete, found that it was necessary for them to work the whole fifty-two weeks in the year for an amount insufficient for their maintenance.

CHANGING THE FACE OF ENGLAND

While wages had increased but 30 per cent., the price of wheat had been almost quadrupled, varying, as it did, from 15s. to 20s. per quarter; and meat in twenty years had become three times its former price. Then it became possible, as it had never been before, to enforce by law a maximum wage. The Quarter Sessions, consisting entirely of employers and landlords, fixed the rate of wages to be paid in each district, and the tradition was thus established that the standard of wage was the lowest cost of subsistence. The workers of England in the reign of Henry were freed from villeinage by the march of commerce, but their freedom only meant enslavement to their need to live.

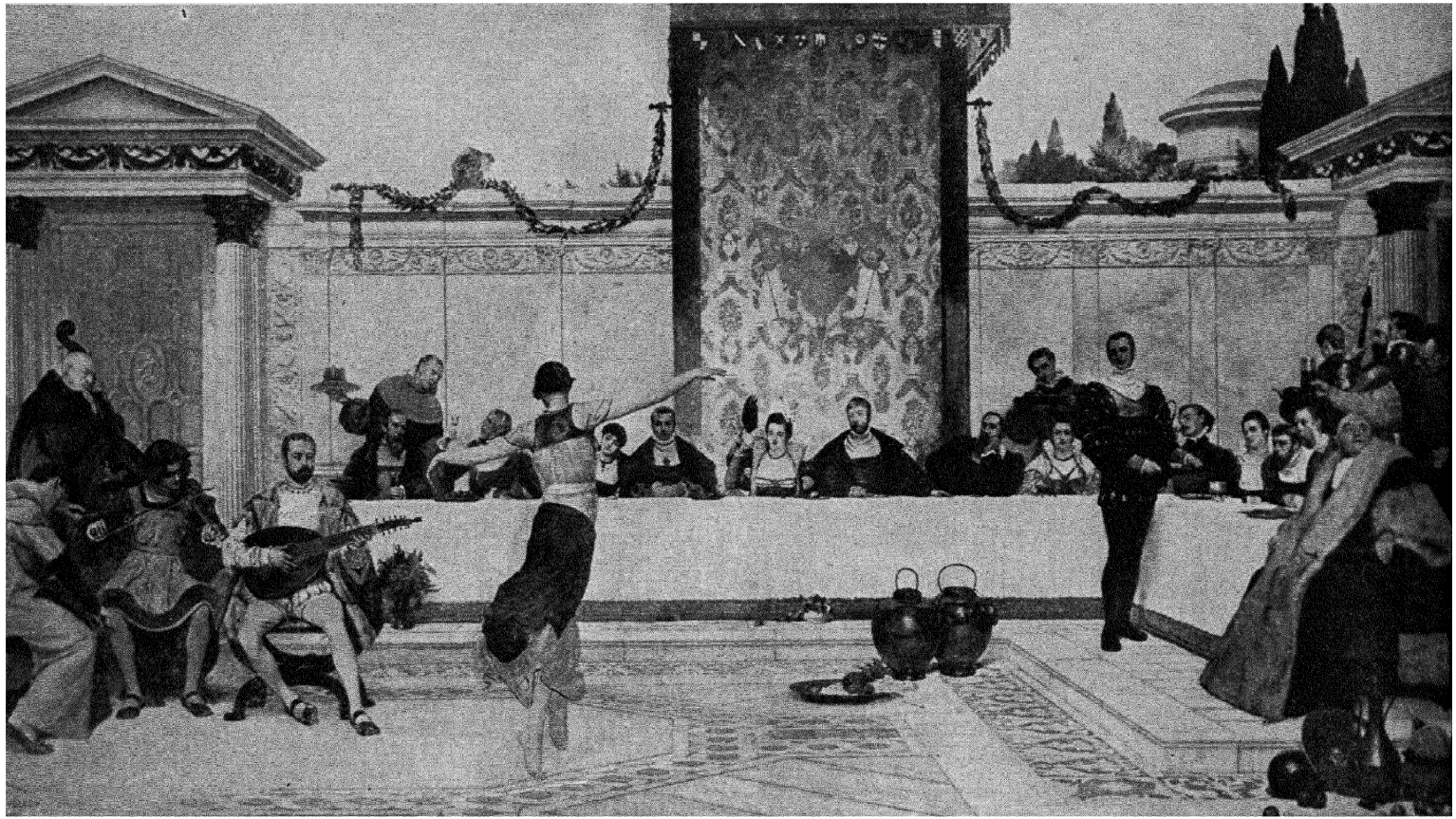
In less than thirty years the face of England changed. Wool and cloth were England's staples, and the wealth made by traders established a new standard of living for the middle class. Henry's ostentatious extravagance had been copied by the court, and this had to be paid for by increase in land rents or the sale of estates. Now an enormously enriched middle class imitated their betters, and became luxurious and extravagant. This had to be paid for by keeping wages down and raising the prices of commodities.

WHAT HENRY DID FOR HIS COUNTRY

To say that Henry changed the religion of England would be untrue. He himself professed to be a Catholic in all but his political submission to the Pope.

But he did, consciously or unconsciously, unlock the gates that had imprisoned English commerce for centuries. For the gross injustice and cruelty that accompanied the suppression of the conventual houses, and the plunder of the Church by Henry and Somerset, nothing but condemnation is possible now that we see the full iniquity of it; but to Henry, who needed for his extravagance the booty to be gained, the measure was excused as one demanded by the public morality and welfare.

The weak braggart who seemed so strong found England poor and backward, but ready for advance, and he laid the foundations of her future greatness; but in doing so he was prompted by no prophetic visions of national splendour, but by a vain despot's desire to have his own way, and by the passions that made him an easy tool without his suspecting it. His costly and unstable foreign policy was mainly the outcome of his imperious vanity, and brought him permanently neither honour nor profit; but in this respect, too, he builded better than he knew, for the tradition which grew up in his time that the balance of the great continental rivals depended upon one or the other of them gaining the support of England enabled Henry to appear as playing a great patriotic national part, and in the days of Henry's forceful daughter became the main factor of England's supremacy.



A SPANISH BANQUET IN THE DAYS OF THE NATION'S GRANDEUR

From the painting by Sir James Linton



SPAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS

THE BLIGHTING RULE OF PHILIP II.

THE rule of Charles V. had manifested the practical impossibility of combining under one sceptre elements so incongruous as the Burgundian dominion, or Netherlands, Spain with her fervid Romanism, and her transatlantic settlements, the Austrian inheritance, and the empire with its semi-independent principalities and its southern leanings. The Germans entirely declined to elect Philip, the future monarch of Spain, as his father's successor to the imperial crown. Before Charles died, the division of the Hapsburg power into Austrian and Spanish was formally carried out. Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, "King of the Romans," and already for thirty years ruler of the Austrian territories, retained that portion, and succeeded Charles as emperor; the Netherlands, Spain, and the Italian dominion passed to Philip II. For the time being, the Spanish colonies overshadowed Europe, while Germany fell into a secondary place. The prospect of the acquisition of England through Philip's marriage with Mary Tudor was indeed remote; but it was only by degrees that Philip was forced to relinquish the idea that England might be converted into a virtual Spanish province, either by his own marriage, or by that of a kinsman, with Mary's heir, Elizabeth.

The Vain Hope of Philip II.

The character of Charles V. was a compound of German and Romance-Iberian traits. In Philip II. the Spaniard was predominant. In Spain the Castilians of the highlands had already asserted their pre-eminence over all other branches of the Iberian stock. The peculiarities of the Castilian character, influenced partly by a harsh and unfavourable climate and partly by constant warfare against enemies at home and abroad, appear in Philip II. in their most emphatic form. His obstinacy, his unbounded pride, his cold reserve, and, above all, his religious fanaticism, were a legacy from his Castilian ancestors. In Philip II., Spain's evil genius ascended the throne. His stubborn pride was deaf to the demands of the age. The adversaries of Charles V. had been, at any rate, tangible; but Philip entered upon a Titanic struggle, with no chance of successful issue against the intellectual and religious movements of his century, which were as resistless as they were invisible. The stubborn resistance of the small offshoot of the Germanic race living under Philip's rule in the Netherlands broke the power of him who seemed the greatest monarch in the world. His irresistible fleet was shattered upon the chalk cliffs of England. The only victim of this gigantic struggle was Spain, which poured forth its blood and treasure in the war against spiritual freedom until it was utterly exhausted.

Spain's Complete Overthrow

The complete overthrow of Spain was the special and particular work of Philip II. Charles V. carried on a foreign policy of immense scope; but, at the same time, he recognised the real foundations of his power, and when he increased the burdens which the people had to bear, he also did his best to increase their productive powers. But Philip's system of taxation was merely a wide system of extortion, which necessarily resulted in eating up both capital and interest.

The treasures of the New World could not satisfy his ever-increasing needs. The worst of all feudal institutions, immunity from taxation, was enjoyed by the nobility of Spain till a late period. Consequently, the enormous burden of taxation fell in all its weight upon the productive classes, the peasants and the artisans of the town. If we recollect that these classes had been already demoralised by the craze for emigration to America, that, as a result of the spirit of feudalism prevalent in the country, honest toil was despised and industry correspondingly

Spanish Craze for Emigration

hampered, we can understand the disastrous results of Philip's financial policy. Manufactures, trade and agriculture swept downhill with appalling rapidity.

The Vast Realms of Philip II.

At first, Philip certainly wielded a power which was at that time unequalled. Besides Spain itself, he held the Netherlands, the kingdom of Naples, and, in a certain sense, England also, as he had married Mary, the English queen. Besides his American possessions, he had also gained a part of the East Indies. The first undertakings of the young prince were crowned with success. As the irony of fate would have it, the most bigoted of all the monarchs of that age came into collision with the Pope, and sent his armies against Rome, to cure Paul IV. of his fondness for France and to bring him to reason. The French interfered, and war broke out. The Flemings and Spaniards, under Egmont, won a victory at Gravelines on July 13th, 1558, and the war was ended in 1559 by the Peace of Câteau Cambresis, which was equally welcome to both sides.

There were more urgent reasons for Philip's readiness to make peace than the lack of money, which he never allowed to mar his plans. He entered into a mutual alliance with the French monarch for the purpose of stamping out heresy, and attempted to strengthen the union by establishing ties of relationship. These facts show that he had at last perfected the idea which was to guide his future policy. War against Protestantism was henceforward the one thought of his cold and narrow mind, a thought which utterly blinded him to the evils which he was bringing upon himself and his people. Hereafter we see Philip feverishly active wherever there were heretics to be crushed.

Philip's Hatred of Protestantism

He lost his influence in England after the death of his wife, Queen Mary; but he supported the claims of the orthodox Mary Stuart against the Protestant Elizabeth after French interest in Mary's cause had become identified with the Guise faction alone. In France he stirred Catholic hatred against the Huguenots. Everywhere Philip's agents and spies were actively doing their master's service, watching and checking the growth of Protestantism. But it was in his own dominions that Philip carried on the most cruel warfare against the heretics, and, above all, in Spain, where Protestantism was just beginning to take root among the most independent minds. The king's chief weapon was the Inquisition, which had been originally instituted to deal with backsliding Moors and Jews, but now found a prey more worthy of persecution.

A large number of the noblest men of Spain, among them high religious and civil dignitaries, who had been in favour with Charles V., met death at the stake or in the dungeons of the Inquisition. Such unnatural selection necessarily degraded the spiritual and intellectual character of the Spanish people. At the moment when all over Europe there began the pursuit of knowledge and the unchecked striving after truth, the intellectual movement in Spain was choked up and poisoned at its source.

The Revolt of the Netherlands

Philip's success in Spain could not be repeated in the Netherlands. The irony of fate had united this province to Spain with which it was in the strongest imagin able contrast. The courtly and feudal character of the Spaniard could never harmonise with the blunt, democratic character of the Flemish and Dutch traders. They had lived in amity with the cheerful Charles V., but they deeply distrusted and disliked the cold and gloomy Philip. Perhaps the worst might have been avoided if Protestantism had not rapidly passed over the German frontier into the Netherlands, and stirred up Philip to most vigorous opposition. Upon the despatch of that inflexible fanatic, the Duke of Alva, to the Netherlands, in the year 1567, began that revolt which ended only in 1648, decades after Philip's death, in the complete loss of the northern provinces, and irretrievably weakened the body politic of Spain, like an incurable wound. In vain did the king recall the hated Alva after seven years of bloodshed; in vain did he endeavour to adopt a new policy; the evil system of repression bore its bitter fruit.

While Philip II. thus weakened the Spanish power abroad, he brought ruin on the internal prosperity of the country by his persecution of the Moriscos of Granada. It seemed as if the Spanish people could never rest until they had driven out the last remnants of the foreign race. That the Moors had so long maintained their position in the different provinces, and in some places even survived

Philip's reign, was not due to the goodwill of princes, clergy, or people, but chiefly to the circumstance that the great nobles drew a large portion of their income from the lands cultivated by the Moors. Even in Granada the nobles did their best to prevent extreme measures. But the royal edicts ruthlessly broke all compacts made with the Moors, and the grinding conditions which these imposed concerning both their social and their economic life drove the wretched people to despair, and finally brought on the outbreak of that revolt which, in spite of all their bravery, could result only in the destruction of the Moors. The war which began in the year 1568 did not end until 1570, after Don John of Austria, the natural son of Charles V., had assumed the supreme command. The Inquisition completed the task with its usual zeal and thoroughness.

Don John of Austria is the most brilliant and heroic figure of the reign of Philip II.; he is the incarnation of those bold and warlike traits of the Spanish character which Philip totally lacked. But the emptiness and indecision of Spanish policy appear perhaps nowhere so terribly clear as in the career of this prince, who was so highly endowed by nature. The mournful laurels he gained in the Moorish War were no real distinction. The greatest achievement of his life, the glorious victory he gained over the Turkish fleet at Lepanto on October 7th, 1571, remained without decisive result. At length, in the year 1576, he was appointed governor of the Netherlands, and wasted his best powers in a useless struggle against the Protestants of the northern provinces. The collapse of Philip II.'s policy is marked by the destruction of the Armada. The fanatic on the Spanish throne proposed to make a final and mighty attempt to overthrow Protestant England, to deprive the Netherlands of their best ally, and thus to put an end to Protestantism, at any rate in Western Europe. The execution of Mary Stuart in 1587 declared that England had definitely broken with the Catholic Church, and was a bold challenge to the power of Spain. Philip's reply to this act of defiance was what seemed an irresistible attack on the English kingdom. He claimed the crown as a descendant of John of Gaunt, on the pretext that, after Mary's death, all claimants with an otherwise superior title were barred as heretics. Actually the attempt resulted in the destruction of the Spanish sea power in 1588. The Armada, that giant navy, was shattered by the English fleet, and ultimately destroyed by tempests. With it sank the numberless millions which had been extorted from miserable Spain. Philip's resources were exhausted, and for the last ten years of his life he was reduced to the condition of acting only on the defensive. Spain was not the only country that had to bear the consequences of



PHILIP II., "SPAIN'S EVIL GENIUS"
The influence of this monarch, who married Mary Tudor in 1554, was wholly bad. He stamped out Protestantism in Spain, but failed to carry out the same policy in the Netherlands. The overthrow of the Spanish Armada by England marked the beginning of Spain's decline.

Philip's political failures: fate had also brought Portugal, the last independent state in the peninsula, in an evil hour, under the sceptre of the ruler who had shattered the prosperity of Spain. It would indeed be false and unjust to make Philip alone responsible for the ruin of Portuguese prosperity, since that had been determined long before his interference by Portugal's erroneous colonial policy. Neither in Spain nor in Portugal had the great truth been realised that colonies can prove a benefit to the mother country only when they give a stimulus to home industry, and when colonial commodities can be exchanged for the produce of home manufactures; and that there could be no benefit when mountains of gold, extorted by the ruthless oppression of the new possessions, were recklessly squandered at home.

Unfortunately for Portugal, circumstances had become so unfavourable that even a far-sighted government could hardly have checked the internal corruption of a state which seemed so prosperous on the surface. If the boundless colonies were to be retained, it was necessary to send out unstinted reinforcements of troops and sailors from the little kingdom until the centres of manufacture and agriculture were made desolate, and prosperity declined on every hand. The luxuries demanded by the increasing wealth of the great towns had to be imported from the other industrial countries of the time. The prudent merchants and manufacturers of the Netherlands were able to divert to the enrichment of their own industries the stream of gold which Spain and Portugal poured forth like a devastating torrent.

The ancient hatred for the Moors which had led Spain into various undertakings on the north coast of Africa, also roused the Portuguese to action. Petty wars were continually raging on the coast of Mauretania, where several fortresses were conquered and held by the Portuguese until their great successes in India withdrew their attention from Africa. Under King John III. (1521–1557), and during the regency of Queen Catharine, who ruled in behalf of her young grandson, Sebastian, affairs in North Africa fell into the background. Meanwhile, that spirit of fanatical intolerance which had risen to such portentous power in Spain had also become manifest in Portugal. The Inquisition and the Jesuits had made good their entrance. As fate would have it, side by side with Philip, the gloomy and fanatical king of Spain, ruled Sebastian of Portugal, a fiery, romantic, and visionary devotee, who was even more successful than Philip in destroying the political existence of his country. Sebastian's views became utterly distorted under the influence of his Jesuit advisers. In the year 1577 the king, who, in a spirit of asceticism, declined to marry, began a crusade against Morocco. The deficiency in men and money became painfully apparent in the course of his preparations. The adventure was made without foresight, and came to a miserable end. At Alcazar, not far from Tangier, the army of Sebastian was overthrown by the onset of the Moors on August 4th, 1578. The king himself disappeared in the confusion, and was never seen again.





KINGS OF PORTUGAL. JOHN III. AND SEBASTIAN. Portugal was at the zenith of its fame and prosperity when John III. ascended the throne in 1521, but the influence of the Jesuits and the Inquisition checked the country's development. Sebastian, a grandson of John III., was killed while fighting against the Moors in 1578.

The last male descendant of the Portuguese dynasty, the old Cardinal-Infant, Henry, now took the reins of government. When Henry died, in the year 1580, Philip asserted a questionable claim to the crown by inheritance through his mother; a Spanish army crossed the frontier, succeeded in establishing itself by treachery, bribery, and force of arms, and compelled Portugal to bow to the yoke of Spain whether it would or not. Portugal's immense colonial empire also fell into the hands of the Spanish king whose power then reached its zenith, but

from that great height it was soon to fall in utter ruin and to drag down the Portuguese nation into the abyss with itself.

During the religious dissensions in Germany the Emperor Charles had always been desirous that another council should be held. The session at Trent had at last begun on December 13th, 1545, but was interrupted several times by the changes in politics (1547–1551, 1552–1562), and was reopened for the last time on January 18th, 1562, and definitely concluded on December 4th, 1563. The course of the assembly had not been altogether a brilliant success. The object in view had been several times changed. Efforts indeed had first been made to win back the heretics, and for this reason, at the beginning of 1552, Protestants also had been from time to time admitted to the conferences. But the effect of the Council of Trent, taken all in all, was nevertheless much more permanent than that of any earlier council, because the organisation of the Church was firmly established, the ecclesiastical constitution reformed, and the contents of the articles of faith authoritatively fixed, so that the form assumed by the Catholic Church in the succeeding period was only the practical result of the resolutions taken at Trent. It had already been recognised that the unclerical life of so many professed servants of God did not harmonise with the requirements of the Church, but the revival of Catholicism—provoked by the activities of Protestants—made educational and moral reform essential throughout Christendom, and made some energetic steps seem doubly urgent. Resolutions in this direction were adopted at Trent, which were intended to solve this problem. The scientific and religious education of the clergy was specially [illegible], and at the same time the plurality of benefices prohibited, so that a less expensive and luxurious mode of living should for this reason be adopted.



KING HENRY OF PORTUGAL
He was the last male descendant of the Portuguese dynasty, succeeding Sebastian, and when he died, in 1580, Philip of Spain laid claim to the crown, and seized the country



WILLIAM THE SILENT
It was to William, Prince of Orange, that the Dutch republic owed its independence. He headed the Netherlands' opposition to Philip II., and was assassinated in 1584

The solution of the first-mentioned problem would have been the most difficult task for the Church twenty years previously; but now it was comparatively easy, for in quite a different quarter the Church had found a new ally in the order of Jesuits, which, on a basis similar to that of Protestantism, used the teaching of the Humanists in order to train the intellects of the future clergy. The founder of the order was Inigo Lopez de Recalde de Loyola, better known as Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), a Spaniard by birth, who at first had followed the profession of arms. Having been severely wounded in 1521 he tried to satisfy his religious cravings by asceticism, wandered over the world, diligently studied the theologians, and finally formed the resolve to become the protector and champion of the Catholic Church against the new doctrines. As early as 1528 he found in Paris a circle of enthusiastic followers—Laynez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, Rodriguez, Lefevre, and Xavier—who were ready to join him in work and in asceticism, and to throw themselves body and soul, in a way hitherto unknown, into the service of the mediæval Church.

An organisation was necessary in order to carry out these purposes. This was created by the papal Bull, which, on September 27th, 1540, instituted "the Company of Jesus," that is to say, a community of at most sixty members who promised to devote themselves to the dissemination of the true faith, under the strictest obedience to their superior and the Pope. Their chief duty was missionary work, and this they carried out by indefatigable wanderings through every land. But it was only after 1543, when the number of members had begun to grow, that the organisation and its efficiency expanded beyond the original sphere. Loyola himself became, in 1541, the first general, whose will was necessarily obeyed by every

member of the order by virtue of the implicit yielding up of all individual will or opinion. The hierarchic system was here developed in the strictest conceivable manner, and the fruits corresponded thoroughly with the exertions of the members of the order. Their numbers and their influence increased with astonishing rapidity in every country; settlements were formed everywhere, which were geographically grouped into provinces, while many individual brothers were busily employed as teachers in grammar schools and universities. This task was doubly important in Germany, since the advanced teaching of the Protestants threatened to gain a complete victory; Jesuits appeared as teachers in the Bavarian university of Ingolstadt as early as 1549, and gradually made this academy entirely subservient to them; a Jesuit college was started at Munich in 1559.

Activity of the Jesuits

But even before this Loyola had induced the Pope to take a most important step for the counter-reformation in Germany, by founding the German College at Rome in 1552, an institution at which successive groups of German theologians were to be educated in the Jesuitic spirit. The students of this college were to form the flower of the troops in the war against Protestantism, to hold the foremost positions in the German Church, and gradually to lead back the lost Germany to the bosom of the Church.

While the Protestant theologians, after the Peace of Augsburg, began a violent dogmatic struggle with the Swiss Reformed Church, and while there was furious opposition in electoral Saxony to Crypto-Calvinism, German Catholicism gained in spiritual strength, and was able to aim a blow at Protestantism from Bavaria and Austria. It is remarkable that the papal policy met with approval from these two temporal princes almost alone, while of the numerous spiritual princes some were openly inclined to Protestantism, and some were regarded in Rome at least as untrustworthy and could only gradually be induced to acknowledge the Tridentine confession of faith. Now for the first time a closer and more regular bond was drawn between Germany and the Curia, in which a more earnest spiritual life began to be the rule, by the founding of so-called Nunciatures, beginning with Vienna and Cologne; a much stronger influence from Rome could thus be exercised on the Cathedral Chapters, especially at the election of bishops, than by the individual legates of the earlier system.

German Catholicism's New Life

Those who occupied the episcopal sees in Germany after the eighth decade of the sixteenth century were in fact far more zealous Catholics than their predecessors; being partly younger princes of the families of the Hapsburgs and Catholic Wittelsbachs, they were also politically connected with princely houses and prepared to carry out the decrees of Trent within their jurisdictions. In this way a uniformity was again brought into the policy of the many Catholic princes, while on the Protestant side the continual struggle between electoral Saxony and the Palatinate prevented any uniform action. The Catholics had always the majority in the diet both in the college of the electors and in that of the princes.

In one place only Protestantism gained temporarily a fresh success—on the Lower Rhine, where numerous Protestants, banished from the Netherlands, sought refuge. Protestants appeared in the town council of the imperial city of Aix la Chapelle in 1574, and a few years later they were in the majority. In the archbishopric of Cologne, the archbishop, who wanted to marry Countess Agnes of Mansfeld, tried to carry his province into the reform; but at the same time, while violating the conditions of the clerical state, he wished to rule as a temporal prince. He publicly adopted Calvinism in 1582, and married on February 2nd, 1583. But the states did not follow him, and since the Lutheran princes took little or no care for the Calvinist, the newly chosen Archbishop Ernest of Bavaria won a victory with Spanish help and was recognised as elector, in 1584, by the empire and even by the Protestant princes.

Calvinistic Archbishop of Cologne

This was a great success for Catholicism, and all the more so because now for the first time the attempt at establishing Protestantism had failed, and the feeble efforts of the Protestant princes had shown that the days of the Schmalcaldic League were past. On the north-west frontier of Germany a great change had been produced in the Netherlands, where the fanatics had already found a home,

and Calvinism began to spread widely. Charles V. had taken vigorous measures against the heretics, but without distinct success, more especially since the local ruler was unpopular on political as well as religious grounds.

Philip, the son of Charles, had taken over the government in 1556 from his father; but it was inevitable that he should be personally hateful to the Netherlands, as being a thorough Spaniard, which could not be said of Charles. The presence of Spanish troops during the period after 1550 created intense ill-feeling among the people, while increasing financial difficulties, coupled with dwindling returns from trade, of which England now began to take a share, made themselves felt. All this fostered the thought of revolution among the people, and matured the plan of finally shaking off the Spanish yoke.

When Philip left the Netherlands in 1559 in order to visit Spain, he appointed his stepsister, Margaret of Parma, to the regency, a post she was well qualified to fill, especially since she was supported by a central government which Charles had splendidly organised. But the Council of State contained, besides the Spaniards and Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, a most loyal servant of his king, a large number of the nobility of the Netherlands who were not disposed to submit without demur to Spanish ideas and adhered to the Protestant doctrines. Foremost among them was to be Prince William I., the Silent, of Orange-Nassau. In order to support the Catholic religion Philip formed new dioceses, and intended to interfere in the French religious struggles in the interests of the Catholic party, but he met with the keenest opposition from the leaders of the nobility.

The Brave William of Orange

William of Orange, in the struggle with Philip, sought an alliance with the German Protestants—he was the son-in-law of Augustus Elector of Saxony—and with the Huguenots of France. The crisis became more and more acute after 1563. The nobility demanded that the States-General should be summoned, but Granvelle would not entertain the idea. The destruction of the political and ecclesiastical supremacy of Spain would have been sealed by this step. Philip gave way once more to the urgency of the nobility, and recalled Granvelle in the spring of 1564. Nevertheless, the old spirit still prevailed both in the government and among the people; indeed, the Protestant movement became more and more violent, since the stadtholders in the provinces allowed themselves to be taken unprepared to carry out the strict orders of the government against the heretics. The Inquisition had begun its work, but the people and the nobles revolted against it, and Margaret was obliged to consent, in 1565, to the sending of an embassy to the king in order to lay before him the demands of the Netherlands. Count Egmont was chosen for this mission to the royal court; but he achieved no results.

Protestant Stand against the Inquisition

The Inquisition was sustained, and the States-General were strictly forbidden to assemble until complete religious—that is to say, Catholic—order had been restored. This was more than the people could tolerate. The command of the king was ridiculed; the populace rose in Antwerp, and the provincial stadtholders refused to comply with the orders of the government. In November, 1565, by the so-called compromise of Breda, a secret league of the nobility was effected, which meant the paving of the way toward the revolution against Spain and the Inquisition.

The first act of the members of the league was to send a petition, on April 5th, 1566, to Margaret the regent, with the old demands. To this she returned an evasive answer, and the petition resulted in nothing. In the summer, therefore, a new petition was presented, in which the "Beggars" (the "Gueux")—the petitioners had thus styled themselves at the suggestion of Count Henry of Brederode—demanded the abdication of the regent and the appointment of a national government. Philip of Montmorency-Nivelle, Count of Horn, was for the future to guide the fortunes of the country in conjunction with Egmont and William of Orange, and to protect the country by levying troops. But in August, 1566, before Margaret had returned an answer, the Calvinists, who were now very powerful, began their career of image-breaking, and then enlisted troops for the defence of the reformed faith. This riotous expression of religious life appealed but little to the nobility and the great merchants. The regency made some concessions to them, being alarmed at the rising of the masses, and thus the interests

Vandals Among the Calvinists

of the nobles and the people were divorced. Margaret was able, in 1566 and 1567, to repress the rebellion in the most important places, and, contrary to her former promises, to restore the Inquisition to full activity.

The Terrible Work of the Inquisition

She had won a complete victory, but she did not reap the fruits of her work, since King Philip, in August, 1567, sent the Duke of Alva, equally renowned as general and statesman, into the Netherlands in order once more to enforce the recognition of the absolute government. Such full powers were given to Alva that Margaret abdicated in December, and resigned her post to the duke. The complete restoration of the old faith was the chief aim of the king and of his stadtholder. A specially commissioned board of inquisitors began their bloody work that same winter. Counts Egmont and Horn were arrested on September 9th, 1567, and executed on June 5th, 1568, while William of Orange escaped to Germany. His attempts there to win help for the liberation of his country were unsuccessful. Alva not only executed with extreme severity all the king's measures, and insisted on the Catholic Church organisation, but also burdened the country with taxes, especially the "tenth penny," for the support of the army, while he gradually disregarded the States-General as a body on whose vote national taxation depended. He seemed to have brought the whole of the Netherlands under his heel.

Protestants Become Freebooters

A considerable number of Lutherans and Calvinists had escaped execution by flight. They had gone to the coasts and the sea in order to find in a wild, piratical life as "sea-beggars" some compensation for the loss of their former prosperity. These freebooters had already recorded a success on April 1st, 1572. They captured and held the town of Brielle, and took possession of other places while Alva was busy on the French frontier. William of Orange had always exercised a cheering influence on the rebels from a distance, and had found means to levy troops in Germany. On July 18th, 1572, he was nominated by the Dutch provincial states, assembled at Dordrecht, as stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht—that is to say, as constitutional representative of the King of Spain. This action meant rebellion in Alva's eyes; but it was only after he had captured the town of Mons, in Hainault, that it was possible for him to advance towards the north. Haarlem held out for seven months, and was taken only on July 12th, 1573. Other places, especially Alkmaar, showed defiance. Alva, however, before the end of the year, left his post, being thoroughly convinced of the fruitlessness of his exertions.

His successor was the former governor of Milan, Luis de Requesens y Zuniga. The conduct of the Spaniards was changed on his appearance. Requesens would have willingly [illegible] for peace; but it was now too late. The "beggars" were ready for all emergencies. The war continued, and not to the disadvantage of the Spaniards; they were victorious under d'Avila on April 14th, 1574, at Mooker Heath, and held the town of Leyden closely invested from May 25th to October 3rd.

Rebel Troops in Mutiny

But before his death, on March 4th, 1576, Requesens was fated to see that the rebels had accomplished a union of Holland and Zeeland, and had named William of Orange commander of the forces on sea and land. This was an important advance on the road towards national independence, for the idea of a French or English protectorate to take the place of Spain had already been mooted. There was now a long interval before a new stadtholder appeared. Even the partially victorious troops mutinied when their pay was not forthcoming. They began to roam through the land, plundering on their own account, and so roused the personal resistance of the population, which, organised into a national guard, took up arms against them at many points.

One thing more was required for the expulsion of the foreigners—the union of the northern and southern provinces. This was accomplished in the "Pacification of Ghent," on November 4th, 1576, by which thirteen provinces united for the common peace of the country, to be crowned by an equal toleration of the Reformed and the Catholic religions. The new stadtholder, Don John of Austria, the victor of Lepanto, half-brother to the king, was obliged to recognise the agreement on February 12th, 1577, and did not enter Brussels until May 1. William of Orange had been unwilling to negotiate with the governor, and soon noticed that John was not sincere in his professions. Indeed, Don John had in July occupied Namur in order

once more to show the power of Spain. But his attempt was useless; all the provinces except Luxemburg rose again, William entered Brussels, and was nominated as Ruwaard, or Regent, of Brabant before Archduke Matthias of Austria—afterwards emperor—who had been summoned to the country from the southern provinces, could gain a footing. The States-General were now bold enough to depose Don John, and on December 10th, 1577, to form a new league of the seventeen provinces in the union of Brussels, in which the reformed religion was declared on a complete footing of equality with the Catholic.

King Philip had sent Prince Alexander Farnese of Parma with ample forces to the support of Don John, and a victory was won over the army of the federation at the [illegible] of the year 1578. But the reinforcements grew less, and Don John died on October 1st, 1578. Religious dissensions in the States-General between Calvinists and Catholics arose, and became more and more acute, so as to threaten the recently-acquired unity, especially since Alexander of Parma, with wise moderation, conceded to the Catholic southern provinces practically all their claims, which were political, not religious, and so drew them over to the Spanish side; the Spanish regent once more ruled over a people.

Foundation of the "United Netherlands"

The great Pacification of Ghent was dissolved by the founding of the Walloon Union of Utrecht, on January 6th, 1579. Orange, however, contrived to oppose a northern Protestant district to the southern Catholic district. In the union of Utrecht on January 23rd, 1579, the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Groningen, Overyssel, and Friesland, formed a combination which, supported by the patriotic citizens of the progressive northern towns, laid the foundation for the later "United Netherlands."

The steady progress of Parma, on the one hand, and, on the other, the diplomatic dissociation of the southern Catholic provinces from the northern Protestants, with whose demands for religious liberty the south did not sympathise, isolated the union of Hollanders. Without external support, it seemed impossible for Orange to maintain his resistance. Help might be looked for from two quarters: England, where the popular sympathy was strong; and the Huguenot section in France, who regarded Francis of Anjou, better known by his earlier title of Alençon, as their figurehead. Elizabeth, however, was resolute in rejecting the Dutch offer of an English protectorate. She was ready enough to permit such underhand help to be given as might keep the revolt from entire collapse; but she was not yet prepared for an open rupture with Spain. Orange, therefore, turned to Alençon, the more willingly because the Queen of England was doing her best to make him and everyone else believe that she was going to surrender her hand at last to that grotesque suitor.

Elizabeth and her Schemes

At the [illegible] of the year 1582, Francis, Duke of Anjou, was acknowledged as the future ruler of the Netherlands, except Holland and Zeeland, and allegiance to the Spanish king was renounced, while Archduke Matthias withdrew from the scene of his unsuccessful efforts. The French prince, however, did not enjoy his new position, for, contrary to the compact which he had formed, he attempted to undermine the freedom of the Union, and was therefore driven out with his French followers in June, 1583.

Even yet the country did not become tranquil, quite apart from the continuously threatening attitude of Parma, for on July 17th, 1584, Prince William of Orange fell by the bullet of an assassin, after the southern Walloon Catholic provinces had completely attached themselves to Spain. In the course of the year 1585 Brussels on March 10th and Antwerp on August 17th fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Thus only the provinces which were united in the Union of Utrecht remained to be conquered.

In the south, under Parma's rule Catholicism once more reigned supreme, and although in Antwerp there was no bloody persecution of the Protestants, still many wealthy families were forced to leave the city for ever. At this moment, however, Elizabeth found herself compelled to yield to the pressure of the anti-Spanish feeling, and at last to enter into open alliance with the United Provinces. Drake sailed on a destructive marauding expedition, and an English force was despatched to the Low Countries under Leicester. The earl found himself obliged to accept the

Drake on a Marauding Expedition

Protectorate on behalf of his mistress, who promptly repudiated his action, with obloquy. The English army effected nothing practical, and Leicester was soon recalled. But the situation was changed. The beheading of Mary Stuart determined Philip to devote his energies primarily to the destruction of England. Parma was kept short of supplies while an armada was being prepared, and postponed, owing to Drake's raid on Cadiz. Maurice of Nassau utilised the breathing space to reorganise resistance; when the Armada came, Dutch ships were able to prevent any attempt on Parma's part to put to sea.

Spain's Shattered Armada

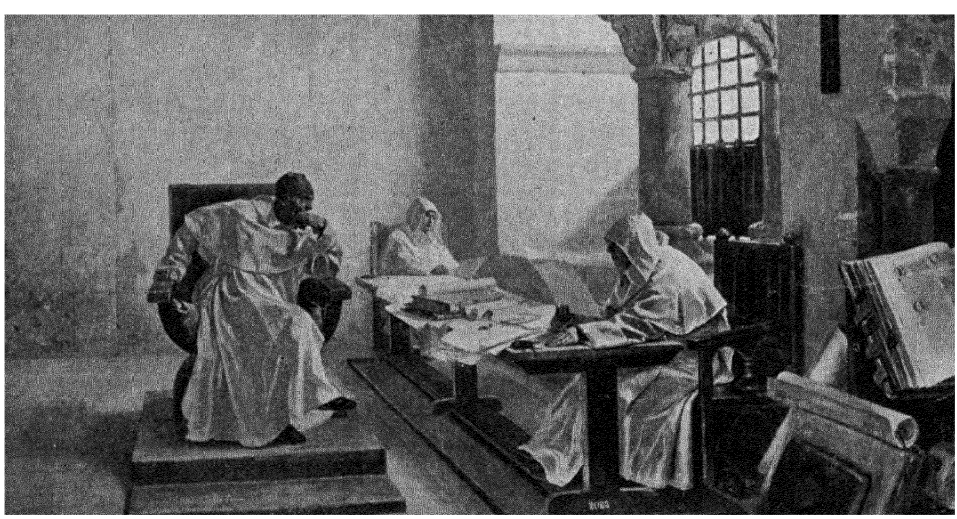
On May 29th, 1588, the Armada, a mighty Spanish fleet of 160 ships, with 32,000 men and 2,600 guns, sailed from Lisbon, and left Corunna on July 22nd, in order to conquer England only to be hopelessly shattered by the English fleet and finally annihilated by tempests. The power of Spain was hopelessly crippled by the disaster; nor did she improve her prospects by deliberately entangling herself in the French war of the succession.

After the death of the English queen, Elizabeth, in 1603, a truce was inevitable, since for Spain as for the Republic the cost of the war was almost crushing, and the trade of Spain was continually diminishing, while the improvement in the Dutch trading enterprises suggested the thought to the merchants who shared the government that it would be more advantageous for the country to follow these profitable occupations. After many negotiations, a peace was settled on April 9th, 1609, in the form of a twelve years' truce, in which Spain waived her sovereign rights, and acknowledged the Protestant republic as an independent state. The Peace of Westphalia confirmed this treaty with the republic from the German Empire, and at the same time recognised the severance which had come about in 1609.

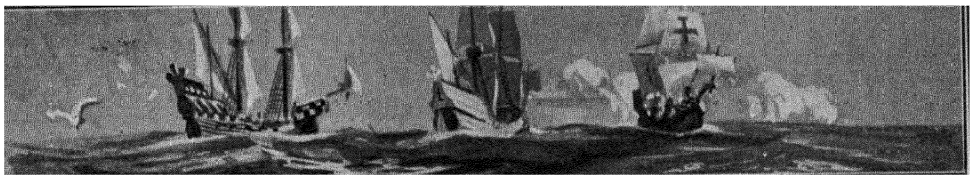
After the Armada, the Anglo-Spanish naval war continued through the remaining decade of Philip's life. English ships waged unceasing war on Spanish commerce, a popular course encouraged by the queen, who had no desire to see the total destruction of Spain accomplished. Thrice the indomitable Philip attempted to despatch new armadas, but each one was dispersed and shattered by adverse winds. Spanish intervention in France enabled the astute Henry IV. to pose as the patriotic champion, while placing his opponents in the invidious attitude of servants of a foreign and hostile master. When Philip died, in 1598, the husk of Spain's grandeur still remained; its reality had gone for ever, though still for half a century the world hesitated to appreciate that the championship of militant reaction had passed from the Spanish to the German Hapsburgs.

The Lost Grandeur of Spain

HEINRICH SCHURTZ
ARMIN TILLE



IN THE DAYS OF THE INQUISITION THE MEN OF JUSTICE
From the painting by Jean Paul Laurens in the Luxembourg



THE PLACE OF PHILIP II. OF SPAIN
IN EUROPEAN HISTORY
A Note by Martin Hume, M.A.

PHILIP II. inherited an impossible task, which he was too conscientious to shirk. He was reared in a rigid system, which, in his lack of originality, he thought it impious to change, and he was faced at a critical period of the world's history by nimble adversaries and shifting conditions, with which he was the last man to cope successfully. He was dull, laborious and patient, profoundly impressed with the magnitude of his sacred mission, confident of ultimate victory, and ready to sacrifice himself and others without mercy to the cause for which alone he lived, the unity of Christendom under the hegemony of Spain. In this life-object he failed utterly, as was inevitable, for at the time that the world was awaken; with new light he sought to perpetuate the darkness, and the only partial success that crowned the end of a long reign of constant carnage was that France was prevented from becoming a Protestant power.

Philip's Great Failure

From the unhappy day when, in 1516, the sovereign of Flanders and heir of the empire became king of Castile and Aragon, Spain was cursed with responsibilities in Central Europe that brought her into inimical contact with France at every point, and in 1521, at the period when all her resources were needed for her interior consolidation, and the development of the New World, the young emperor threw back the challenge of Luther and assumed in addition the championship of orthodoxy. Thus began the mighty contest between traditional authority, on the one hand, and freedom of judgment on the other, of which over-burdened Spain had to bear the cost on the losing side, and the tired emperor cast his load upon his son, Philip, in 1555; nothing but the sublimest faith could have inspired belief in the final victory of his cause. And yet Philip never wavered in his firm conviction. His treasury was empty; his Flemish subjects were full of distrust, Protestantism was daily growing stronger; but there was no thought of temporising or avoiding the issue, and the slow, wise, unwarlike man, Philip, gravely, prayerfully, and conscientiously took up the task where his father left it, ignoring difficulties, changed conditions, and the forces arranged against him. He was freed from the burden of the empire, but he still considered it his duty to defend it, and to combat Lutheranism in Germany. A slight concession to local prejudices and religious freedom in Holland and Flanders would have saved him the life-long struggle which ruined Spain; but for Philip surrender of principle, however small, was impossible. His cause was necessarily the cause of the Almighty, and might not be bought and sold

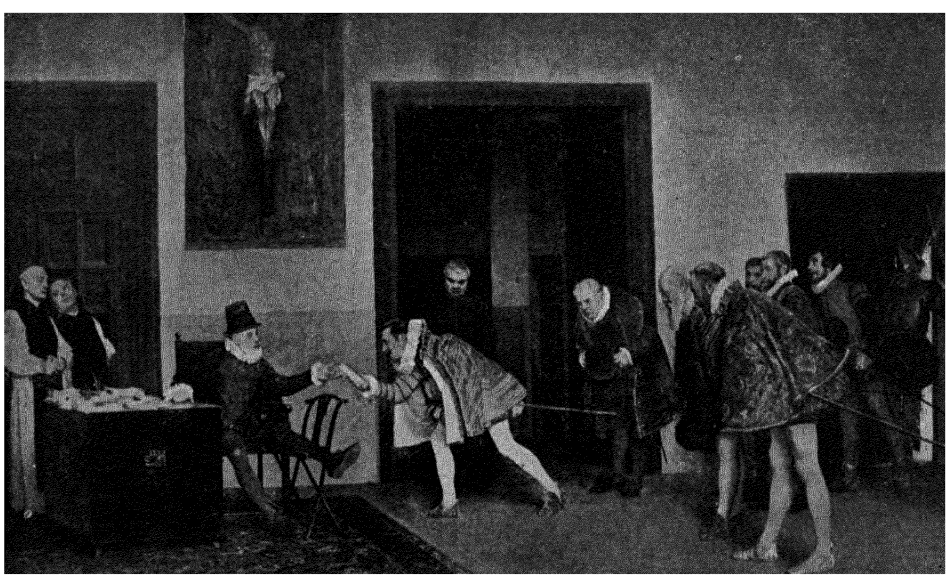
Philip's methods were those of his father's old age, though he lacked his father's celerity of thought and action. It was the diplomatist-emperor and not the soldier-emperor of whom Philip was the heir, and from the first Philip hoped to win by cunning what his father had failed to win by arms. The religious schism was dividing Europe by new lines of cleavage, and fresh national affinities were forming new groups of powers. It had always been the centre of Spanish-Flemish policy to maintain friendship with England at any cost in order to divert France on the north when necessary; but when Philip found that Elizabeth of England rejected his offers of marriage and the tutelage of Spain, he imagined a new combination, by which he could secure France to his side by an alliance and his marriage with a French princess, and become head of a league of Catholic nations to oppose advancing Protestantism. The plan promptly failed, because Catharine de Medici, the Queen-Regent of France, would not dance to

Elizabeth Refuses to Wed Philip

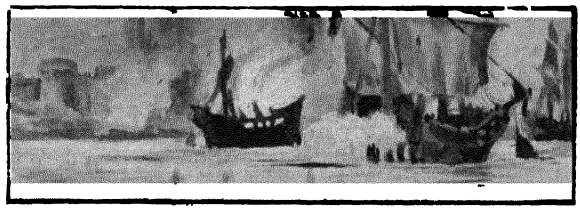
Philip's piping. She cared nothing for nicetics of creed, and could change her tone at will. It did not suit her to have France pledged firmly to a Spanish Catholic policy, which would have given the Guises all the power, and she at once began smiling upon Elizabeth of England and the Huguenots to checkmate her son-in-law. The trio, France, England, and Spain, soon fell back into their old position of competing with each other to avoid isolation, and in the constant shuffling to this end Elizabeth and Catharine de Medici, with their rapid gyrations and absence of scruple, could, and nearly always did beat Philip, whose slow deliberation, immobile conscience, and invariable routine, rendered him easy to circumvent in spite of all his cunning

For many years Philip suffered with unexampled patience the plunder of his ships at sea, the support given to his rebellious subjects, the violation of his territory, and the scornful defiance of his remonstrances, because he hoped against hope to win the friendly neutrality of England, without which he could not dominate Holland or dictate a Catholic policy to France. He spared no effort to control England. Threats, cajolery, bribery, subornation of murder and rebellion, were tried in turn. Elizabeth met them all with deft evasion, sure that, when she pleased, a smile or a hint of marriage would bring France to her side, or that a note to the Huguenots, or a little more help given to the Prince of Orange, would redouble Philip's cares and make him harmless Orange was as opportunist as the rest of the enemies of Philip

When at last in desperation Philip decided to conquer England, an invasion which might have been easy thirty years before his leaden routine and centralised administration paralysed his executive, and the great Armada of 1588 was a beaten fleet before it sailed to inevitable disaster In his sad old age, bereaved, overworked, and ill, deep in debt he could never pay, and overwhelmed with personal grief and national failure, he never despaired firmly convinced that the cause of God was linked with his own, and that final victory would repay the suffering and sacrifice of himself and Spain. He failed to dominate or win the friendship of England, he failed to impose Catholicism upon the Germans, or even upon his own rebellious Flemings, he failed to make his beloved daughter queen of England, or queen of France; but at least as a result of his life, he forced Henry of Navarre to "go to Mass," thus keeping France Catholic, and by fire and rack he cleansed his country of all taint of heresy. In doing so, he doomed Spain, whose glory was his aim, to a long future of impotence and ignominy.



A DELEGATION FROM HOLLAND TO PHILIP II.
From the painting by Arcos



THE SPACIOUS DAYS OF ELIZABETH
AND ENGLAND'S RISE AS A WORLD-POWER

ELIZABETH began her reign with a declaration of Anglican sympathies and an assertion of the supremacy of Parliament by ordering that the English Liturgy should be used as the sole form of public service until Parliament should otherwise provide. This proclamation sounded the keynote of the reign, although it must be owned that, while her devotion to the religion of her father was sincere, her respect for Parliament was based upon a perception of the fact that autocracy was a thing of the past.

There were many occasions on which she would have quarrelled with the Commons had she dared; her views and theirs were rarely in complete accord. But in her most self-willed moments she remembered that her throne was supported solely by the goodwill of the nation, and in the last resort she invariably passed from threats and remonstrances to the language of conciliation. In this wise resolve she was confirmed by her Ministers. Seldom has any sovereign commanded the devotion of more able servants. Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley) at first her Secretary of State (1558–1572), afterwards Lord Treasurer (1572–1598), Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper (1558–1579), Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State (1573–1590), are the most famous of her advisers, and the flower of that official aristocracy which her father and grandfather had called into existence.

The Devoted Ministers of Elizabeth

None of these men ever acquired a complete control of the queen's policy. She listened attentively to their views, selected, or refused to select, a plan according as the humour seized her, and not infrequently reduced them to despair through her own wilfulness or through attention to the instances of the favourites—Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Hatton, Essex, and others—who played upon her inordinate vanity to their own advantage.

Yet she was less capricious than she seemed, the suspense in which she kept the nation, Parliament, ambassadors, and her own council was often due to the profound caution with which she walked in the midst of complex and conflicting forces. She had her father's instinctive power of gauging popular feeling, her grandfather's art of analysing the international situation. Often she was wiser than her Ministers, and, although she seldom ventured on a decisive step, her inaction may be described as masterly. The desire of her friends and enemies alike was that she should commit herself to a settled course by marriage, by alliances, by statements of intentions. Her fixed resolve was to remain uncommitted as long as it was possible to do so; and for this end she was prepared to sacrifice veracity, consistency, and honour.

Elizabeth's Strength and Weakness

It was often a sordid policy, and she was sometimes reproached as timorous. In reality she was capable of the most reckless daring. If she balanced, it was in the manner of a rope-walker, for whom a false step means destruction. She showed a supreme faith in the security which an insular position and the conflicting ambitions of the continental powers conferred upon her kingdom; there were times when she staked her own head and the prosperity of England upon her confidence in this security.

Never was this dexterity more needed than at the beginning of her reign. She had to effect a religious settlement which would appease the Protestants without irritating the Marian reactionaries into rebellion; to hold fast by the friendship of Spain without committing herself to another war with France; to resist the rival pretensions of Mary Stuart, yet to leave it uncertain whether Mary might not ultimately inherit the English throne; to encourage foreign Protestants, yet to

The Queen's Tact amid Difficulties

escape the stigma attaching to the heresiarch. Her religious settlement was adapted to these complex requirements. She settled the constitution and doctrine of the Church by parliamentary legislation, because the convocation of the clergy was imbued with the Marian system and hostile to all change

But Elizabeth used her utmost efforts to prevent Parliament from heedless tampering with doctrine, and modified her claims of supremacy to avoid the reproach of despotism. The Supremacy Act of 1559 dropped the offensive title "Supreme Head of the Church" and declared the queen merely supreme governor of the realm, as well in all spiritual things or causes as in temporal; the oath of supremacy was to be demanded only from ecclesiastical persons, from laymen holding office, and from tenants in chief All she required of private individuals was that they should not publicly dispute against the supremacy.



ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF ENGLAND

It was during the reign of "Good Queen Bess" that England rose to the position of a world-power. The daughter of Henry VIII by his second wife, Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth ascended the throne on the death of Mary in 1558, and reigned till her death at Richmond in 1603 The execution of Mary Queen of Scots is the greatest blot on her name.

By a special proclamation the queen disclaimed any intention of interfering with the Church's doctrine or forms of worship. The Act of Uniformity was passed at the same time to settle the forms of public worship. It prescribed the use of Edward's second Prayer Book, with some alterations intended to gratify the moderates, who would have preferred that of 1549, and to avoid offending the extreme party, who desired a Prayer Pook more Protestant in tone than any which had yet appeared. It was made a criminal offence to use any other form of public worship, or to speak against the prescribed form; and non-attendance at church was to be punished by a fine of twelve-pence for each Sunday.

The first of these Acts also settled the question of royal jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters The Crown received the rights of hearing all appeals, of visiting and correcting all heresies, schisms. abuses, contempts, and enormities These powers were to be exercised by royal delegates, who might be laymen. The odious heresy laws were repealed; heresy still remained a capital offence, but it was made more difficult to secure the conviction of any save the most flagrant heretics.

In the later years of the reign many legislative and administrative measures were framed to define points which had been left vague in the settlement, to provide more effectual machinery for enforcing it, and to sharpen the penalties against those who refused conformity. The spirit of the settlement, which in government followed the example of Henry VIII., in doctrine and ritual that of Cranmer, remained unaltered; we may therefore anticipate the course of political developments to sketch the outlines of the queen's ecclesiastical policy.

All the bishops, a large number of the cathedral clergy, and about two hundred parish priests, abandoned their preferments rather than accept the oath of supremacy. Their places, however, were soon filled, and in Archbishop Parker the queen found a capable and moderate primate to direct her future measures. Under his advice the Thirty-nine Articles —an amended version of the Forty-two

Articles of the last reign—were published in 1563. Studiously moderate in language, on disputed questions cautious to the point of ambiguity, the new confession was accepted by every section of the clergy, and it was made binding on the clergy alone. In 1563, and for some time to come, the ceremonies and vestments of the Prayer Book formed the only subject of serious dispute. Elizabeth stood firm against the cry of the growing party of Puritans for more simplicity in public worship.

Parker's Advertisements in 1566 fixed a standard of outward forms which gave much offence and led to many suspensions among the clergy. The minority fell back upon the plea that nothing should be made obligatory which was not demonstrably enjoined by Scripture, and, on the basis of the appeal to Scripture, Puritanism now began to assume a doctrinal form. Conventicles multiplied in London and some other places, and although the queen publicly announced that she desired to tamper with no man's conscience, but merely to enforce outward conformity, this principle did not mollify the "conventicle men," or prevent the government from imprisoning them.



QUEEN ELIZABETH IN A COSTUME OF THE PERIOD

The malcontents soon found a leader in Cartwright, a Cambridge professor of divinity, who began by denying that Scripture authorised the episcopate to exercise authority over their fellow clergy, and by pleading for a revival of diocesan synods. After his expulsion from Cambridge, Cartwright went further, and in his Admonition to Parliament in 1572 claimed autonomy for the Church and maintained that the ecclesiastical supremacy should be vested in general councils of the clergy. Princes, said Cartwright, are bound by the decrees of the Church, they ought, in the prophet's words, "to lick the dust off the feet of the Church."

There were many to whom this language was repugnant, and who yet were Puritans in the matter of ceremonies and doctrine. The spirit of these moderate Puritans was represented in Parliament in which the Book of Common Prayer was challenged and the Articles were criticised from time to time. Elizabeth took her stand on the principle that the affairs of the Church were the exclusive concern of the Crown, not to be discussed without her licence, and in spite of angry protests she was able to prevent Puritanism from leaving its mark upon the statute book. In the country at large Puritanism presented a more difficult problem. "Prophesyings," or unlicensed preachings, were frequent and popular; the printing press was called to the aid of the Puritans, and scattered broadcast libellous attacks upon episcopacy. In 1590 an attempt on the part of Cartwright and his friends to set up a system of unofficial diocesan synods was detected and caused considerable alarm, but in 1583 Whitgift had succeeded to the primacy, and with his aid Elizabeth entered on a campaign of vigorous repression.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Crown was now committed to a Court of High Commission, which assumed the right of [illegible] all the clergy upon oath as to their beliefs and practices. An



Bacon Cecil Walsingham

THREE OF ELIZABETH'S FAITHFUL MINISTERS

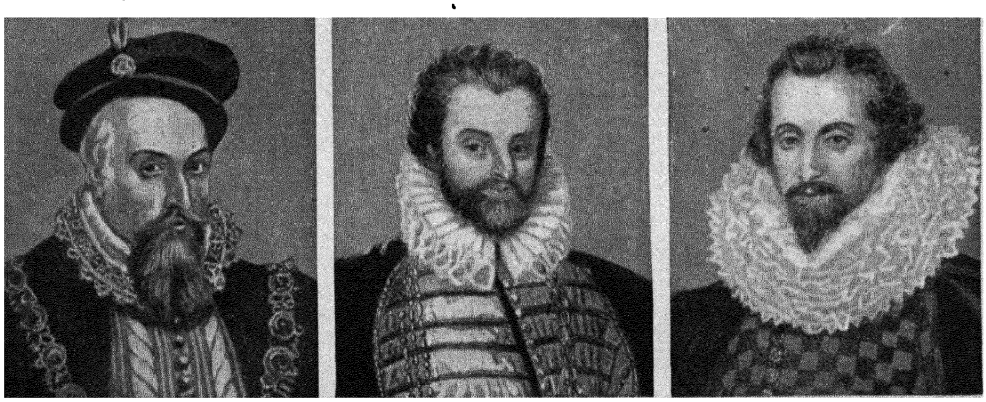
The queen was fortunate in her Ministers, and seldom has any sovereign commanded the devotion of more able servants. The above three were the most famous of her advisers—Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, first her Secretary of State and later Lord Treasurer, and Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State

Act was passed in 1593 which threatened with severe penalties all who neglected to attend at church or persisted in attending conventicles. The Star Chamber, which as early as 1566 had assumed a censorship of the Press, now became the coadjutor of the High Commission in repressing Nonconformists and their literature, with the result that severer penalties were made possible, while on the other hand the Tudor despotism in secular affairs, of which the Star Chamber was the symbol and expression, became hateful to every sectary.

It would be a mistake to regard Elizabeth and her Ministers as fanatical in their adhesion to episcopacy, or to a particular set of forms and ceremonies. Hooker, who may be regarded as the classical apologist for the Elizabethan settlement maintained that in these matters each Church has a discretion. But he also regarded uniformity within each Church as essential; he thought that the lay power should both prescribe uniformity and enforce it by all the penalties that might be needful.

It is needless to say that real uniformity was not secured. Hundreds of the clergy, thousands of the laity, though restrained from opposition by patriotism and respect for the queen's person, waited with impatience for the advent of a new sovereign who should introduce a more liberal system.

Elizabeth opposed Puritanism, at first as something new-fangled and likely to offend the majority of her subjects; latterly because the victorious career of Calvinism gave her reasons for suspecting



Leicester Hatton Essex

FAMOUS FAVOURITES OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Although Elizabeth's Ministers were men of outstanding ability, there was none of them who ever acquired a complete control over her policy, and when the mood seized her she even neglected their counsels in order to devote herself to favourites, such as Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, and the Earl of Essex, whose portraits are here reproduced, who were always willing to pander to her vanity and to turn it to their own advantage.

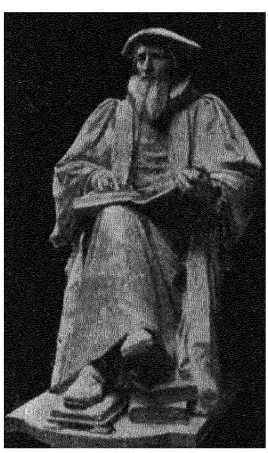
that Puritanism spelled democracy in Church and State. Stronger, however, than either of these motives for persecution was the hope of keeping in touch with the moderate wing of the Catholic party. For a year or two she was so far successful that even Rome hoped for the speedy reunion of the Anglicans with the Mother Church. The Bull of 1562, which forbade the English Catholics to attend the Anglican service, made a breach with the devoted adherents of the papacy inevitable and destroyed the middle party. Hence the oath of supremacy was more stringently applied by an act of 1562. The rising of the Catholic earls in 1569, and the ill-judged pronouncement by which, in 1570, Pius V. absolved the subjects of Elizabeth from their allegiance, led to more drastic legislation against Catholics, and penal laws in their turn produced more conspiracies in favour of the imprisoned Mary Stuart. Even after Mary's execution and the repulse of the Armada had dissipated the fear of a rebellion assisted by the Catholic powers there was much persecution of the English Catholics. In this respect Elizabeth bequeathed to posterity an evil example. Her penal and disabling laws were not entirely swept away until the nineteenth century. Yet the Catholics as a body remained loyal throughout the great crises of her reign. None of the plots against her spread far or deep into the nation. The utmost efforts of the Jesuits whom Allen sent over from his seminary at Douay produced little result. Elizabeth's schemes of comprehension were therefore unsuccessful in so far that they left outside the pale of the state Church an increasing body of Protestants and a body of Catholics which although diminishing, remained, and was to remain, considerable. None the less she succeeded in making Anglicanism the creed of the majority. The enormous influence which the Anglican clergy exercised in the politics of the seventeenth century is a sufficient proof of the thoroughness with which the work of Elizabeth had been done. It was the Church of her creation which undid the work of Cromwell in 1660 and expelled the Stuarts in 1688.



ARCHBISHOPS PARKER AND WHITGIFT

The second Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, was appointed to that high office by Elizabeth in 1559, and he proved himself a capable and moderate primate. He died in 1575. John Whitgift, whose portrait is also given, became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583. He ministered to the queen in her last moments, and died in 1604.

The queen's religious policy had, moreover, been adapted with great skill to the needs of the international situation. It remained ambiguous just as long as ambiguity was needed to prevent attacks from abroad; it became defiant when England could afford to despise the threats of the Catholic powers.

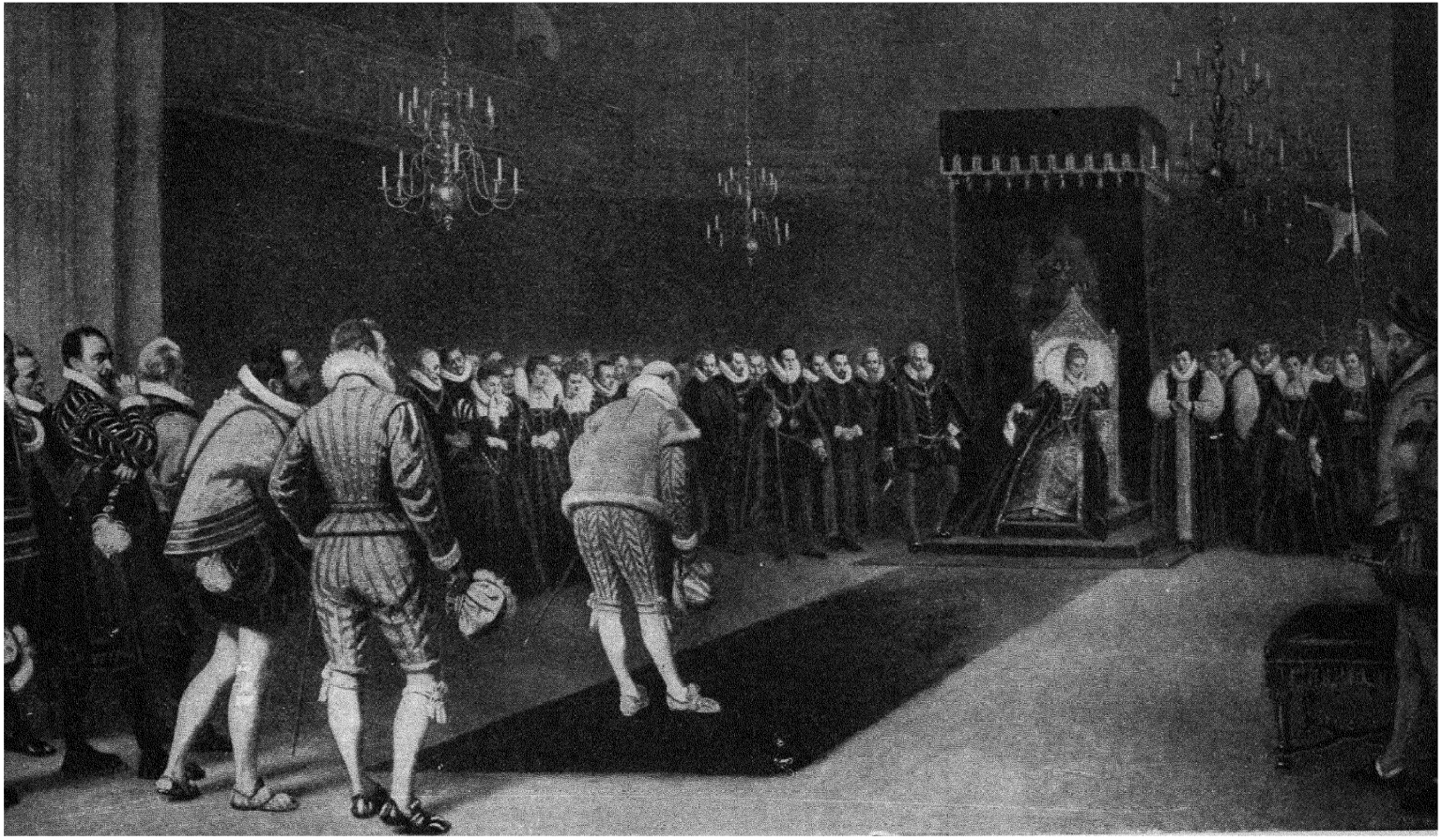


A GREAT THEOLOGIAN

Richard Hooker was a brilliant theologian in the time of Elizabeth, and his "Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity" made his name famous.

From the marble statue by Alfred Drury, A.R.A., in the Cathedral Yard, Exeter.

At the death of Mary Tudor the country was still engaged in war with France. Calais had been lost, and France was prepared to follow up the advantage thus obtained; Mary Stuart and her husband the dauphin had assumed the royal arms of England. The Guises, Mary's uncles, looked for the day when England would be a French dependency, and English resources would be brought into the field against Philip of Spain. Elizabeth saw the danger, she also saw the value of her friendship with Philip. With his aid she was able to secure favourable terms at Câteau-Cambrésis. She surrendered Calais, but the honour of England was saved by the empty promise that Calais should be restored in eight years' time.

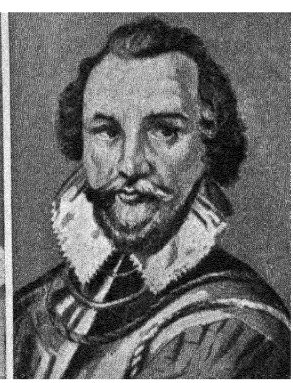


AFTER ST BARTHOLOMEW QUEEN ELIZABETH RECEIVING THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AT THE ENGLISH COURT

This picture, from the brush of Mr W F Yeames, R A , represents the English court in mourning after the terrible massacre of the Protestants in France on St Bartholomew's Day, 1572, when 30,000 Huguenots, including women and children, are believed to have been sacrificed Elizabeth is seen receiving the French ambassador in a formal and unfriendly manner

The unpopularity of the peace in France brought the Guises, who had opposed it, once more into power, immediately afterwards the accession of their nephew the dauphin, as Francis II., made them doubly dangerous. The obvious means of checking the Guises was to form an alliance with the Protestants of Scotland, the great obstacle to this course was the necessity of [illegible] Philip's friendship. To form the Scottish alliance without breaking the Spanish alliance was the first of Elizabeth's great exploits in diplomacy; and it was the more remarkable because she contrived to forward the political designs of the Scottish Protestants without in any way committing herself to the support of their religious tenets. With Philip's secret consent an army was sent to assist the party of Knox in expelling the French troops of Mary of Guise. This was effected; the Scottish Reformation was saved; and it became certain that Scotland would not supply the Guises with a base from which to menace England.





TWO BRAVE SEAMEN HAWKINS AND FROBISHER
A native of Plymouth, Sir John Hawkins took a prominent part in the repulse of the Spanish Armada, he set the example of American voyages, and, with Drake, commanded expeditions to the Spanish Main. Sir Martin Frobisher, another of the hardy type of seamen of Elizabeth's time, led Polar expeditions, and fought against the Armada.

In 1561 Mary Stuart, left a widow by the early death of Francis II., returned to Scotland to turn the tide of Protestantism and to watch for an opportunity of making good her English claims, either as the opponent or as the [illegible] of Elizabeth. Mary would not cease to quarter the English royal arms; Elizabeth would not recognise her as successor to the throne. Hence their relations were strained, and it became Elizabeth's supreme object to prevent her rival from forming a close union with the English Catholics or with a foreign Catholic power. Philip's jealousy of France was still the chief safeguard for England. But the marriage of Mary with her cousin Darnley in 1565 seemed for a time as though it would make the Scottish queen independent of external help. The marriage united the Scottish Catholics around the throne, the Protestant Ministers, whom Mary had hitherto been obliged to accept, were dismissed from power and chased out of Scotland. Then, however, the murder of Rizzio in 1566, contrived by the Protestant lords, but assisted by the conjugal jealousy of Darnley, produced a schism in the ranks of Mary's following. The queen sacrificed the Catholic cause and her English hopes to the desire of vengeance. She sought allies among the Protestants, even among the assassins of Rizzio; and Darnley's murder in 1567 atoned for that of Rizzio. The queen's part in the crime was suspected from the first; her marriage with Bothwell, the chief agent in the murder turned suspicion to certainty, alienated from her the hearts of all respectable Catholics, and gave the Protestant leaders the opportunity of returning and recovering power. The queen was imprisoned at Lochleven Castle, her half-brother, Murray, became regent for the infant James VI.; and the only result of a last effort on the part of Mary and her few remaining supporters was a defeat at Langside in 1568, which necessitated her flight to England.

Mary Stuart a Rival to Elizabeth

The Woes of the Queen of Scots

She threw herself upon the mercy of Elizabeth; it was a desperate step, but it caused untold embarrassment to the English government. Elizabeth could not afford, even if she had been willing, to restore her cousin and destroy the Protestant ascendancy in Scotland. She had not the right to try Mary for the murder of Darnley; nor was she anxious to deprive the English Catholics of the hopes which they based upon Mary's claim to the succession. She therefore resolved to discredit without formally condemning Mary, and to keep her as a prisoner without treating her as a criminal. Mary's request that the complaints against Murray and

the Scottish Protestants might have a hearing was made the excuse for appointing a committee to sift the charges against Mary herself, the Scots were persuaded to produce the Casket Letters purporting to be written by Mary to Bothwell, and when Mary's fame had been irreparably blasted by this evidence, the proceedings of the committee were suspended without hearing the defence. Mary was kept a prisoner; but Elizabeth would gladly have restored her as the nominal queen of Scotland if Mary would have abandoned her claim to the English throne, and if Murray would have consented to give his sister the shadow without the substance of power. Since both remained obdurate there were two alternatives for Elizabeth.

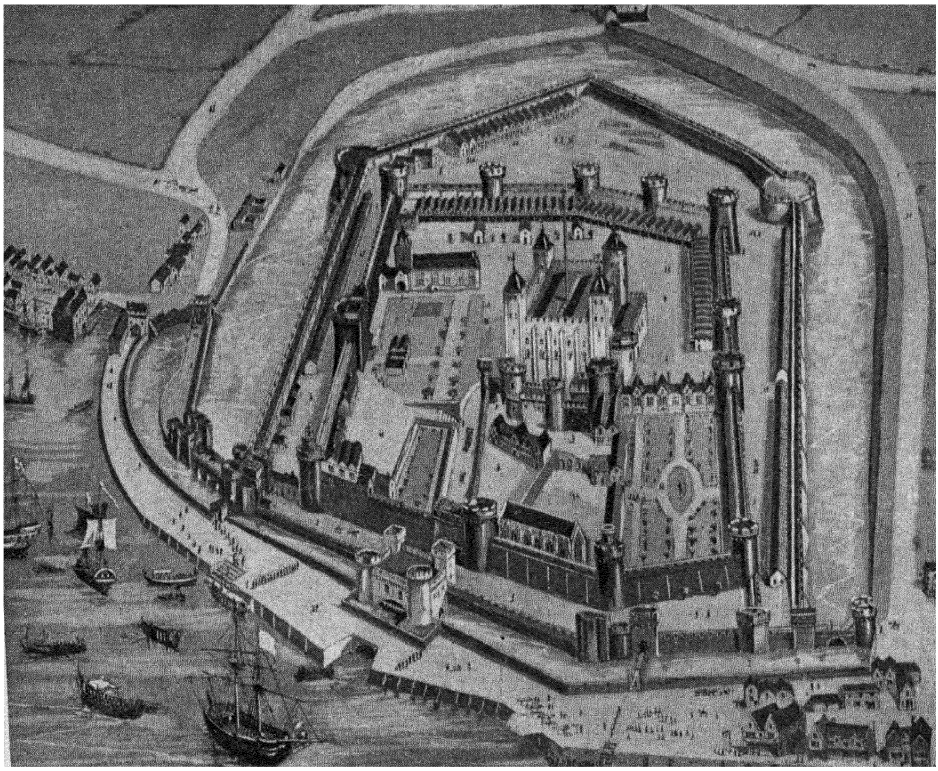
Queen Mary a Prisoner in England

She might execute Mary as a murderess; this was the course which the English Ministers desired, but Elizabeth shrank from the danger of foreign intervention and Catholic rebellion. The other possible course was to detain Mary, keeping a strict watch against the intrigues with foreign enemies and English malcontents; this Elizabeth took. She had in consequence to face a number of conspiracies: that of the northern earls in 1569, that of Ridolfi in 1571–1572, the intrigues initiated by the Jesuits Campion and Parsons in 1580–1581, the Throgmorton Plot in 1583, and the Babington Plot in 1586. But the queen had counted the cost of her forbearance, and relied with justice upon the ability of Burleigh and Walsingham to frustrate all conspirators. In the meantime she asserted herself in the field of international diplomacy, she revived the policy which Henry VII. and Wolsey had so successfully pursued of acting as a make-weight between the evenly balanced factions of the Continent. But she effected her object by new methods skilfully adapted to her own situation and the circumstances of the Counter-Reformation. It is doubtful whether she ever had the intention of taking a husband; but her hand was offered as a bait at one time or another to nearly all the eligible



SIR WALTER RALEIGH AS A BOY LISTENING TO A SAILOR'S STORIES

This suggestive picture by Sir J. E. Millais depicts the youthful Raleigh, who subsequently became a great explorer, sitting with a companion listening to the stories of a sailor as he describes the wonderful lands across the seas.



THE TOWER OF LONDON AS IT WAS IN THE TIME OF ELIZABETH

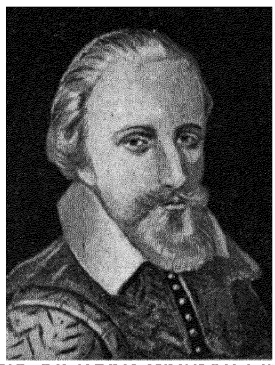
princes of the Catholic party. It is true that she declined, without much hesitation, an offer from Philip of Spain, who was inseparably, though unjustly, associated in the minds of her people with the religious persecutions of her sister's reign. But the idea of an Austrian or French marriage was continually mooted; and the courtship of Francis, Duke of Anjou, more familiarly known under his earlier title of Alençon, went far enough to form the basis of important changes in the foreign relations of the two countries most concerned.

Such projects were allowed to remain open so long as they proved useful; but Elizabeth had no intention of tying herself to the Valois and so offending Spain irrevocably, or of provoking Mary's adherents to desperation by a Hapsburg marriage. She was often pressed by her Ministers and Parliament to solve the problem of the succession by marrying some one, no matter whom. But she read the needs of her situation more accurately than her advisers. The uncertainty of the succession was a source of strength as well as of danger. After marriage projects her main weapons were found in intrigues with the Protestants of the Netherlands and France. The Bull of Pius V. in 1570 caused her to be regarded as the natural head of the Protestant interest; and she used this position to inspire her co-religionists with courage for the struggle against her actual and potential enemies. She gave but small assistance, and she drove hard bargains with her allies. The Huguenots were compelled to bribe her with the town of Havre in 1563, but received in return no substantial help, and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572 provoked from Elizabeth the mildest of remonstrances. Until 1585 she allowed the heroic Netherlands to conduct their resistance against Philip [illegible] except for the support which her diplomacy occasionally afforded, and the diversions effected by the spontaneous depredations of English privateers upon Spanish colonies and shipping,

The Age of English Privateering

and by English volunteers in the Dutch armies. Leicester's expedition of 1585–1586 was a mere source of expense and embarrassment to the Seven Provinces, and a bitter mortification to English Protestants jealous for the honour of their country.

It was the force of circumstances which lay beyond her control that made Elizabeth at length the armed defender of Protestantism and the mistress of the seas. As the true drift of her home policy became apparent, as English buccaneering and trade rivalry became more formidable, Philip of Spain drifted from friendship to a cold neutrality, and thence to active enmity. His agents fomented the plots of English Catholics and encouraged the growth of a Catholic reaction in Scotland; at length, in 1580, a small body of Spanish troops went to the aid of the Irish Catholics and Nationalists in Munster. It became clear that the reduction of the Netherlands would be followed by an invasion of England. By 1585 Elizabeth found herself committed to war with Spain, and the formation of the Catholic League in France in 1584 made it probable that the two great powers of the Counter-Reformation would unite against her. Reluctantly she threw down the gage by the execution of Mary Stuart, who was condemned, nominally for her share in the Babington plot, but in fact to ensure that the imminent foreign peril should not be complicated by dynastic conspiracies at home. Immediately afterwards Philip set up a claim to the throne of England and began to prepare the mighty Armada.



SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE
A great commander, Grenville distinguished himself on land and sea, off the Azores, in 1591, he made a heroic but unsuccessful defence against the whole fleet of Spain

On more than one critical occasion England had learned the importance of maritime supremacy. One naval victory had saved the crown to the infant Henry III.; another had enabled Edward III to use the Channel without fear or hindrance as a highway for the invasion of France; a third, fought with disastrous issue in 1372, had left Aquitaine at the mercy of Charles V and Du Guesclin. In the reign of Henry V. the "dominion of the narrow seas" had been asserted, and the value of naval power both for military and for commercial purposes had been fully recognised. Yet the Tudors, in other respects so quick to feel and to promote the tendencies of their age, had been remiss in building up a navy and a mercantile marine. Henry VII. is recorded to have built a royal ship of war, larger than any which the Crown had hitherto possessed. Henry VIII. founded the Woolwich and Deptford dockyards, and collected a fleet which at his death numbered seventy sail, if his policy had been continued, England would have been well prepared for defence But in the reign of Edward VI. the old ships decayed without being replaced; at the death of Mary Tudor the royal ships were but forty-six in number.



THE GREATEST ELIZABETHAN SEAMAN
The life and exploits of Sir Francis Drake read like a romance Taking to the sea early in life, he was soon fighting against the Spaniards. He won fresh glory in the great struggle with the Spanish Armada, and died, off Porto Bello, in 1596.

The naval expenditure of Elizabeth was, before 1588, surprisingly small; her captains and seamen, though unrivalled for skill and daring, were wretchedly paid, and her effective navy included only some thirty vessels, of which less than half were of the first rank for fighting purposes. But the defects of the navy were made good by the spontaneous growth of the merchant marine. The largest private ships were built to carry guns, since piracy and smuggling at the expense of the Spanish and other hostile governments had long been recognised as legitimate and lucrative

forms of enterprise. The Levant and Guinea trades, the voyages of exploration which began with the expedition of Chancellor and Willoughby to the White Sea in 1553, the opening of the Newfoundland fisheries about 1548, the American voyages of which Hawkins set the example from 1562 to 1567, the Polar voyages of Frobisher and Davis, all contributed to form a hardy race of navigators. A census of seamen, taken shortly before the coming of the Armada in 1583, enumerates over 1,400 master mariners and 11,500 common sailors in the ports of England and Wales. England was still far from being a maritime nation, but no other European power could show so large a proportion of seamen to population.



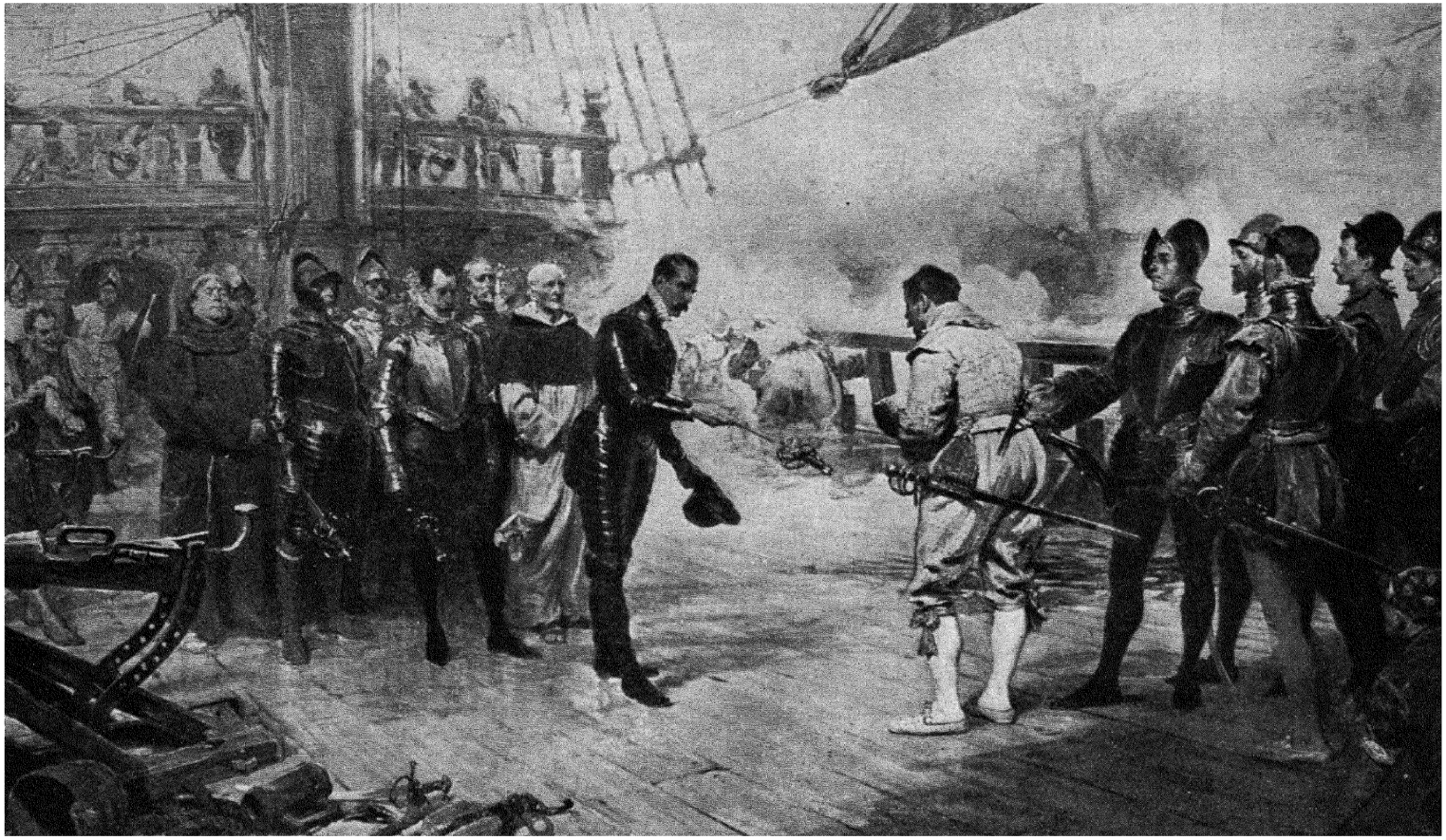
THE GREAT SIR WALTER RALEIGH
Sir Walter Raleigh was another of the distinguished figures of the Elizabethan period, and won fame by his expeditions. He introduced potatoes and tobacco to this country. His later years were clouded with trouble, and he was beheaded at Whitehall in 1618

Religion and commercial interest had combined to make the English seaman the enemy of Spain. The Spaniard claimed a monopoly of trade with his colonies in the New World, and treated as pirates the English adventurers who persisted in providing the West Indies and the Main with negro slaves and other necessaries. The captives of the Spaniard were perhaps no worse treated than the recognised usages of warfare permitted; but every adventurer hanged or detained for illicit trading beyond the line was represented in England as a victim of the Inquisition. The sailors of the two nations had been long at open feud before their governments decided on a formal rupture. The war virtually began in 1568, when Hawkins was attacked by the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Vera Cruz, and Elizabeth had done more than lend a passive countenance to the reprisals of her subjects. To avenge Hawkins she seized, in 1569, certain Spanish treasure-ships which had imprudently ventured into the ports of the south coast of England. Drake, who in 1572 captured the Panama treasure-train, and in 1578 began his circumnavigation of the globe by a bold raid upon the west coast of Spanish America, was knighted by the queen, and she became a partner in his spoils of plunder.

When, in consequence of the Spanish ambassador's complicity in the Throgmorton Plot in 1584, diplomatic relations were suspended it was only necessary for Elizabeth to give the signal and Drake with his fellow adventurers were in a moment converted from buccaneers to champions of Protestantism and national independence. A joint-stock expedition (1585–1586) carried fire and sword through the Spanish Main, in 1587 Drake entered Cadiz harbour and "singed the beard" of Philip by destroying the better part of the vessels which had been collected for the purpose of invading England.

English superiority at sea was even more strikingly demonstrated in 1588. A fleet of seventy vessels, collected chiefly from the seaport towns, and directed by Drake under the nominal command of Lord Howard of Effingham, chased the Armada through the narrow seas from Plymouth to Gravelines. Medina Sidonia, the Spanish admiral, commanded 130 ships, of which the largest were superior in size and complement to any which Drake could produce. But a large number of these were mere transports; and ship for ship the Spaniard was inferior both in guns and in seamanship. The greatest naval victories of Spain had been won in the Mediterranean; neither the ships nor the men of Medina Sidonia were fitted for oceanic warfare. Their one

HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM
He became Lord High Admiral in 1585, and three years later was given the command against the Spanish Armada. In 1596 he was created Earl of Nottingham.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE ON [illegible] AVENGE": AN INCIDENT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

Sir Francis Drake was an intrepid voyager and made the name of England famous over-seas The Spaniards had good cause to fear him, for no man had done more to break their naval power. An incident of the Spanish Armada is represented in this picture, which shows Pedro de Valdez yielding up his sword in token of submission to the English naval leader

From the painting by J Seymour Lucas, A R A

hope lay in grappling; but the English, getting the weather gauge from the first and holding it throughout fought at long range, and the issue was decided before the storms by which the ruin of the Spanish fleet was completed had begun.

The last hope of Medina Sidonia failed when he found, upon anchoring at Calais, that the land army which Parma had been instructed to collect in the Netherlands was not yet collected and that the commander was unwilling to risk a descent on England. About one half of the Spanish fleet never returned to Spain. The prestige of Philip II. had sustained a fatal blow, his resources were inadequate to the preparation of a new force, and for the remainder of her reign, Elizabeth, though haunted by the nightmare of a Spanish invasion, had no real cause for fear. Her attempts to continue the naval war were less successful than might have been expected from this brilliant opening. A disastrous attack on Lisbon in 1591 was hardly balanced by the heroic but unsuccessful defence which Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge offered, off the Azores, to a whole Spanish fleet; the death of Drake, in the course of a raid upon the Main in 1596 left England without an admiral of genius. But to such a point had the Spanish power sunk that Howard of Effingham, Raleigh, and the incompetent Essex were able to enter the harbour and sack the town of Cadiz without encountering serious resistance. Though England lived under continual apprehension of attack, there was not in fact the slightest danger from Spain after 1588.

The last years of Elizabeth are disappointing enough if we regard simply their political events. The queen persisted blindly in the persecution of Catholics and Puritans, although in the year of the Armada both had given signal proofs of loyalty. The death of Walsingham, in 1590, and the old age of Lord Burleigh left the supreme direction of affairs in the hands of the latter's son, Sir Robert Cecil, an astute and active politician, but ill-fitted to fill the place which the older counsellors had vacated. Old age did not make the queen less indifferent to the flatteries of personal



QUEEN ELIZABETH ENCOURAGING HER ARMY TO FIGHT THE SPANIARDS

News reached England in 1588 of the vast preparations being made in Spain for the invasion and conquest of our country, and preparations for resistance were speedily made. A considerable portion of England's land forces was stationed at Tilbury, under the command of Leicester, and there Queen Elizabeth appeared in person, by her presence and words reminding the soldiers of their duty to their country and religion, and exhorting them to fight well She would lead them against the enemy herself, she said, rather than survive the ruin and slavery of her people

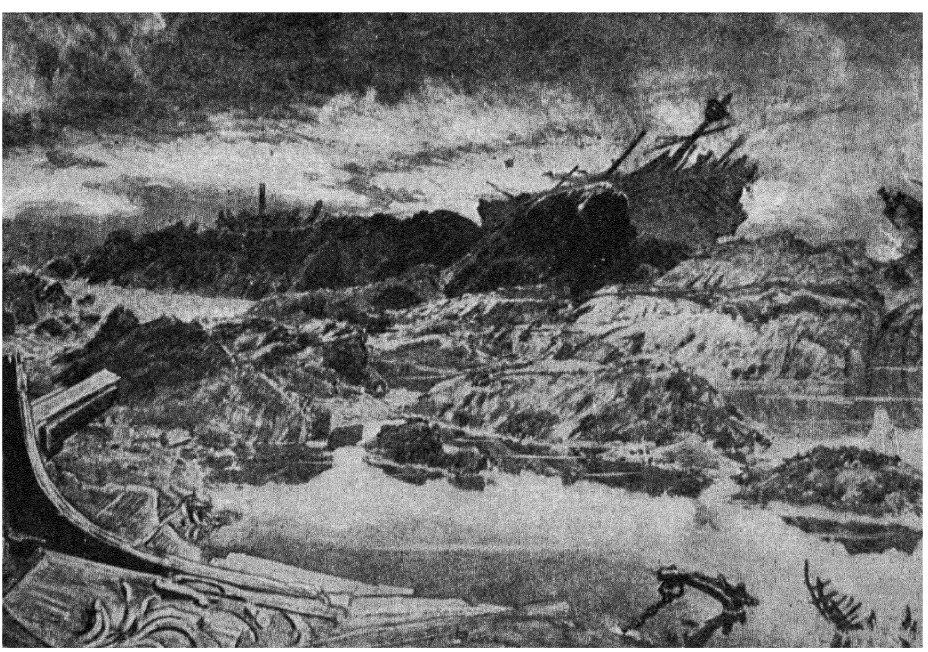
From the picture by Huck



THE MEN WHO ROUTED THE SPANIARDS AND SAVED ENGLAND

It is said that when Spain's great fleet, whose aim was to conquer England, was sighted off the English shores, Sir Francis Drake and his officers, as represented in this picture, were playing bowls on the Hoe at Plymouth Drake received the news quietly, remarking that there was plenty of time to finish the game and to beat the Spaniards too

From the painting by Seymour Lucas, R.A., by permission of Messrs Henry Graves & Co



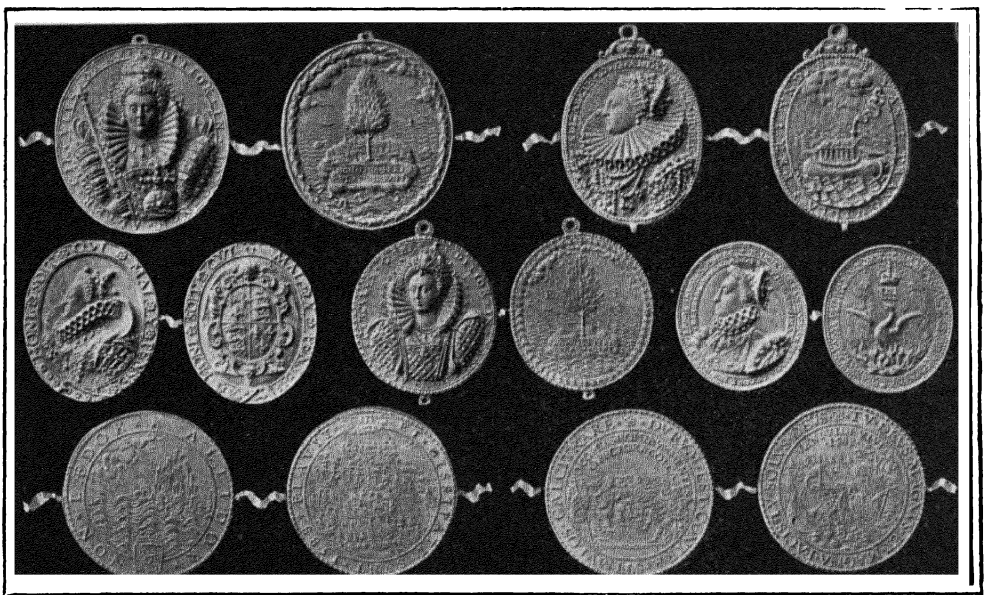
THE INGLORIOUS FATE OF SPAIN'S "INVINCIBLE ARMADA"

Extending over a length of seven miles, the "Invincible Armada," as it was proudly termed, advanced up the Channel on its ambitious mission. But with all their commanding appearance, the ships were ill-built and unmanageable, and were quite unable to stand up against the vigorous assault of the English fleet Finally shattered off Gravelines, the Armada endeavoured to return to Spain, but this purpose was frustrated by the furious storms which arose The elements completed the destruction of the mighty Armada, and in this picture the broken hulks and wreckage of some of the Spanish ships are seen lying on the rocky coast of Scotland.

From the painting by Albert Goodwin, R.W.S., in the Manchester Art Gallery

favourites; and although among these the brilliant Raleigh found a place, he was eclipsed by Essex, who aspired to the chief share both in the direction of the Spanish war and in the home administration, but proved himself as incompetent in Ireland as at the sack of Cadiz.

From Essex the queen at length freed herself when the proofs of a treasonable correspondence with the court of Scotland were laid before her. Smarting under a well-merited recall from Ireland, the earl had proposed that James VI. should enter England at the head of an army, and insist upon being recognised as Elizabeth's successor; on the detection of the plot he strove to raise London in



Mansell

EXAMPLES OF MEDALS STRUCK IN COMMEMORATION OF THE OVERTHROW OF THE ARMADA

rebellion. For these offences Essex paid with his head in 1601; but other flatterers, not less unworthy, remained about the queen, and national aspirations for civil and religious liberty found advocates who could not be despised. The House of Commons showed themselves, in the year of Essex's death, outspoken and insistent critics of one flagrant abuse, that of monopolies; the queen was compelled to satisfy them by the withdrawal of the obnoxious patents. The Martin Mar-Prelate controversy proved that the censorship was only half capable of dealing with the critics of ecclesiastical institutions; and the agitation against episcopacy, after seven years of governmental persecution, was scotched rather than suppressed by the execution of Penry the arch-pamphleteer.

The economic situation of England also left much to be desired. Some flagrant evils had been diminished by the measures of the queen's early years. With the help of Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange, she effected the reformation of the coinage, which had been debased in an ever-increasing degree to relieve the financial exigencies of her three immediate predecessors. The Statute of Apprentices in 1563, though continuing the policy of regulating wages which the Parliament of the fourteenth century had inaugurated by the Statute of Labourers, vested the power of fixing the local standard in the justices of the peace for each county, and thus substituted a more elastic rule for the cast-iron maximum of former legislators.

The clauses relating to apprentices, from which the statute took its name, were an attempt to exercise through the central government those duties of supervision and regulation, as regarded technical education and admission to practise the several industries, which the mediæval trade guilds had performed for their own localities.

Foreign trade was promoted by the grant of privileges to merchant companies, each of which received the monopoly of a



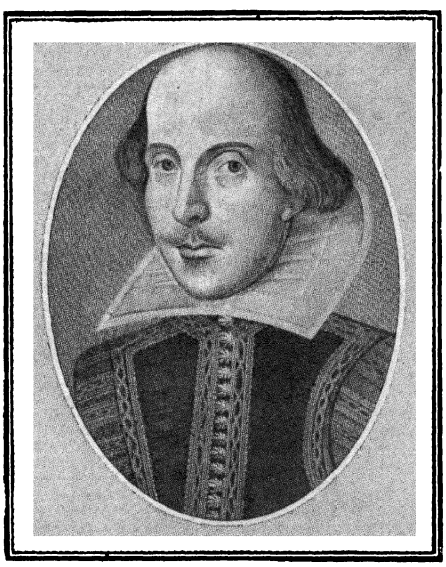
THE LAST HOURS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH AT RICHMOND
From the picture by Delaroche in the Louvre

particular foreign market. The Russian, Eastland or Baltic, and Levant companies rose into importance through the queen's protection; and the incorporation of the East India Company in 1600 at the close of the reign was a step of momentous importance for England's future in the East. But of India, as of the New World, we may say that the Elizabethans indicated to posterity the possibilities of commercial greatness without using them for the advantage of their own generation. Raleigh, who grasped the fundamental principles of colonisation and expounded them in masterly fashion, failed to make his colony of Virginia a success.

In commerce the developments of the Elizabethan period were more significant than profitable. The question of pauperism was a pressing one until the end of the queen's reign. The prosperity of the middle classes was outbalanced by the hardships of the labourers, whose wages, though increasing in their nominal amount, by no means kept pace with the general rise of prices. The great Poor Law of Elizabeth (1598)

is a monument of sound statesmanship, but illustrates the magnitude of the social evil against which it was directed. The wise principles which it embodied were the fruit of long and bitter experience.

When we turn to literature, there is a brighter story to be told. Three countries of Europe were, in the sixteenth century, inspired by the models of the Italian Renaissance to the production of new masterpieces. In France the poets of the Pléiade, with Ronsard and Du Bellay at their head, proved that classical elegance of style could be attained in the vernacular languages of Europe; while Brantôme and Montaigne continued in prose the work of Rabelais, and demonstrated that as a vehicle for wit, fancy, and philosophic reflection French could hold its own with Latin. In Spain, Calderon, with his high seriousness of purpose, and Cervantes, with his humorous melancholy, illuminated the decaying ideals of the Middle Ages. In England, Spenser, Marlowe, and Shakespeare gave expression to the spirit of the new era through a poetry coloured with the imagery and the sentiments of the past, but at the same time instinct with the speculative audacity, the profound confidence in the possibilities of human nature, the love of country, and the joy of living which the great discoveries of the fifteenth, the great conflicts and the great victories of the sixteenth, centuries had inspired in the free Protestant peoples of Northern Europe.



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

First among the writers who added lustre to the reign of Elizabeth, William Shakespeare remains not only the greatest English poet, but the supreme poet of the modern world He was born in 1564 at Stratford-on-Avon, and died at his native place in 1616.

No careers could well be more different than those of the three Elizabethan poets; but the three types of life which they represent are alike characteristic of the age. Spenser was an ardent Protestant, with an intellectual leaning towards Puritan doctrine; he linked his fortunes with those of the Elizabethan conquerors of Ireland, and made his great epic, the "Faerie Queene," a manifesto against the unreformed religion. Marlowe embodied in his life as in his plays the revolt of the age against measure and convention He lived at the centre of a knot of eager, wrangling wits, he died the victim of a tavern brawl Shakespeare, whose genius, equally great in tragedy and comedy, rises above the conditions of his age, was in active life a prosperous man of business, anxious to found a position and a family, using his highest ideals and profound meditations for the accumulation of a competence, truly typical in the versatility of his intellect and in the utilitarianism of his temperament.

All three reached the climax of their poetic development about the same time. The first instalment of Spenser's "Faerie Queene" was published in 1589, the last in 1596 The great tragedies of Marlowe, Faustus, the Jew of Malta, and Edward II., appeared in the years 1588–1593. Shakespeare's dramatic career began shortly before 1592 and was finished in 1611. Their common theme is human nature With Spenser, spiritual aspirations, the significance of human affections, and the relation of man to the unseen powers are the leading themes; faith in the moral potentialities of man is the keynote of his verse. To Marlowe the study of passion and ambition had an irresistible attraction. Shakespeare, while he inherits Marlowe's interest in the heights and depths of passions, is more impressed by the rich and complex variety of every individual nature, by the subtle action and reaction of will on will and mind on mind, by the irony of fate and the paradoxical union of opposing traits in the same character. There have been literatures more fertile in abstract ideas, of a more chastened fancy, of greater precision and clarity in expression, than the Elizabethan; there is none which deals in a spirit so penetrating and imaginative with the mysteries of individual passion.

H. W. C DAVIS

WHAT WE OWE TO QUEEN ELIZABETH

BY MARTIN HUME M.A.

THE period covered by the reign of Elizabeth coincides with the development of a new spirit in the English people. Sturdy and independent they had always been, esteeming themselves personally above the Scots and the French, with whom alone they had been brought into inimical contact. But the sentiment which began to manifest itself under Henry VIII., and grew to maturity under his younger daughter, did not consist so much of a conviction of superior individual prowess as of the certainty that England, as a nation, was destined to attain for herself a proud and powerful position, free from the aid or patronage of other countries. The birth of this feeling was probably owing to the clever diplomacy of Henry VII., who, mainly in order to strengthen his own dynasty, made the most of the ability of England to turn the balance in favour of one or the other of the rival Continental powers, and greatly magnified the international importance of his country, especially after his masterstroke of policy in marrying his elder daughter to the King of Scots.

The aggressive personality of Henry VIII. and his active patronage of English shipping, giving rise. as it did, to privateering and piracy on a large scale on French and Spanish vessels, also fostered the growing sentiment of national potency against foreigners. But it was not until after the accession of Elizabeth that this new sense of imperial dignity and future world-power became an article of faith with all Englishmen.

THE STATECRAFT OF ELIZABETH

The peculiar position of the queen, her personal character, and the march of events on the Continent all contributed to this result. If Elizabeth had succumbed to the flattering advances of the King of Spain to take her and her country under his protection in the early days of her reign, her position would have been rendered precarious, if not impossible. The recognition by her of the papal power would have invalidated her own right to the throne, by destroying the legitimacy of her birth, and, though she managed for years to avert danger from a Catholic league against her by frequent professions of her sympathy for the old religion, she never dared openly to embrace it. The blustering assertion of her independence and power, with which she met anything in the nature of a threat from abroad, her constant appeals in extremity to the chivalry of her opponents, and her dexterous use of her charms to influence men towards her ends, her ostentatious regard for the loyalty of her people, and the readiness with which she condoned acts of aggression by her subjects, apparently against her wish, if large profits came from them, all inflamed the sentiment of national power and solidarity of Englishmen while at the same time testifying to Elizabeth's consummate statecraft.

SECRET OF THE QUEEN'S SUCCESS

Her success was as much owing to her weakness as to her strength. In the long marriage juggle, her supreme vanity, her imperiousness, and her insatiable thirst for admiration, always stepped in to prevent her from finally surrendering her liberty to any man. If she had allowed herself to be captured in marriage, as she seemed perilously near doing more than once, the great instrument of her policy would have disappeared, and she could no longer have whistled France to her side as she did whenever the Catholic powers were getting too intimate. She was fortunate, too, in having for a contemporary sovereign a woman of conscience so elastic as Catharine de Medici, whose position between the rival factions of Huguenots and Catholics in France also rendered necessary a policy of constantly playing one against the other if she was to retain her ruling influence.

Catharine, for her own ends, was ever ready at a critical point to support Elizabeth in [illegible] King Philip II., because when he was free from trouble there was always the danger of his so aiding the Catholic Guisan party in France as to give them the preponderance of power in the state, to Catharine's detriment. Philip, on the other hand, dared not go to war openly with England while his own Netherlands were blazing in revolt, though they were undisguisedly helped by English money and men. Any attack upon England

by Spain in such circumstances would have brought the strong Huguenot party in France into the field against him, both in Flanders and on the Channel.

Elizabeth knew exactly how far she could go with safety, though her nice calculations were constantly being hampered by the Puritan party in her court, whose religious and political principles were stronger than their diplomacy. Burleigh, her wisest Minister, headed a moderate conservative party, desirous of avoiding war and holding through thick and thin to the traditional policy of a good understanding with Spain; while Leicester in his later years, Walsingham, and afterwards Essex, and their friends, were ever clamouring for open hostilities with Spain and a close community with the Huguenots and Protestants on the Continent. Her anger when this party forced her into a dangerous position passed all bounds, and wise Burleigh and her own clever sophistry often with difficulty conjured away the peril.

So long as Elizabeth had the means to win the friendship of France at will, she was fairly safe She could keep prisoner Mary Stuart against all international usage, she could support the Dutch Protestants against Philip, and she could smile at the violation of his territory and the profitable plunder of his shipping by her subjects. Her immunity depended mainly upon the French religious divisions. She ostentatiously respected the legitimate government of France, but she never lost her hold upon the Huguenot party, which kept the Catholic majority powerless against her.

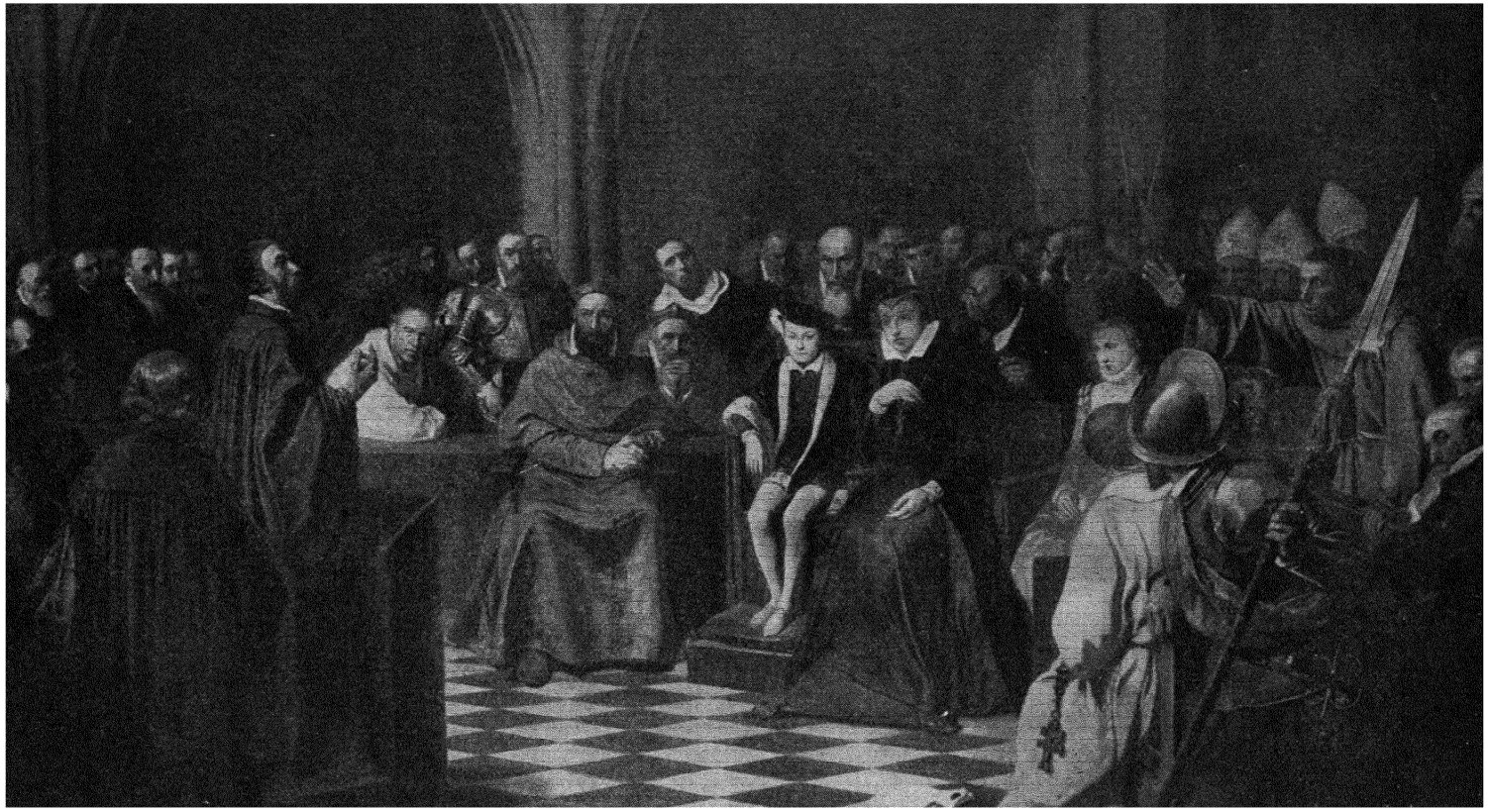
ELIZABETH IN A GREAT CRISIS

But events at length upset this delicate equilibrium of forces. The house of Valois was expiring with childless Henry III., and the king, who hated the Guises, recognised Henry of Navarre, the Huguenot, as his heir. This made a great civil war inevitable in France, and paralysed the Huguenots as possible factors in favour of Elizabeth, while the Catholic majority in the country would prevent Henry III. from shielding her from the vengeance of Philip. Thus, in 1585, Elizabeth stood alone and met the crisis bravely. The plots engineered from Spain in favour of Mary Queen of Scots were answered by the execution of Mary and by a more hostile attitude in Holland, where Orange was openly aided by a strong English army. Elizabeth herself refused the sovereignty of the states offered to her by the Dutch; but, to her fury, again her hand was forced by Leicester, her commander in Holland, who accepted the sovereignty, by implication, in her name.

ENGLAND'S TRIUMPH OVER SPAIN

Nothing could now prevent the long-delayed attack upon England by Spain, for France was impotent to interfere, and it was at this crisis that the new national feeling in England rose to its full height of heroism and valour. The queen, hoping against hope, almost to the last, stinted the arming and victualling of the defensive forces that her country raised so bounteously until its efficiency was gravely impaired. But a new school of seamanship had been evolved by the ocean rovers. For the first time sailors controlled ships as fighting entities. The Spaniards were outsailed and outmanœuvred by this new plan of pitting sailors against soldiers at sea, and disaster, utter and complete, to the Armada secured England's safety from Spanish attack in future. Elizabeth's diplomacy and Philip's difficulties had avoided war for thirty years, but when it came, Elizabeth's patriotic appeals to her people, and the new spirit of confidence in the nation, justified her long cultivation of popularity and her ceaseless assertion of England's ability to hold her own.

Elizabeth's methods in home politics displayed the same qualities as her foreign diplomacy. She would hector and bluster to those of her subjects who crossed her; but she always had recourse to blandishments to win to her side those who were strong enough really to injure her. She pretended to sympathise with Catholics and Protestants in turn, and persecuted both as political need dictated. While pretending to disapprove of a policy of expansion of England across the sea at the expense of Spain, she was always ready to acknowledge accomplished facts, however outrageous, if success and profit justified them. Success, indeed, must be the sole justification of her own wonderful career. She was vain, boastful, coarse, insincere, and immodest; but she found England poor, weak and divided, and she left it gloriously strong and conscious of illimitable possibilities. No merely good woman could have attained that result.



PROTESTANTS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS IN CONFERENCE A FAMOUS GATHERING IN THE ABBEY AT POISSY IN 1561

With the view of adjusting their religious differences, a conference of Protestants and Roman Catholics was held in the Abbey at Poissy in 1561, but it had no decisive result The picture shows the youthful Charles IX seated upon the throne, his mother, Catharine de Medici, is sitting on his left, while behind and around them are the Catholic nobles and prelates. Theodore Beza the leader of the Protestant pastors, is seen addressing the conference, and his words are drawing forth a clamour of protest from his opponents.



FRANCE UNDER CATHARINE DE MEDICI

AND THE DAYS OF THE HUGUENOT WARS

FRANCIS II was only fifteen years old on the death of his father on July 10th, 1559, and had married Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, daughter of James V., in 1558. The reins of government were not held by him, but by his mother, the intriguing Catharine de Medici, who associated herself with the two most powerful men in the kingdom, Francis, Duke of Guise, and his brother Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, by giving the first the control of the army, and promoting the latter to be chief Minister. These two were the leaders of the Catholic party, while the Calvinists, henceforth known as "Huguenots," found a head in Louis of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, a relation of the royal house. Political scheming, among the foremost men at least, was, however, so [illegible] that opposition in matters of religion was only outwardly combined with it, in order to have a wider foundation for powerful enterprises. The followers of Condé, and of the Bourbons generally, had agreed that the Guises must be dislodged from their foremost positions. Opinions were divided only as to the best way of doing this. The attempt to win over the queen-mother to the plan failed.

Schemes to Dislodge the Guises

The idea now suggested itself of forming, in accordance with the advice of Gaspard de Châtillon, lord of Coligny, an alliance with the reformed party, which, notwithstanding all persecutions, comprised more than two thousand congregations. This political side of the religious movement was bound to rouse the ruling party to more cruel persecutions. An edict was issued in autumn, 1559, which prohibited the Huguenots from holding public worship under pain of death. This edict cost the lives of many honourable men. A conspiracy, with which the Bourbons were indirectly connected, tried to deprive the Guises and the queen mother of the government by force, but the enterprise was a failure, and the leaders of the plot paid the penalty with their lives. It was only too well known at court in what connection the action of the Huguenots stood with the policy of Condé, but the Guises did not immediately contemplate his punishment, especially as he had retired to his estates.

The Sudden Death of Francis II.

But the prince feared the vengeance of those in power, and preferred, therefore, not to appear at a meeting of the notables which was summoned to Fontainebleau, and may in this way have disconcerted the ruling party at first. A petition for toleration, addressed by the Huguenots to the king, met with no favourable response; indeed, at a meeting of the States-General at Orleans, Condé was arrested on October 30th, 1560, and was condemned to death for high treason by a specially appointed commission, of which he emphatically challenged the competence. However, before the sentence could be carried out King Francis II died suddenly, on December 5th, 1560, and the two persons who would have gladly overthrown the Guises—namely, King Anthony of Navarre and Admiral Coligny—escaped without trial.

As Francis left no children, his brother, Charles IX., a boy aged ten years, succeeded to the throne. Under him, Queen Catharine held the reins of government more firmly than ever, and now sought to overthrow the inconvenient supremacy of the Guises. To attain this object it was necessary for her to secure the support of the Bourbons, and after some vain attempts she won their confidence. The prince was acquitted of his crime, and King Anthony nominated governor-general for the king, while Catharine claimed for herself the title of regent, and also assigned to the cardinal the administration of the finances. But this was contrary to the promises which the queen-regent had given to King

Catharine with the Reins of Government

Anthony, for they had stipulated the complete retirement of the Guises and claimed full religious liberty for the Huguenots.

Catharine had in all probability never contemplated fulfilling her promise, since by so doing she would have put herself too completely in the power of the Bourbons. All that King Anthony obtained was an edict which substituted exile for death as the punishment for holding heretical public worship, and forbade searches in the interiors of the houses. A religious conference, which was held at Catharine's proposal, naturally did nothing to clear up the situation, especially since the Catholics now noticed with alarm an inclination of the queen toward the Protestant side, and the chancellor, Michel de l'Hôpital, zealously advocated toleration. The result was a decree promulgated in January, 1562, which allowed the Huguenots to hold public worship outside the towns, while it also excused them from the restitution of churches and church property to the Catholics. This was distinctly a victory for the cause of the "Reformed" party which was unprecedented, and justified the most sanguine expectations.



Married to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, in 1558, when he was only fourteen years of age, Francis came to the throne of France in 1559, but his mother was the real ruler.

King Anthony, then, trusting to the easily won favour of King Philip of Spain, went over to the side of the Catholics, who were now engaged in civil war, and so forced the queen into the closest alliance with Condé and Coligny. A few weeks after the issue of the Edict, the interruption of a Huguenot service by Duke Francis of Guise, terminating in what is known as the Massacre of Amboise, gave the signal for a sanguinary riot, in the course of which the king and his mother fell into the power of the Catholic party, which held Paris. Condé and Coligny, encouraged by the queen, made preparations at Orleans to liberate the king, while throughout the country the same feud put weapons into the hands of the peasants. A great part of the nobility and the towns stood by the Huguenots, while almost the whole peasantry, excepting that of Normandy, espoused the Catholic cause. Both parties committed equal excesses, ravaging the country with fire and sword; both courted and obtained help from foreign powers, the Catholics from Spain and Italy, the Huguenots from Germany and England. Francis of Guise was shot by a fanatical Calvinist during the siege of Orleans, in February, 1563, and the Catholic party, much shaken by the loss of its leader, consented to a peace at Amboise on March 15th, 1563. By this all feudal tenants of the crown acquired for themselves and their subjects the right to exercise their religion without hindrance; the other members of the nobility might do so in their houses, while a similar privilege was conceded to the towns. The English were now driven from the land, and Prince Condé was promised influence in the government; but, owing to Catharine's faithlessness, there could be no confidence that the arrangement would be kept.



THE PATRIOT COLIGNY

Gaspard de Coligny has been described as the "noblest Frenchman of his time." Fired with religious zeal, he aimed at making the Huguenots a national party, and was one of the victims of the Massacre of St Bartholomew

After this first religious civil war the feeling of the two parties among themselves was unfortunately the same as ever; even the terrible sight of a ravaged country did not deter them from new outrages. The young king, who showed no pleasing traits of character, had been proclaimed of age at fourteen, but in reality his mother still ruled; she travelled through the country with him, and took this oppor-

tunity of sounding the feeling of the people. Insurrection could only with difficulty be repressed during the four years subsequent to the unsatisfactory conclusion of peace. Even if Coligny appeared outwardly reconciled with the brother of the murdered Duke of Guise, both parties had made up their minds that hostilities would be renewed. On September 27th, 1567, the Huguenots rose under Condé and Coligny in great force; Condé besieged the king and the queen-mother in Paris, which was feebly defended. The Huguenots were obliged, indeed, to withdraw without accomplishing their purpose, and suffered a defeat in November, notwithstanding their gallant resistance. In Lorraine they received support from the Palatinate, but the royalists were reinforced on their side by papal troops. Condé had won a distinct advantage when the queen reopened negotiations, and the treaty of 1563 was confirmed on March 23rd, 1568, by the Treaty of Longjumeau.

But this time also the mistrust continued. After the chancellor, L'Hôpital, had been deprived of his office, the edict of peace was revoked by the court, and all non-Catholic divine worship was forbidden on pain of death. This order was to be carried out by force, and the Huguenots were prepared to resist. But they were completely defeated on March 13th, 1569, at Jarnac, and Condé fell. Coligny now rallied all the followers of the reformed teaching, although he had lost almost all his comrades in arms, and was condemned to death by the Parlement of Paris as guilty of high treason. Once more the Huguenots conquered in the field, but they were again totally beaten at Moncontour on October 3rd, and Coligny was forced to retreat. The resources of the court were again exhausted, and the king wished for peace, because dissensions had long prevailed in the Catholic party. The treaty of 1570 was therefore confirmed for the second time on August 8th, 1570, at St. Germain-en-Laye, and the validity of all other decrees was annulled, the Huguenots were, in addition, allowed this time to occupy four fortresses as a guarantee for the fulfilment of the agreement.

The Varying Fortunes of the Huguenots

Concessions to the Huguenots



CHARLES IX., KING OF FRANCE

Charles was only ten years of age when the death of his brother, Francis II., left him the throne of France. He was king in name only He authorised the terrible Massacre of St. Bartholomew in August, 1572, and died in 1574

It can hardly be assumed that there was any wish at court to make permanent concessions to the Huguenots, but at any rate this was done. The most important event in this connection was brought about by the marriage, on the 18th of August, 1572, of Margaret, the king's sister, with Henry of Navarre, son of Queen Jeanne and King Anthony, who had just fought on the side of the Huguenots. Coligny was also cordially received by King Charles and appointed to the council of state; but his advice that the king was now old enough to rule alone proved his ruin. A certain excitement was caused among the Huguenots by the death of Queen Jeanne of Navarre, since there were rumours of poisoning. The queen-mother, in fear lest Coligny might drive the king to independent action, which might lead to her own expulsion, desired nothing more fervently than the death of the admiral. She hired an assassin, but his shot only slightly wounded his victim; and the excuse of the king that he knew nothing about it lulled the suspicions of the Huguenot chiefs so that they remained—to their destruction—in the city.

Catharine was so infuriated at the failure of her plan that she devised a new scheme; not Coligny alone but all the leaders of the Huguenots and as many as possible of their followers were to be



AFTER ST BARTHOLOMEW · CATHARINE DE MEDICI VIEWING THE VICTIMS OF THE MASSACRE
From a photograph by Braun, Clement & Cie of the painting by E. Debat Ponsan, by the artist's permission

sacrificed to her revenge. Attended by a small body of loyal Guises, she argued with the king on the evening of the 23rd of August, 1572, until he at last assented to the wholesale slaughter of the Huguenots—for which the preparations had already been completely organised—on that night. In the morning the streets were running with the blood of the victims of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Coligny with all the other leaders and thousands of citizens fell victims to the murderers. But not merely Huguenots were slain: many other motives besides religious zeal such as revenge, greed, personal hatred and mere lust of slaughter caused the death of numerous good Catholics on that night. The massacre can only be set down in the long list of crimes perpetrated under the cloak of religious zeal.

The king was uncertain whether he had commanded this hideous crime or whether it had been perpetrated without or even against his will. Henry of Navarre and Henry of Condé, who were spared on this wicked occasion, submitted themselves to the king and renounced their opinions.



THE LAST OF THE VALOIS
Cruel and tyrannical by nature, Henry III., who succeeded his brother Charles, was entirely influenced by his mother, Catharine. Civil war darkened his reign

The greater part of the Huguenots fled the country after the terrible catastrophe and sought shelter abroad since the four places which had been given them as pledges no longer afforded any security; royal troops now began to besiege La Rochelle the strongest of the places of refuge. But since they failed to take it, the Edict of Boulogne, of June 30th, 1573, secured liberty of conscience and the right of public worship to the Huguenots in three of the already privileged towns. The royal court was exposed to further disturbances even before the death of Charles IX. on May 30th, 1574. The ambitious Queen Catharine had succeeded in

placing her favourite son Henry on the throne of Poland, and he had gone to his new kingdom in 1573. Now, however, the question of the succession was being discussed at home, since Charles's death seemed rapidly approaching. A distinct party, which sympathised with the Huguenots, hoped to be able to raise Catharine's fourth son, the Duke of Alençon, to the throne.

A rising was already planned, which was to put the government into the hands of the conspirators; but the attempt failed. The queen who had noticed the threatening danger recalled Henry from Poland immediately after Charles's death. He delayed on the way, but owing to his mother's solicitude, the throne was secure for him upon his arrival in the country.

The character of Henry III. (1574–1589) had been moulded by his mother: he was cruel and tyrannical, and indulged in extravagances and pleasures so long as his excesses did not sap his strength. The king's brother, as well as Prince Condé and Henry of Navarre, very soon left the court, and the three placed themselves at the head of the Huguenots. When Condé, in the spring of 1576, supported by the Palsgrave John Casimir, advanced with an army, the Huguenots brought forward all their grievances and demanded their right. The court had certainly not the strength to venture on a war, and in the Treaty of Beaulieu on May 8th, 1576, not only conceded the free exercise of religion everywhere, with the



KING HENRY III PLACING HIMSELF AT THE HEAD OF THE "HOLY LEAGUE"

Led by Henry of Guise, the "Holy League," which aimed at the destruction of the Huguenots, spread rapidly throughout France. Becoming bolder with its increasing strength, the league secretly planned the overthrow of the royal house and the elevation of Henry of Guise to the throne. Fearing the power of this combination, Henry III., who at first had doubted its strength, placed himself at its head, thus obviating the possibility of dethronement.

single exception of the town of Paris, but also admission to the offices and judicial posts. The Duke of Alençon, by the bestowal of a governorship, was removed to a district which sided with him, and was therefore withdrawn from the reformed party. The Catholic court had, however, made these concessions reluctantly. The Catholics found a leader in Henry of Guise, the youthful son of Duke Francis, who became the head of the "Holy League." This confederation spread throughout France, and aimed at the annihilation of the Huguenots. Its secret plans extended still farther, to the overthrow of the royal family, and the elevation of the young Henry of Guise to the throne.

The Secret Plans of the Holy League

The king at first attached no credit to this secret league, but when he saw that it was useless to oppose it, he joined it and proclaimed himself its head. The danger of being dethroned was thus obviated. The oppression of the Huguenots was renewed and led to the sixth war, which ended with a treaty at Bergerac in October, 1577. It was due more to the laxity of the government than to any submission to the prevailing conditions that tranquillity reigned for some years after the Peace of Fleix, [illegible] in November, 1580. The League, meanwhile, was on permanently good terms with Philip of Spain and watched for a favourable opportunity. This came when, on June 10th, 1584, the youngest brother of the king, the Duke of Alençon, and now also of Anjou, died. And thus, after the death of Henry, who was childless, the house of Valois threatened to become extinct and to give way to that of the protestant Bourbon, for Henry of Navarre, after he had quitted the court, had once more entirely identified himself with the Huguenots and their creed. In order to avoid this possibility, the League, in combination with King Philip, took the opportunity to designate as successor to the crown another member of the Bourbon family, the old cardinal Charles of Bourbon, who at once issued a proclamation against the king.



THE DUKE OF SULLY
Finance Minister under Henry IV, the Duke of Sully displayed great ability, he reorganised the finances of the country and greatly reduced its national debt.

Swords were already drawn, and serious results threatened to ensue, the king then betook himself to negotiations, and was obliged at Nemours on July 7th, 1585, to promise the powerful League that he would consent to the withdrawal of all decrees friendly to the Huguenots. This roused the Huguenots to action. The eighth war produced, however, no decisive results; the king continued to allow the reins of government to slip from his grasp while the reputation of Guise increased. The victory of the Huguenots at Coutras, on October 20th, 1587, was without further consequences, the defeat of Auneau soon followed, and in the spring of 1588, young Condé died. The strained relations between the king and Guise, whom the Parisians chiefly favoured, became more and more marked; the king was worsted in a fight between the royal Swiss guard and Guise's followers in the streets of the city on May 12th, 1588—the first street warfare in Paris. As a plot was being hatched against his life, he escaped just in time from the capital. Guise acted as ruler there until, in the Treaty of Rouen on July 15th, 1588, he exacted from the humiliated king the remaining rights as ruler of the realm under the name of governor-general. But he did not long enjoy his power; the daggers of the assassins whom the king himself had hired struck him on December 23rd, 1588.

The old queen, Catharine, soon followed. She died at the beginning of 1589. Her weak son now stood quite alone, and had not the power to avail himself fully of the favourable position which the murder of his rival had produced. He avoided appearing at once in Paris, where meanwhile the League roused the wildest excitement against the king, and openly called for his assassination. But before the Dominican, Jacques Clement, treacherously stabbed the king while handing him petitions at Saint Cloud on August 1st, 1589, the dethroned monarch had come to terms with the Huguenots, had become reconciled with Henry of Navarre, and in conjunction

France's Dethroned King



THE ENTRY OF HENRY IV. KING OF FRANCE, INTO PARIS IN THE YEAR 1594
From the painting by Baron Gerard

with him had begun war on the League. Now, on his death-bed, the last of the Valois called the Bourbon to him, declaring him his successor. Henry of Navarre had to fight for the crown which lawfully came to him, especially since the League was in possession of Paris and shunned the Calvinistic Bourbon as a heretic.

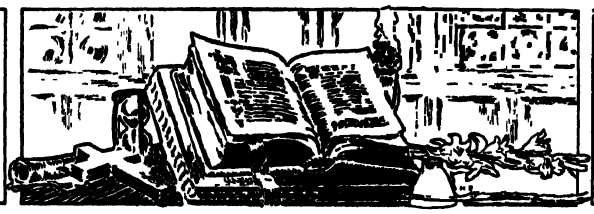
After the death of Henry of Guise, his brother, the Duke of Mayenne, had assumed the leadership of the League and had made himself governor-general. Henry IV (1589–1610), promised that he would for the future support the Catholic confession, and would submit himself to a national council. A part of the Catholics, on the strength of these promises, actually stood by him; but the Huguenots naturally feared his defection. The war between the League and the king remained undecided, until the latter gained a brilliant victory on March 14th, 1590, at Ivry. But the League still held Paris. Henry began the siege, but was forced to relinquish it after some time, since Spain supported the League. Philip did not recognise the Bourbon Henry as king, but the old cardinal who was called Charles X. After the latter's death he counted on the throne of France as the portion of his daughter, who might be considered a scion of the Valois on the female side.



HENRY IV OF FRANCE
France was involved during his reign, from 1589 till 1610, in the religious wars between Protestants and Catholics, to both of which the king in turn professed allegiance

The war continued. England and Germany sent reinforcements for the king, the members of the League were divided into two camps, since Duke Charles of Guise appeared by the side of Mayenne, and the confusion in the country increased. At the beginning of the year 1593 the League wished to choose a new orthodox king, but no conclusion was reached. But Henry soon saw that without a change of faith he could not look for a quiet reign, and he therefore abjured his religion on July 25th at Saint Denis. A considerable part of the Catholics now went over to the side of the king, while another part declared the conversion to be hypocrisy, and with that notion continued to instigate the people against the monarch. The murderous attempt of a fanatic fortunately failed. The League, to which Philip now lent only slight aid, offered trifling opposition, and Henry's coronation took place in January, 1594. In March the surrender of the capital was arranged by an agreement with the military commander. Henry made his entry as king, while he cherished nothing but vengeance in his heart against the hostile behaviour of the mob. The war had still to be prosecuted against Mayenne. A second attempt on the life of the king failed. Finally, Mayenne recognised the Bourbon as king, after the Pope had received him into the bosom of the Church. The war with Spain lasted a considerable time longer. Henry then began his work of reform, and issued, on April 25th, 1598, the Edict of Nantes, which secured, however, a certain degree of religious peace. This first gave France a [illegible] for the [illegible] of religious matters, just as the Religious Peace of Augsburg had granted it to the German Empire.

The country had suffered much under the continuous civil wars. Henry's second task was to promote material welfare. He solved the problem admirably with the help of Maximilian de Bethune, created in 1606 Duke of Sully, a most able financier. The budget, which had been neglected for years, was once more settled in 1597; and notwithstanding enormous debts, which still had to be liquidated, the exchequer gradually grew fuller. The king fell by the dagger of the fanatic, François Ravaillac, just as he was proposing to interfere in the German dispute about Cleves, on May 14th, 1610.



THE EMPIRE AFTER CHARLES V.

THE RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS OF THE STATES

WHEN the Emperor Charles abdicated the sovereignty of Germany in 1554, his brother, Ferdinand I, assumed the government, which he conducted with moderation until 1564. The policy of the empire at this period was influenced by the religious strife between Catholics and Protestants. In the ranks of the Protestants, who indeed had never been really united, a new dispute arose, since Electoral Saxony represented quite different views, both in religious polity and in dogma, from those of the Palatinate, and both had supporters among the princes. A conservative spirit prevailed on the whole in the native country of Lutheranism, which was eager to identify itself closely with the emperor in politics, and in dogma held firmly to Luther.

The Elector Palatine, however, were not only zealous advocates of war against Catholicism, whereby they offended the emperor, the guardian of the religious peace, but also in dogma leaned towards the more radical Calvinism, and in 1563 actually went over to that doctrine. The Elector Palatine, Frederic III, was the first imperial prince who introduced Calvinism into his territory, until then it had found adherents only on the borders and at isolated points inside the empire. After that the empire had to face the new sect, which was equally opposed to the Catholic and the Lutheran confessions, and besides that had not been recognised in the Religious Peace as possessing equal privileges.

First Prince to Introduce Calvinism

The Emperor Ferdinand had been forced into a peaceful policy by the necessity of claiming the support of the princes against the Turks in almost every diet. A proof of his clemency was his demand that the Pope should allow communion in both kinds and the marriage of the clergy—a request which naturally was not granted. In every possible way he wished to maintain peace. He had secured the crown of Bohemia for his son Maximilian in 1562, had obtained his election in 1563 as king of the Romans, and bequeathed to him the empire at his death on July 25th, 1564. Out of the crown lands Maximilian II. (1564-1576) governed only Austria proper, while his brothers, Ferdinand and Charles, ruled in the other dominions of the Austrian house. The new emperor was unusually broad-minded in religious matters. Before his accession to power he had inclined towards the reformed doctrines, and would perhaps have adopted them entirely had not the petty squabbles among the Protestants disgusted him. As sovereign he showed toleration towards the nobles, who were mostly Protestants. In spite of papal opposition, he gave a special constitutional representation and power known as "religious deputation" to the Protestant states. In Bohemia, finally, the Compacts of Prague were set aside in 1567, and a great part of the people professed the "Confession of Augsburg."

Maximilian's Support of Protestantism

External relations under Ferdinand and Maximilian were, on the whole, peaceful. The Turkish-Hungarian frontier war still continued, but without any considerable successes on either side. Suleiman died on September 5th, 1566, and two days afterwards his army captured the fortress of Szigetvar, when Nicholas, Count of Zrinyi, met a hero's death. But in 1568 an eight years' truce was concluded between Maximilian and the Sultan, Selim II., in return, however, for a large yearly tribute. In the diets the interpretation of the Religious Peace formed the constantly recurring subject of debate, especially with reference to the "ecclesiastical reservation," which was intended to secure the spiritual principalities permanently to the Catholic faith. The Elector Palatine was always the first to provoke a conflict.

Eight Years' Truce With the Sultan

The Elector of Saxony usually opposed him, and strongly advocated the peace; but, finally, in 1557, all the Protestant princes declared that they could no longer regard the reservation as legally existing. This point seemed to be absolutely the most important for the further dissemination of Protestantism. With the exception of Austria, Bavaria, and Juliers, all the secular territories were Protestant, so that the Protestant district could be increased and rounded off only by the acquisition of spiritual territories. Besides this, many members of the cathedral chapters were friendly to the Protestants, and not a few Lutheran bishops were elected.

Split in the Ranks of the Protestants

The princes took further steps at the diet of Regensburg in 1575 with reference to Ecclesiastical Reservation, since they wished to see established as a law of the empire the promise which Ferdinand had given in 1558, to the effect that in the spiritual principalities the Protestants should enjoy toleration as subjects. The emperor did not comply with the request, and in the diet of the next year, with the approval of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, rejected the demand which was put forward by the Elector Palatine. This attitude adopted by the two electors led to a division among the Protestants which lasted for decades, and distinctly favoured the progress of the Counter-Reformation.

In addition to this, Rudolph II. (1576–1612), the son and successor of Maximilian, held loyally to the Catholic faith, and the papal policy of persecuting found a warm supporter in him, for he had been educated in Spain at the court of Philip II. Under him the exercise of the reformed worship was strictly forbidden in Vienna; some of the preachers were forced to leave the country, and the citizens of the towns were in many cases compulsorily brought back to the Catholic faith, while the Protestant nobles had to live far from the court and its offices. Rudolph exercised the same policy in the empire at large as in his hereditary dominions. The archbishopric of Cologne was secured for the Catholic faith and Strassburg was brought back to it. Rudolph, by suspending the ban of the empire over the Protestants rendered decisive assistance in the restoration of the Catholic council in Aix-la-Chapelle in 1598, which was connected with the expulsion of the Evangelical council and preachers. The Protestant princes allowed all this to be done without interference. The Electors Palatine alone troubled themselves on behalf of their brethren in the faith both within and without the empire. Electoral Saxony now, as previously, made no use of its political influence, but persecuted the Cryptocalvinists—that is, the Lutherans who inclined to Calvinistic doctrine. The last Lutheran confession of faith, the "Formula Concordiæ," which was formally published in Electoral Saxony in 1580, owed its origin to the effort to obtain clear points of differentiation from Calvinism.

Rudolph's Support of Catholicism

The last twenty years of the sixteenth century saw a great advance in Catholicism. It was soon clear that a political union of all Protestants was becoming necessary if a general concession to their opponents was not to be made. England had espoused the cause of the French Huguenots while Philip of Spain had been equally energetic for the Catholic League. Religion became the leading feature of the politics of Western Europe. If the German princes wished to have a voice in these international questions, they must take one side or the other. When, therefore, Henry IV. of France went to the German Protestants for help, they did not refuse to give it, but in order to be able to take a vigorous part, the old feud between the Palatinate and Saxony had to be laid aside. This was done in the course of the year 1590, and at the beginning of the following year a union of the foremost Protestant princes among themselves and with France was agreed upon. But this time the consummation of a real alliance was prevented by the deaths within a short period of the chief contracting parties.

Religion in European Politics

A Protestant Union at this particular time seemed of the highest value. The question of the succession or the regency in Juliers with Cleves and Berg compendiously included matters vital to the future of the contending parties. The old Duke William had, besides his imbecile and childless son, John William, daughters only, and they were married to Protestant princes. Whoever obtained the regency for John William would naturally have the best prospect of some day becoming his successor. In order to postpone a decision, the emperor entrusted the government to the states; by this the Protestants

were temporarily excluded. The hope of eventual success was not indeed yet abandoned, but it could be accomplished only on the basis of a Protestant league.

Other events rendered this course urgent. The Palatinate party in the diets had repeatedly coupled the grant of "Turk-taxes" with the condition that religious grievances should be remedied, but they had never carried their point, since the party of Electoral Saxony regularly held to the emperor. The situation was changed when the energetic measures taken by the Hapsburgs against the Lutherans in their hereditary dominions embittered the Saxon elector. Christian II., in 1604, had achieved no success in Vienna with his earnest representations, and, indignant at this, had threatened to withhold the taxes. When the diet met in Regensburg at the beginning of 1608, the Protestants combined, and finally, since the emperor would not consent to any concessions, left the diet in a body, thus sapping its further efficiency.

The Protestants were now united for the first time in many years. The hopes which they rested on this union were the greater since a Protestant movement against the emperor had just been formed in the Hapsburg dominions, which found a leader in his brother Matthias. At the very beginning of 1608 the latter had advanced with hostile intent towards the imperial capital of Prague, and on June 25th, 1608, had received the crown of Hungary, as well as the hereditary dominions in Austria and Moravia, as compensation from the emperor. It was natural that the Protestant princes should seek for an alliance with Matthias and with those states in the Hapsburg dominions which held to the Protestant faith.

Matthias Compensated with a Crown

Matthias, notwithstanding his opposition to the catholicising policy of his brother Rudolph, and notwithstanding his support of the Protestant nobility, was no sincere adherent of the Evangelical doctrine. He was little pleased when the Austrian states, before doing homage, demanded binding promises as to the practice of religion, and he only reluctantly gave them assurances in an ambiguous "Resolution" on March 19th, 1609. A political union of the Protestant princes with Matthias seemed under such circumstances very hopeless, especially since the Calvinists, under the leadership of the Palatinate, now had the upper hand, and on May 14th, 1608, formed a union at Anhausen. This included all Protestant territories, with the exception of Electoral Saxony, represented a defensive alliance, and maintained a separate military organisation. The Catholic counter-alliance of the League was formed on July 10th, 1609, under the leadership of Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, then thirty-six years old; for the moment it reckoned, with the exception of Bavaria, only petty spiritual princes among its members, and created for itself a military system modelled after that of their opponents. The Hapsburgs for the time being, kept aloof from this alliance.

Military League of the Catholics

The Union had the earliest opportunity of political action. Duke John William of Juliers died on March 25th, 1609. The princes, John Sigismund of Brandenburg as husband of Anne, a niece of the deceased John William—and Philip Louis of Neuburg in the Palatinate—as husband of Anne, John William's sister—both members of the Union, were immediately on the spot as candidates for the succession to the duchy, while the emperor regarded the land as an escheated imperial fief, and intended to have it administered by the Archduke Leopold. The latter took the fortress of Juliers in May, 1609, while Brandenburg and Neuburg, in virtue of a special treaty of June 10th, took joint possession of the district and capital, Düsseldorf, and governed jointly with the declared consent of the Protestants united in the Union.

This would have been in itself quite sufficient to drive the League to the side of the emperor; but no other choice was left them by consideration for one of their own members, the Archbishop of Cologne, to whom the proximity of the Protestant princes could not be a matter of indifference. The States-General had shortly before made a treaty with France and England for protection against Spain; this was again reason enough to draw the former to the side of the Union, and Spain to that of the League. There was thus plenty of material for a war involving the whole of Western Europe, and only the murder of the French king, Henry IV., on May 14th, 1610, prevented it from breaking out. With him

How a War Was Averted

disappeared the moving spirit for political actions on a large scale. Instead of the great war, a mere feud developed between Brandenburg and Neuburg, whose mutual relations became more and more unsatisfactory. The new quarrel was confirmed in 1613 by the conversion of Wolfgang William of Neuburg—son of Philip Louis —to the Catholic religion; his marriage with the Bavarian princess, Magdalene, followed at the end of 1615. By this, Neuburg had won the support of the League, while Brandenburg adopted the Calvinistic creed on December 25th, 1613, and might now look for a still more powerful furtherance of his interests by the Union

Brandenburg's Adoption of Calvin's Creed

Dutch troops came to the help of Brandenburg, and Spanish troops under Ambrosio Spinola occupied Wesel But before the close of the year 1614 the two parties formed a truce on November 12th at Xanten, on the terms that Neuburg should have the territories of Juliers and Berg, and Brandenburg should take Cleves, Mark, Ravensberg, and Ravenstein. The Dutch, indeed, as well as the Spaniards occupied some places in the country—partly up to 1672—and at the same time the alliances which the Union had made with England and Sweden, and the League with Lorraine, Savoy, and the Pope, gave cause to fear a new outbreak of hostilities.

The Emperor Rudolph had found no time in his latter years to trouble himself about the affairs on the Lower Rhine, his hereditary dominions demanded his attention, and he had to provide for the future He could not repose any sincere confidence in his brother Matthias, who had opposed him at the head of the states and he wished, therefore, to help Archduke Leopold to the succession in Bohemia, although Matthias had already, with Rudolph's consent, been accepted by the states as king designate. An attempt by force of arms, in February, 1611, to bring Prague into the power of Rudolph, and to make the states dependent on him, was unsuccessful; the emperor was compelled, in the assembly of the states, to make over the crown of Bohemia to Matthias, who was crowned on May 23rd, 1611, and granted a mere annual payment to his imperial brother in return for his resignation of all claim on Bohemia, Silesia, and Lusatia. Rudolph in his straits turned to the electors and asked their financial aid; but they held the view that such questions could be discussed only in an imperial diet. Rudolph felt no disposition to call one, and yet, considering the age of the emperor, it seemed time to settle the succession The electors, therefore, on their own motion, called an electoral meeting at Frankfort for April. But Rudolph II. died on January 20th.

Another Crown For Matthias

Matthias was now chosen as his brother's successor in the empire (1612—1619), as he already was in Bohemia and Austria. On all sides, even among the Protestants, great hopes had been formed of the new monarch, but it was soon seen, on the occasion of the first diet, in August, 1613, at Regensburg, how little foundation there was for these expectations The states were again called upon to grant a high "Turks-tax", the Protestants again demanded in the first place the redress of their grievances, but the emperor, who showed not the slightest trace of his earlier Protestant proclivities, finally, under the pressure of a Turkish attack, merely gave permission for the discussion of the grievances outside the diet. The deliberations had, as might be expected, no results The Protestants, dissatisfied, left the assembly, and the Catholics alone granted the Turks-tax, although they professed to act in the name of the whole assembly, naturally under protest from the Unionists

The Protestants Disappointed in the New Emperor

All the other hopes which the chancellor, Melchior Khlesl (1552—1630), had placed on this session in particular a reform of the imperial judicial system was to have been discussed—were thus destroyed, and the position was worse than in 1608, since the Turks had actually attacked Hungary, and had made Gabriel Bethlen, of Iktar, lord of Transylvania in 1613. A reconciliation between the two religious parties, such as Khlesl wished, had been made infinitely more difficult by the entry of the emperor into the League, for Matthias now no longer stood above the parties. The chancellor, it is true, busied himself even yet with the meeting of a "diet" for composition and settlement, which the Union again demanded in their meeting at Nuremberg in 1615, and all the more so as the Union increased its power by closer alliance with the States-General and Denmark, as well as

by the formation of a league of the towns. These efforts led to no result, for a quite different question now occupied the imperial policy—the succession in the empire and in the hereditary dominions. Matthias, and with him the chancellor, preferred to leave the matter unsettled, since the emperor-elect would have acquired influence on the government. Archduke Maximilian, on the other hand, was straining every nerve to have the strict Catholic, Ferdinand of Styria, elected emperor.

By his efforts, which at the same time were aimed at the overthrow of Khlesl, Ferdinand succeeded in concluding a treaty with Spain in June, 1617, in which he secretly promised concessions of territory in the event of his becoming emperor, and was also accepted, although not formally elected, as king by the Catholic states of Bohemia. The Catholic and Protestant states stood confronting each other in this constitutional struggle; the Catholics were decided in regarding Bohemia as the hereditary right of the H[illegible] while the Protestants equally distinctly declared the crown to be elective. The claim of the elector was the better founded, as Matthias in 1608 and 1611 had distinctly acknowledged that he had been elected King of Bohemia by free choice, while the Catholic states could adduce in support of their view only the fact that for nearly a century a Hapsburg had always worn the crown.

Struggle For Religious Liberty

The nomination of Ferdinand to the throne of Bohemia was certain to lead to war, since the rights of the Protestant states were far from being firmly established. The greatest difficulties had arisen under Rudolph, who had conceded the demands of the Protestants by a "Letter of Majesty" in 1609, and promised religious liberty only under coercion. Matthias had confirmed the Letter of Majesty among the Bohemian privileges, but with regard to other demands of the states he only held out hopes for the future, especially in reference to a union of the states of all the imperial dominions, and the creation of a common military system.

In Bohemia ideas of a subordinate government were openly entertained by the Protestant states. The emperor, however, tried to use this idea for his war with the Turks when he summoned, in August, 1614, a committee from his dominions to Linz. But the session had no results. The representatives had not received full authorisation from their districts, and had, besides, no inclination for the Turkish war; there could therefore be no idea of that for the present, and in the summer of 1615 a comparatively favourable treaty was arranged with Gabriel Bethlen as well as with the Sultan, Achmed I. The questions of internal policy were to be discussed afresh at a general assembly of the states in June, 1615. But besides Upper and Lower Austria, only Bohemia was represented, while Hungary sent no representative; once more the debates were fruitless.

Emperor's Unfulfilled Promises

Constant friction between the Catholic and Protestant states, and disputes with the imperial government, were, under these circumstances, inevitable in Austria and Bohemia, and led to lasting disturbances. The promises made by the emperor in 1609 were still unfulfilled in Austria. In particular the towns were constrained, by the influence brought to bear on the election of counsellors, in favour of the Catholics, while the Protestant nobles were almost excluded from office.

In Bohemia, it is true, there were some Protestants in the higher posts, but the Catholics were in the majority, and used their position to crush Protestantism in the crown lands and in the ecclesiastical fiefs, although the Letter of Majesty gave permission for the building of churches there.

Matthias in 1612 entrusted the exercise of his rights of patronage to the Archbishop of Prague, the result naturally was that the benefices were once more filled by Catholics. Since the ecclesiastical domains were considered as royal fiefs, the Protestants, in virtue of the Letter of Majesty, had begun to build churches as well, although in 1611 Matthias had rejected, in the case of Braunau, this interpretation of the Letter of Majesty; the building of churches was undauntedly continued. The archbishop ordered the church of Klostergrab to be closed, and the emperor approved of the decree. The Protestant states raised vigorous remonstrances against such a conception of religious liberty. Being met in no friendly spirit, they openly talked of the election of another king, who should be a German; in 1614 some party leaders had already treated with the Elector of Saxony as a candidate. After the populace at

Protestant Churches Suppressed

Braunau had prevented the closing of their church by force, and the archbishop had ordered the church of Klostergrab to be pulled down at the end of 1617, an insurrection finally broke out. The Protestant nobles united under the leadership of Henry Matthias, Count of Thurn, and went with a renewed petition first to the stadtholders, and then to the emperor; being everywhere repulsed, they proceeded to assert their rights by force. The emperor, besides his uncompromisingly unfavourable decree in reference to Braunau and Klostergrab, had, above all, strictly forbidden the assembly of the Protestants arranged for May 21st, 1618. But the states, confident in their privileges, did not allow themselves to be intimidated, and assembled on the appointed day.

Protestant Rights Asserted by Force of Arms

An imperial decree which repealed the prohibition was read to the assembled body; and when the states communicated their answer to the stadtholders, such excited altercations followed that finally two of the stadtholders, William Slavata—subsequently Count of Chlum and Koschumberg—and Jaroslav Borita of Martinitz, who were universally held to be the guilty parties, and the unoffending secretary were thrown by the leaders from the window into the castle moat. This gross insult to the foremost imperial officials meant a complete breach with the emperor.

In the western part of the empire, meanwhile, the crisis had become still more acute. Apart from the fact that the Treaty of Xanten, which had divided the territories of Juliers, Cleves, and Berg between Neuburg and Brandenburg, offered sufficient incentive to further disputes, the electoral house of Saxony had since the summer of 1610 been invested with these very territories, in conformity with an earlier promise of the emperor, which rejected the succession of the female line. The States-General were also anxious to maintain the position which they had once won, and Archduke Albert, as the Hapsburg representative, made the same effort. The petty war on the Lower Rhine therefore continued. The States-General, in order to execute further plans, formed an alliance with the Hanse towns.

War on the Lower Rhine

And thus, before the end of the year 1615, it was clear that the controversies which were pending in the north would have an influence on German politics. In Sweden the confession of Augsburg had been taken in 1593 as the basis of the national Church in opposition to the Catholic Sigismund (1592–1599). The assumption of the title of king by the Protestant Charles IX. in 1604 signified also a serious war against Poland, with which the struggle for the Baltic provinces still continued.

Since Sigismund, a son of King John III. of Sweden, who had been deposed from the throne of Sweden in 1599, but had been King of Poland also since 1587, entered into closer relations with Austria, Sweden was forced to seek support from the Protestant princes of Germany, for Denmark, which was equally Protestant, and, under the energetic Christian IV. (1588–1648), the most important power of the North, was excluded as being a dangerous rival in the Baltic. A war accordingly broke out between the two countries in 1611, on the question of the tolls in the Sound. The States-General and the Hanse towns, which had both suffered grievously under the Danish tolls, took the side of Sweden. However, nothing came of it but a treaty in 1613 between the States-General and Lubeck, while the alliance of December, 1615, already mentioned, was brought about only by the desperate position of the Hanse town, Brunswick, which the Duke of Brunswick was besieging with the help of Denmark.

The Siege of Brunswick

The common feature of all political operations in the decade preceding the outbreak of the great war is the tendency towards alliances, which, increasingly closer and on a wider scale as regards members, objects, and duration, at last divided all Europe into the two hostile camps of the Union and the League.

The Union had received considerable additions since the imperial diet of 1613. The military system and its foundation stone, the finances of the allies, had been organised to some extent. In the year 1614 the league with the States-General, such as had been contemplated by the agreement with England as early as 1612, was really arranged for twelve years. Negotiations were opened with the Protestants of Lower Saxony, especially Lüneburg and Pomerania, as well as with the administrators of the dioceses, who foresaw an uncertain future. Attempts were, indeed, made to win the important Electoral Saxony, which still kept aloof. In 1615 the important alliance of the Union

with the province of Lower Saxony was brought about. In the next year a renewal of the confederation, which would expire in 1618, was discussed. The necessity of the continuance of the Union was universally acknowledged, but Electoral Brandenburg withdrew, since the Unionists, and especially the towns, were not disposed to regard the claims on Juliers as their own. Besides nine princes, the Union now included seventeen towns, which would hear nothing of a warlike policy, and bound themselves to the alliance only up to the year 1621.

The League meanwhile had been considerably strengthened by the admission of the emperor and of Wolfgang William of Neuburg in the Palatinate. But the participation of Austria had at the same time destroyed the hitherto uncontested position of Maximilian of Bavaria, for the emperor must now have a voice in the management. The Archbishop of Mainz was able to overcome the difficulties and to effect a reorganisation in 1613, according to which the Hapsburg Maximilian received, in addition to Mainz and Bavaria, a third federal district of Tyrol, and since the Catholic interests were slightly less emphasised, the Protestant princes had the option of joining. This outcome was by no means satisfactory to the Bavarian. After various attempts to find a solution he left the League in January, 1616, and the rest could do nothing without him. In May, 1617, however, he entered into new alliance with four spiritual princes for four years.

Candidates For the Empire's Crown

Meantime, the negotiations as to the succession in the empire had been carried on unceasingly. It was universally admitted that the future emperor must also be ruler of Austria; and Ferdinand of Styria seemed, as the youngest Hapsburg, to be the most suitable. But since 1613 the King of Spain also had raised claims, although at once with the suggestion that he would be satisfied with a concession of territory. Since, however, there could be no thought of winning over the electors of the Palatinate and Brandenburg after the course of the imperial diet of 1613, the spiritual electors and the Elector of Saxony had proposed the summoning of an electoral diet by the emperor, without any statement of the particular object. Khlesl did not wish for that, since his heart was set on an agreement between the religious parties, and he hoped to bring about their reconciliation by the very necessity of some understanding as to the succession. Both parties, indeed, made in 1615 a statement as to the points on which they must insist, but no meeting for reconciliation was held. Archduke Maximilian attempted to force the emperor to action, and advised, at any rate according to the ideas of the Protestant side, that an election should be held, and, if necessary, enforced by arms. On the other hand, the electors of the Palatinate, Brandenburg, and Saxony deliberated over a choice in the summer of 1616, and came to the decision that they would defer the business of election until after the death of the emperor, and would then perhaps elect Duke Maximilian of Bavaria.

The Claims of Duke Maximilian

By this, it is true, the succession of Ferdinand in the Austrian dominions seemed secured at the beginning of the year 1617; but his prospects in the empire were all the more unfavourable, and "recognition" in Bohemia as well as his "election" in Hungary, finally arrived at by the states, offered only poor encouragement. Now at least the Saxon elector had been induced to consent to a personal electoral diet for February, 1618, in order to discuss the election, in which Ferdinand's reversion was regarded as obvious.

The Elector Palatine, on the other hand, was in treaty at the same time with the Protestant states of Bohemia, which, priding themselves on their right of election, did not acknowledge Ferdinand as lawful king; but there had been no talk of his acquiring the crown of Bohemia before the autumn of 1618. During the whole of this year the most various plans for the election of an emperor were devised. The candidature of Maximilian of Bavaria again came up. There was also talk of parcelling out the Hapsburg territories under an agreement with Savoy. But no results had been arrived at when the Emperor Matthias died, on March 20th, 1619. It rested now with Ferdinand to prove whether his statesmanship could secure him the crown.

Death of the Emperor Matthias



THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

AND SWEDEN'S PART IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE

EVEN in Austria, immediately after the death of Matthias, Ferdinand had difficulties in obtaining possession of the sovereignty; the states considered his brother Albert their lawful sovereign, and the Protestants among them formed an alliance with the Bohemian insurgents. Ferdinand well understood that the possession of the imperial title would greatly strengthen his position in his hereditary dominions, and went in July to the electoral diet at Frankfort in order to represent the Bohemian vote.

But the Elector Palatine and Brandenburg had already agreed not to choose him. Saxony finally joined the spiritual electors; even Brandenburg changed round, so that the Palatinate at last stood quite alone. Ferdinand's election was now secured, especially since he consented that conciliatory measures should be discussed among the electors in November. The election was duly held on August 21st. The empire now once more had an emperor. As Ferdinand II. (1619–1637) he brought great disasters upon Germany and Europe, since he transferred into the empire the struggle with the states in his hereditary dominions, and laid the ban of the empire on the Elector Palatine, Frederic V., after his expulsion from Bohemia.

Protestant Insurrection in Bohemia

The insurrection had begun in Bohemia after the window episode. The Protestant nobles had become masters of the government and appointed thirty directors. An army under Count Thurn had defeated the Imperialists at Budweis, and the mercenary leader, Peter Ernest of Mansfeld, had taken Pilsen. While Thurn was trying to advance into Austria through Moravia, Matthias died; and a little later the prospects of King Ferdinand seemed somewhat more favourable. Nevertheless, about the same time that he was elected emperor at Frankfort, Frederic V. of the Palatinate, leader of the Union, was chosen king at Prague, in virtue of the elective rights of the states, on August 27th, 1619. At the instance of Christian of Anhalt, and in spite of the dissuasion of his father-in-law, King James I. of England, he accepted the election, which was destined to bring on him the loss of his territory, and especially of his splendid castle, and received the crown on November 3rd.

Frederic V. Elected King at Prague

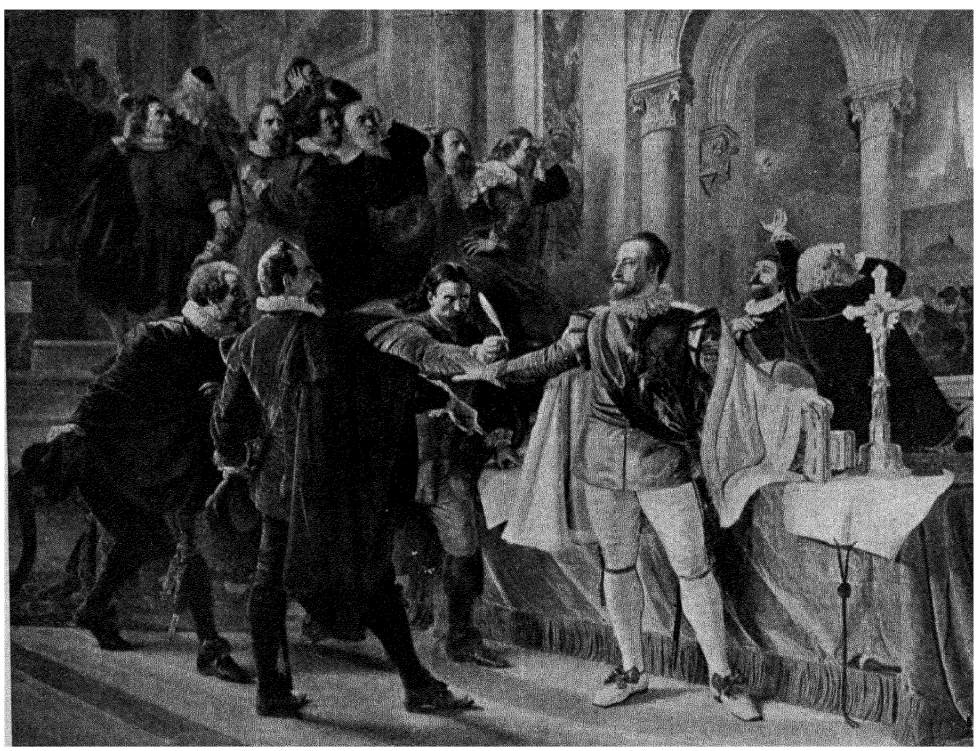
Gabriel Bethlen had hitherto, in combination with the Bohemians, attacked the emperor from the side of Transylvania, and had stirred up the Protestant Hungarians to revolt, while the Imperialists were withdrawing to Vienna. Thurn also appeared there, but had not sufficient force to begin a siege. Bethlen, too, retreated, and an opposing Catholic party arose in Hungary. The Bohemians maintained their position in the winter of 1619–1620, and even received support from Lower Austria. But the emperor induced Spain to invade the Palatinate from the side of the Netherlands, revived the League once more, and concluded a treaty with its head, his friend, Maximilian of Bavaria, in which he promised him the electoral dignity in the event of a successful war.

Maximilian, on his side, obtained the support of the Saxon elector, while the Union did not support their head, but also negotiated with the Bavarian. The latter marched into Austria in August, 1620, and into Bohemia in September, found the greatest confusion at Prague, and, thanks to Tilly, in combination with the Imperialists under Buquoy, won a decisive victory over Christian of Anhalt at the "White Mountain" near Prague, on November 8th.

The Lost Cause of Protestantism

Frederic's "winter kingdom" was now at an end; he fled to Silesia, and the cause of Protestantism was lost. A strict counter-reformation began at once in Bohemia

and Austria. Ferdinand with his own hands tore up the Letter of Majesty, the chief nobles were executed, and many thousands who remained loyal to their faith were driven from the land. Frederic did not realise his position. He wished at first only to concede Bohemia to the conqueror in return for compensation; he perceived too late that the emperor believed that he would have to fight him in any case in the Palatinate and as elector. The Spaniards under Spinola had been in Tilly had taken the capital of the Palatinate, the beautiful town of Heidelberg, and had won a decisive battle at Stadtlohn on August 5th and 6th, 1623, the electoral dignity, together with the Upper Palatinate was transferred to Maximilian of Bavaria. The Protestants indeed, and Saxony also this time, vigorously protested at the diet of deputies at Regensburg, but could not alter the fact. Henceforth the Protestants under all circumstances formed the minority in the electoral college.



THE EMPEROR FERDINAND II. REFUSING HIS SIGNATURE TO PROTESTANT LIBERTIES

Born in 1578, and trained in the school of the Jesuits, Ferdinand II. became Emperor of Germany in 1619, and played a leading part in the terrible Thirty Years War. Bitterly opposed to the German Protestants, to whose plea for toleration he turned a deaf ear he issued an edict, taking from them the rights and liberties won after long struggles.

From the painting by Karl Wurzinger

the Palatinate since the summer of 1620; in 1621 the Union withdrew, and soon, being leaderless and powerless, broke up completely. Nevertheless, Frederic did not follow the advice of his father-in-law, who was busily negotiating with Ferdinand, but offered further resistance. Mansfeld and the Margrave George Frederic of Baden-Durlach won a victory, it is true, over Tilly at Wiesloch, on April 27th, 1622, but that was neutralised by defeats of the electoral armies at Wimpfen on May 6th and at Höchst on June 20th, 1622. And when

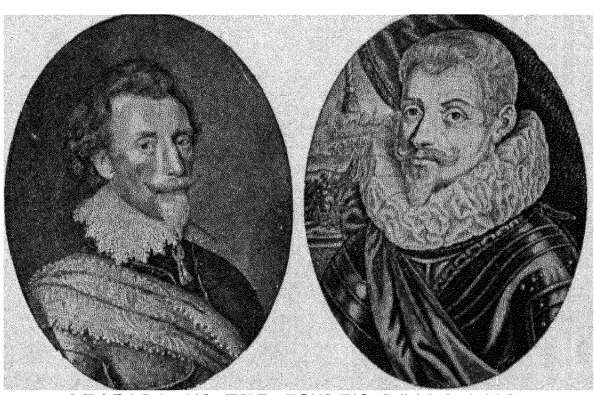
The measure which was intended to strengthen the Catholic party in the empire aroused, on the contrary, new opposition, and that among the Protestant princes of Lower Germany, who, until now had kept in the background George William of Brandenburg (1620-1640) earnestly strove to rouse the Saxon elector against the emperor, but as the latter refused, the circle of Lower Saxony could not take the side of the Elector Palatine, otherwise known as the Pfalsgrave. On the other hand, the prospect, not at all attractive

to Germany, of the revival of the power of the Austrian and Spanish Hapsburgs, brought the King of England to the side of his son-in-law, and the latter found support from the States-General and King Christian of Denmark. The King of Sweden was also ready to take part in a war against the Hapsburgs. Towards the close of 1625 a league was formed between England — where Charles I now was king—Holland, and Denmark for the restoration of the Pfalsgrave to his hereditary dominions. France supported the undertaking with money; the states of Lower Saxony prepared on their side to expel the army of the League under Tilly, and placed Christian of Denmark at their head. The Danish king, supported by Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunswick, advanced into Lower Saxony without waiting for the conclusion of the negotiations, and succeeded even in strategy in being a match for his opponent.



FREDERIC V OF BOHEMIA
Succeeding his father as Elector Palatine in 1610, he married Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England. He received the crown of Bohemia in 1619, and died in 1632

The emperor had no means of meeting this unexpected danger. Since, on the other hand, he did not dare to allow the League and the Bavarian elector to become too powerful, he was glad when the Bohemian nobleman, Waldstein commonly called Wallenstein, forced Mansfeld to disband his mercenaries. He started out to reach Venice, but died in Rakowitza in Bosnia on the 29th of November, 1626.

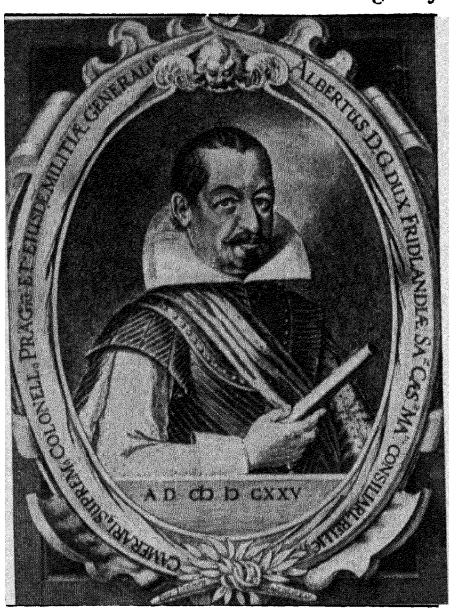


LEADERS IN THE THIRTY YEARS WAR
Count Ernest von Mansfeld was a soldier of fortune in the Thirty Years War; he defeated Tilly in 1622, and afterwards served with the United Netherlands. Count Tilly commanded the Catholic army when the war [illegible] to be commander-in-chief of the imperial forces. He w[illegible] Gustavus Adolphus at Breitenfeld in 1631.

Tilly meanwhile—on August 27th, 1626—had won a victory over Christian at Lutter on the Barenberg, and thereby gained control of all Lower Germany. Now Wallenstein also advanced and compelled the Danes to retreat to the islands. He drove the Dukes of Mecklenburg from their territory, and his plan firmly to establish the power of the emperor on the Baltic failed only through the resistance of Stralsund from May 23rd to August 4th, 1628. Since Sweden also was threatening war, a peace with Denmark seemed necessary to the imperial commander; he therefore concluded a treaty at Lübeck on May 12th, 1629, by which the king received back all his possessions in exchange for a promise to observe neutrality for the future.

The great commander was now at the zenith of his fortunes. But the princes of the League and the imperial court had long been dissatisfied with him; his mysterious power seemed dangerous to them. After the Minister, Hans Ulrich, Prince of Eggenberg, had himself entered into communications with the general, in November, 1626, the complaints were quieted for some time. But they broke out again the more loudly among the members of the League, since it was seen that Wallenstein's conduct of the war was guided more by political than by military considerations, and that his army formed a support for the empire against the princes. A statement of grievances was drawn up at the meeting of the League at Wurzburg in 1627, and presented to the emperor, but he could not concede the wishes of the princes. A meeting of the electors towards the end of the same year aimed at the same object; a new and exhaustive bill of complaint as to the oppression of various districts by the army of Wallenstein was forwarded to the emperor, and once more no result followed. Wallenstein's pride increased with his military successes. After the proscription of the Dukes of

Mecklenburg, he with some difficulty obtained from the emperor the investiture of their territory in January, 1628, and became hereditary sovereign there in 1629. In other respects, also, his already ample powers were still further enlarged. The "generalissimo field-marshal"—this was now his title—was a loyal servant of his emperor, and had no end in view but to further his imperialistic plans. The question, however, arose whether he might not become dangerous to Ferdinand should a difference of opinion occur. Maximilian of Bavaria, as well as the Spanish Hapsburg Philip IV., worked on the emperor from this point of view, while the most varied rumours were current as to Wallenstein's intentions and schemes. The electors, even before the siege of Stralsund, repeatedly demanded the dismissal of Wallenstein, saying that, should occasion arise, they were ready also to use their arms against him.

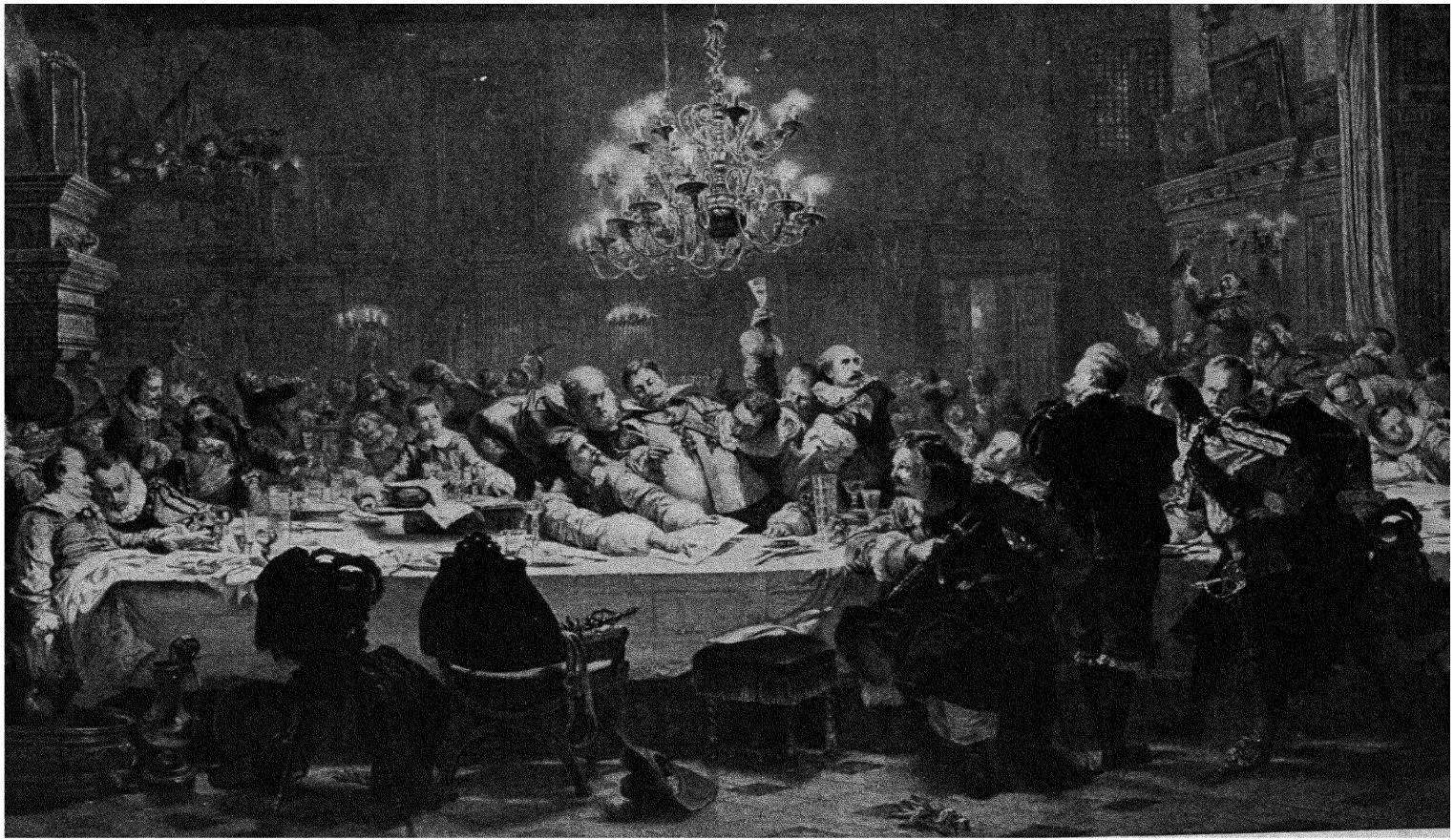


THE FAMOUS GENERAL WALLENSTEIN
Like Ferdinand II., the Bohemian nobleman Wallenstein was brought up under the Jesuits. His military successes on behalf of the empire raised up enemies who plotted for his downfall. He was deposed from his command, branded as a traitor, and murdered

After the treaty with Denmark, the first difference of opinion between Ferdinand and Wallenstein at last showed itself. The emperor, conformably to an agreement with the princes of the League, issued in the spring of 1629 the so-called Edict of Restitution, which deprived the princes of all ecclesiastical property acquired since the Treaty of Passau in 1552, and thus at one stroke took large districts away from the Protestants. A new arrangement on this basis would have given back to the Catholic Church the two archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen and twelve bishoprics, to say nothing of the extensive property of the religious houses. But the edict was a flagrant breach of the Religious Peace, since the "ecclesiastical reservation," it is true, was to be carried out, but always subject to the condition that there should be absolute religious freedom for all the inhabitants or subjects of the ecclesiastical foundations. Now, however, all the Calvinists and Zwinglians were expressly to be excluded, and none but the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg recognised.

The whole existing organisation of the empire would have been upset. It was also clear that this attack would call the whole Protestant world to arms. It was Wallenstein's object to prevent this; he therefore was, and continued to be, an opponent of the Edict of Restitution, and did not use his power to carry it out. The emperor, once more urged by the League, would now gladly have dismissed Wallenstein; but that would have been to leave himself once more without an army. An attack by the Swedish king was threatening, since the war between Sweden and Poland had been ended for the time being by a truce concluded at Altmark, near Stuhm, on September 26th, 1629. Moreover, the war with France for the possession of Mantua had already broken out, and part of Wallenstein's army was engaged in it. Nevertheless, the complaints against him were repeated in the electoral diet of Regensburg in July, 1630. The emperor at last, chiefly through the advice of the Pope, resolved to deprive his generalissimo of his command, and Wallenstein voluntarily withdrew to Gitschin.

When Wallenstein's dismissal was decided upon at Regensburg, the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, had already landed in the north. On July 6th, 1630, he had disembarked at the mouth of the Peene, with 13,000 men, not mercenaries, but Swedish levies, had occupied Stettin, and forced the Duke of Pomerania to conclude an alliance. Although his army was strengthened to 40,000 men by reinforcements from home, grave mistrust prevailed among the Protestant princes, with the exception of those of Hesse-Cassel and Saxe-Weimar. They united in an armed neutrality. On the other hand, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, the cousins of the Swedish



THE LAST BANQUET OF WALLENSTEIN'S GENERALS AT EGER IN 1634

Proclaimed a traitor by the Emperor Ferdinand, Wallenstein fled to Eger, where he took up his quarters in the house of the burgomaster in the market place Several of the officers who accompanied him in his flight proceeded to the citadel to sup with the commandant, and while the banquet was in progress a body of dragoons, at the instigation of Wallenstein s enemies, burst into the hall and fell upon their victims. The murderers afterwards proceeded to the house where Wallenstein was passing the night, and, slaying him, completed the sanguinary plot.

king, returned to their country, and France promised her aid in a treaty with Sweden in January, 1631. While Gustavus Adolphus in the north took place after place and secured a strong position for himself, Tilly marched with the army of the League to Magdeburg in order to force the town to accept the Edict of Restitution. The Swedes, through the attitude of Brandenburg and the Saxon elector, could neither hasten to its assistance nor effect any change in Tilly's plan of campaign by the capture of Frankfort-on-Oder. The town thus fell into the hands of the besiegers on May 20th, 1631. A terrible sack began, during which fire broke out and reduced almost all the houses to ashes. The Catholics were triumphant at Tilly's success. The Protestants, however, saw too late that the Swedish king alone could stem the flood of disaster. The fate of Magdeburg might soon befall the other episcopal cities.

The Terrible Sack of Magdeburg

Hesse and Weimar on their part now made overtures to Sweden. But Gustavus Adolphus, since the Saxon elector and Brandenburg held back, was at first compelled to decline an alliance. An agreement, however, was eventually concluded with Brandenburg on June 21st, by which Gustavus Adolphus was allowed to occupy Spandau and Küstrin, in order always to have a secured retreat to the coast. Success attended his cause, for, on July 18th, Tilly was defeated for the first time at Burgstall, in the vicinity of Wolmirstedt. Fresh reinforcements from Sweden and England placed the king in a still more favourable position.

This induced Saxony also, on September 15th, to join his cause, for Tilly was already invading the elector's territories, with the object of depriving him of the secularised bishoprics by virtue of the Edict of Restitution. A decisive blow was soon struck, since the elector wished above all to see the enemy driven far from his territory. The armies met at Breitenfeld, near Leipzig, which Tilly had just occupied. The forces of the League were completely routed, and their leader himself was wounded. The emperor was left without an army, and feared for his hereditary dominions, while Protestant Germany began to hail Gustavus Adolphus as a saviour. While, then, the Saxons, under John George of Arnim, marched into Bohemia and seized Prague, Gustavus, passing through Thuringia, reached the Main. On October 18th he captured Würzburg, whither the bishop, a member of the League, had fled, and took Mainz in December.

Sweden's King Joyfully Hailed in Germany

Here he spent the winter, received the unfortunate Pfalsgrave Frederic, and, with Richelieu as mediator, began negotiations for peace with the League, from which he demanded neutrality during the continuance of the war against the emperor. These transactions led to no results. Gustavus Adolphus, therefore, in March, while securing the Rhine, advanced against Bavaria: on April 15th, 1632, at Rain on the Lech, he once more defeated Tilly, who was mortally wounded, and made his entry into Munich in the middle of May. The League was shattered, and the emperor would have been lost if Wallenstein had not for the second time freed him from his difficulties.

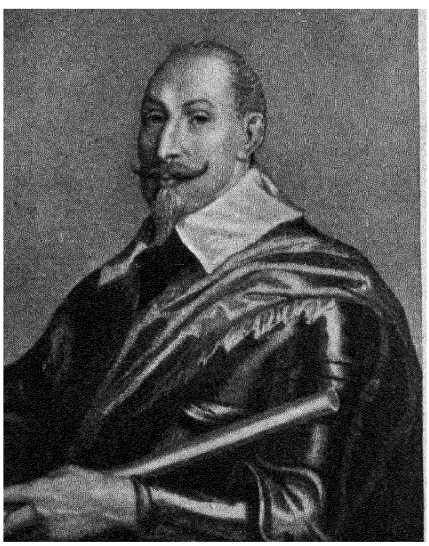
The emperor had offered him a new command soon after the battle of Breitenfeld, and again since Arnim's advance into Bohemia; but it was only in December, 1631, that Count Eggenberg had persuaded him, and received the assurance that within three months 40,000 men would be in the field. Wallenstein actually took over the chief command in April, 1632, after the right to conclude treaties had been granted him at Znaim. The first thing to be aimed at was the separation of Saxony from the Swedish cause. The powers of the general were now so wide that he had the command of the army and the control of politics entirely in his own hands.

Wallenstein Stands by the Emperor

The Saxon elector, John George, had at the beginning of the year entertained the thought of concluding peace with the emperor independently of Sweden, but Brandenburg's attitude prevented him, and Wallenstein's appearance in Bohemia completely prevented the conclusion of a peace which might have secured to Saxony the possession of the ecclesiastical property. The negotiations were, however, continued. When Wallenstein had cleared Bohemia of the Saxons, he sought to unite himself with Maximilian of Bavaria, while Gustavus marched northward in order to hasten to the help of the Saxon elector. The Swedes collected in Nüremberg; but Wallenstein appeared before the town and entrenched himself in a camp near Fürth without engaging in a

battle. At last, on September 3rd, Gustavus attacked the enemy's camp unsuccessfully, and after vain attempts to bring about a peace he retreated on September 18th

The Swedes next turned southward in order to attack Austria; but when they heard that Wallenstein was pressing Saxony still harder and massing his army at Leipzig, they advanced thither rapidly, joined the Landgrave William of Hesse in Erfurt, and by the middle of November were facing the hostile army. Wallenstein even now wished to avoid a battle. But on November 16th, 1632, Gustavus Adolphus attacked the enemy at Lutzen in order to facilitate a junction with the Saxons. He himself fell in the stubborn fight, while the Imperialists lost the brave cavalry general, Gottfried Henry, Count of Pappenheim. Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar took over the command after the death of the king and occupied the battlefield while Wallenstein withdrew. The joy of the Catholics over this battle sprang less from the supposed "victory" than from the feeling of emancipation which they experienced at the death of the great leader of the Protestants.



GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS OF SWEDEN
This Protestant King of Sweden heroically sided with his [illegible] in Germany in their struggle a[illegible] League and the Empire. At the head of 16,000 men, in 16[illegible], he crossed to Pomerania, and for two years, till he fell at Lutzen in 1632, fought for Protestant liberties

Bernard of Saxe-Weimar retained the military command of the orphaned army. The Swedish Council of State entrusted the political representation of Sweden in Germany to the chancellor Oxenstierna, for whom a hard task was in store. The army especially was no longer the old force of true-born Swedes which had landed; the greater part of it had been levied in Germany, and even the king had been able to maintain discipline only with difficulty. Henceforth the Swedish army did not differ in the least from the Imperialists in the robberies and murders it committed: it became, like them, the terrible scourge and dread of every district through which it passed. Politically the prosecution of the war was still influenced by France, which contributed subsidies. Richelieu's aims were especially directed towards the acquisition of German soil. But the most important point still was to secure the adhesion of the German confederates to the Swedes. John George of Saxony, in the negotiations conducted with him before the close of the year 1632, had demanded first of all a greater influence in the management of affairs. It was first resolved to raise two armies, a Swedish under Oxenstierna and a Saxon under John George, only it was doubtful to which of these two the remaining German Protestants would attach themselves. The Upper German and Rhenish princes held to the Swedes, but under French influence an advisory council was set up by the side of the Swedish chancellor. This was done in March, 1633, in the Treaty of Heilbronn. At the same time the emperor resumed [illegible] with Saxony. Wallenstein entered into relations with Arnim, the general of the Saxon army, and was prepared for further concessions in religious matters, contrary to the will of his emperor; but Saxony and Brandenburg did not entertain his proposals. On the other side, Oxenstierna was treating with the commander-in-chief, and asked him, in accordance with the wishes of the Bohemian emigrants, to let himself be elected king, but again there were no results. Bernard of Saxe-Weimar had driven the Imperialists completely out of Saxony after the day of Lutzen, and then, on July 10th, 1633, by the favour of Oxenstierna, had become Duke of Franconia, the new duchy formed out of the bishoprics of Bamberg and Wurzburg.

Conflicting Elements in the Great War

The Outrages of the Swedish Army

Wallenstein had defeated Arnim at Steinau on October 23rd, 1633, and freed Silesia from the enemy. Since, however, he did not relieve R[illegible], which Bernard of Weimar had taken on November

4th, 1633, by a brilliant feat of arms, but withdrew to Bohemia, the emperor conceived great mistrust of his general, who renewed his overtures to Saxony, France, and Sweden, and made a secret agreement with Sweden, which was to effect a union of the armies at Eger. Wallenstein was not unaware of this distrust of him in Vienna. He sent in his resignation on January 12th, 1634. It was not accepted, although his dismissal had already been pronounced in a secret document, and was made public on January 24th. Wallenstein was publicly declared guilty of treason by the emperor, on February 18th, and was murdered on February 25th, 1634, at Eger, while even his army was deserting him.

Wallenstein Deposed and Murdered

The son of the emperor, afterwards Ferdinand III., and Count Matthias of Gallas were now placed at the head of the army. With Wallenstein there went to the grave not merely the man of most marked intellectual ability, the splendid general and diplomatist, but also the only one of all the leaders who stood superior to the religious controversy.

His death placed the emperor, and consequently Catholicism, in a more favourable position than had ever been reached before. Now for the first time Ferdinand had an army of his own at his disposal, and he immediately ordered it to advance to Regensburg. The town fell into the hands of what had been Wallenstein's army in July, and on September 6th, Gallas won at Nördlingen a complete victory over Bernard of Weimar and Gustavus Horn. Now that the Swedes were defeated, it was an easy task for the emperor to conduct to a successful close the negotiations with Saxony, for which Wallenstein had already paved the way.

The preliminary conditions were settled by November, 1634, and were confirmed in the Treaty of Prague on May 30th, 1635. By this convention Saxony obtained as hereditary dominions the two provinces of Lusatia which had been pledged to John George I. after the dissolution of the "winter kingdom," and was exempted for the future from enforcing the Edict of Restitution; in return, all claims for the further representation of Protestant interests were to be renounced, and a promise given of help in case of need against the Swedes and French. The majority of the states of North Germany soon gave their adhesion to this treaty, which at once deposed the Swedes from their commanding position and threatened to cut off their connection with their home.

Pledges of the Treaty of Prague

Since the dispute as to religious politics between the Catholic and Protestant princes had been accommodated by the most important representatives, henceforth secular interests determined the conduct of the war more distinctly than before. From this time it signified essentially a struggle between Austria and Spain on the one side, and France and Sweden on the other; for Ferdinand III., who had followed his father upon the throne in 1637 as emperor and heir to Austria, always maintained the most intimate relations with the Hapsburg dynasty of Spain.

The only course left open to those Protestants who had not acceded to the Treaty of Prague, after the overthrow of the Swedish power, was to form closer relations with France, which, under Richelieu's brilliant statesmanship, aimed at depriving both lines of the Hapsburgs of their supremacy in Western Europe. The French had fought against Spain in Italy and, since the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, had operated against the emperor with his support, had made conquests in Lorraine, and had established themselves firmly in the electorate of Trèves. In the spring of 1635 an imperial army had fought with success on the right bank of the Rhine, and thereby forced France to an open declaration of war. Richelieu protected himself on two sides, since he bound over the States-General to a common attack on Spain, and the Swedes to a conflict with the emperor which should be terminated only by a joint peace. The emperor thus had henceforth to reckon with a double opposition, both in the battlefield and in any negotiations for peace.

Richelieu Doubly Protected

The military events of 1635 were unimportant on the French side; the troops, being inexperienced in warfare, did not wish to enter Central Germany, and were with difficulty brought as far as the Rhine, while the Imperialists were masters of the situation there in the autumn. In the north, it is true, the Swedes, John Banér and Lennart Torstenson, had won repeated successes and drove out the imperial army, united with the Saxons, from Mecklenburg and Pomerania. Richelieu

in this emergency, on October 27th, at St. Germain-en-Laye, concluded a special treaty with Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the most competent Protestant commander; by its terms an army of 12,000 foot soldiers and 6,000 horsemen was to be raised in Germany with French money —four million livres yearly and opposed to the emperor in the war for the liberation of Germany A rich reward was held out to the victor in the possession of Alsace, which still belonged to the Hapsburgs and acquired a commanding position in the north. Saxony and Brandenburg in particular had now to pay dearly for their defection from the Protestant cause, by the devastation of their country.

One party in the councils of Brandenburg already inclined to the side of the Swedes, and tried to induce the elector once more to change his party, especially with a view to Pomerania, where the Duke Bogislaus XIV was likely to die childless, and give Brandenburg a claim to



END OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR. THE SIGNING OF THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA
In the town hall of the Prussian town of Munster, on October 24th, 1648, was signed the Peace of Westphalia, which brought to an end the long and bitter war which for thirty years had waged between Protestants and Catholics.
From the painting by Terbourg in the National Gallery, London

The year 1636 was, however, disastrous for the French. The Imperialists advanced into the heart of the country, menaced Franche-Comté, and, led by the cavalry general, John von Werth, threatened even Paris itself, while Bernard merely held his own in Alsace. It was only when the French people, [illegible] the national danger, took up arms that Gallas was forced to retire in November. Shortly before—on October 4th, 1636—Banér had again gained a victory at Wittstock over Saxony and the Imperialists, the succession. The elector, however, continued loyal to the emperor; imperial subsidies appeared finally in December. The claims to Pomerania, it is true, when the duke died, on March 20th, 1637, had first to be contested by arms, and so brought distress into the Mark Banér in the north had a difficult task in facing the army of Brandenburg and the emperor; he was for a long time separated from Hermann Wrangel, and was forced at length to withdraw to Stettin. The French it is true, had won advantages

over the Spaniards at widely separated points, but in Germany the Imperialists during the year 1637 had again been victorious in every respect.

On March 6th, 1638, France and Sweden considered it necessary to renew their treaty and to promise that neither party should open negotiations for peace without the consent of the other. Bernard's campaign was this year attended with success. He surprised the imperial general Frederic, Duke of Savello, and John von Werth, before Rheinfelden, took both prisoners, together with other generals, on March 3rd, 1638, captured Rheinfelden on March 23rd, and began the investment of the fortress of Breisach. The siege lasted six months. At last, on December 17th, he entered as conqueror, after the check of the imperial armies had opened the road for Banér in the north to advance into Bohemia and Austria. The success of Bernard filled Protestant Germany with fresh spirit. Banér now wished to join forces with the victor in Alsace and attacked the hereditary dominions of the emperor. On the other hand, the emperor tried to enlist the services of the famous Bernard; ungrateful France alone was endeavouring to deprive the victor of his promised reward. But Bernard died on July 18th, 1639, before, as a second Gustavus Adolphus, he could achieve further successes, and thus the emperor was freed from his most dangerous enemy.

Victory Cheers the German Protestants

Richelieu, without a moment's delay, availed himself of the favourable opportunity to take over the well-disciplined troops of Bernard, and to form his plans, in concert with Banér, for continuing the war against the emperor, especially since, by skilful use of internal dissensions in Spain, he might count on favourable results there without any great expenditure of force. [illegible] the French henceforth remained in the closest sympathy with the Swedes, and produced the brilliant commanders Turenne and the "Great Condé," yet the military supremacy rested with the Swedes. After the death of Banér, on May 10th, 1641, Torstenson obtained decisive successes in Silesia in 1642, and in combination with two other Swedish armies, won a complete victory at the second battle of Breitenfeld, near Leipzig, on November 2nd, over the Imperialists under Archduke Leopold William and Octavio Piccolomini. But the emperor's prospects were again improved by the death in France, first of Richelieu, on December 4th, 1642, and soon afterwards—May 14th, 1643—of King Louis XIII., who left his son Louis XIV., not yet five years old; and, moreover, Denmark was once more involved in a war with the Swedes.

The Military Supremacy of the Swedes

Cardinal Mazarin now managed the state affairs of France and followed out the policy of his predecessor with skill and success. In the war against the Danes, Torstenson was completely victorious in 1643 and 1644. In October, 1644, he annihilated the imperial army under Gallas in two battles at Jüterbogk and Magdeburg, attacked Austria, supported by the Prince of Transylvania, George I. Rakoczy (1630–1648), and advanced almost to the walls of Vienna. The French, however, had fought with much less success. Just at the time Vienna was being threatened. Turenne was defeated on May 5th, 1645, at M[illegible] by the Imperialists under Baron Francis of Mercy. The victorious army could now advance to the relief of the hereditary domains. Torstenson, therefore, in spite of a splendid victory, won on March 6th, at Jankau, over Melchior of Hatzfeldt, abandoned the siege of Brunn and withdrew to Bohemia. But Condé and Turenne advanced in conjunction into Bavaria, and on August 3rd won a victory at Allersheim over Mercy, who was slain. At the same time—on August 25th—Denmark made a truce with Sweden at Brömsebro, and Saxony, completely in the possession of the Swedes under Hans Christopher of Königsmark, accepted an armistice for six months, in which Brandenburg was included. The Swedes now had a free hand in North Germany.

Denmark's Truce with Sweden

Charles Gustavus Wrangel, who, since Torstenson's retirement, on December 25th, 1645, had the supreme command, joined forces with Turenne in order to make a combined advance on South Germany; the whole of Bavaria soon fell into their hands, and the road to the hereditary domains of the emperor lay open to the allied army in September, 1646. Maximilian of Bavaria now found himself in a critical position, which determined him, in March, 1647, to form a treaty of neutrality with Sweden; Cologne, Mainz, and Hesse joined in it. Wrangel marched

into Bohemia, but he found opposition from the Imperialists, who had once more been joined by Maximilian of Bavaria at Pilsen, in September. The Swedes were forced to withdraw to the north, especially since Turenne was recalled to France.

Fortune, however, only momentarily smiled on the emperor. Turenne recrossed the Rhine in the spring of 1648, advanced with Wrangel into Bavaria, and gained a victory on May 7th at Zusmarshausen over the imperial and Bavarian army under Peter Melander, Count of Holzappel. The elector fled, and the country was devastated. The Swedes under Königsmark went to Bohemia and captured, on July 26th, the lower town of Prague. The French and Swedish arms met with good fortune in other places also; the position of the emperor was hopeless. The bombardment of the Old Town at Prague was about to begin, when the news spread through the country that peace had been signed at Münster on October 24th.

The Four Heroes of the Great War

The vicissitudes of the great war, for the theatre of which Germany had been marked out by the law of geographical position as being the heart of Europe, present a dismal picture. It was a perpetual ebb and flow, not a consistent struggle undertaken with great objects in view. The great personalities, the generals and statesmen, are thus the more conspicuous. However different they may have been, one from the other, one feature is common to almost all of them, and especially to the four chief heroes—Tilly, Wallenstein, Gustavus Adolphus, and Bernard of Weimar; they were masters of the art of war, men of the modern world, too, and in spite of repulsive acts, not devoid of high ideals.

The arrangement between France and Sweden, which forbade either to enter alone into negotiations for peace with the emperor, had been the outcome of the fine diplomacy of a Richelieu. All attempts of the emperor to obtain a separate peace had failed. He was therefore compelled to consent that an imperial diet should assemble in 1640 at Ratisbon in order to discuss the steps which might lead to peace. The negotiations of the imperial diet were fruitless. But the fervent desire for peace which found expression in them was such that the path once trodden could not again be abandoned. In the year 1641 it was resolved at Hamburg that the imperial envoys should negotiate with the French at Münster, and with the Swedes and German Protestants at Osnabrück; the congresses were to begin in the summer of 1643, and both towns were from that date to be regarded as neutral. The negotiations really began in April, 1644, but only on August 8th, 1648, were the terms of peace drawn up at Osnabruck; those at Münster followed on September 17th. Both documents were jointly ratified at Münster on October 24th, 1648. The Peace of Westphalia was of the highest importance in a twofold sense. It not only concluded the era of war and finally settled the ecclesiastical and political disputes which had arisen since 1555, but it also created a basis for further political development, since it confirmed by constitutional law the actual disintegration of the German Empire and recognised the territory as the modern and normal structure of the states which were joined in a federation called the "Roman empire of the German nation."

War Ended by the Peace of Westphalia

The peace negotiations at Münster and Osnabruck first of all laid down provisions with respect to the religious question which went considerably further than earlier agreements. The Treaty of Passau and the religious Peace of Augsburg were not only completely confirmed, but extended to the Reformed party. The relations between State and Church were considerably modified in the direction of denominational equality. The Christian Church was actually conceived by its followers as not only the "universal," but the only religious community which could lay claim to this name. No less splendid ideal hovered before the reformers, and especially before the mighty Luther, than a complete transformation of Christianity according to his view; his doctrine was indeed, in his own conception of it, as he declared, nothing more than the reversion to Augustine. The instruments of the peace itself did not indeed proclaim absolute toleration, but limited the power of the territorial lord to determine the community to which his subjects should belong, in so far that the year 1624 was selected as the "Normal Year," and anyone who, in that year, had actually exercised one or the other religion was to be permitted to exercise it on all future occasions. And creed was not to be prejudicial to anyone in his "occupation as a citizen."

What the Peace Provided

The co-existence side by side of several confessions in the same territory was thus rendered possible. On the other hand, the incidental change of faith by a prince was no longer to force the whole people to take the same step. It is obvious that this new regulation must have introduced a practical toleration, and have finally led to its constitutional and universal acceptance in the popular consciousness. This happened in the eighteenth century, and no less a man than Lessing tried to find the philosophical basis for toleration.

Difficulties in the Way of Peace

Nothing final and conclusive was arranged by the peace instruments. Innumerable disputes arose, both as to the actual conditions in the Normal Year, and as to the interpretation of all other points, and many of them were ended only by the complete destruction of the old empire. But it is clearly recognisable, from the very fact that the interpretation is disputed, that the peace-document really became a "Fundamental Law of the Holy Roman Empire," such as was demanded by the so-called "Last Imperial Recess" of 1654, which embodied the full text of the two instruments.

More important than those provisions, which only legally confirmed existing conditions, were the answers to the international questions. France obtained considerable portions of the Hapsburg possessions in Alsace—with the express reservation of Strassburg—and the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had been occupied since 1552. Sweden established a firm footing on the mainland, and became a state of the German Empire, for, together with a war indemnity of five million thalers (£750,000), it received Upper Pomerania and Rügen, the smaller portion of Lower Pomerania, with Stettin and the mouth of the Oder, the town of Wismar, and the bishopric of Bremen, excluding the town, as well as the bishopric of Verdun. Electoral Brandenburg, which had claims on the whole of Pomerania in virtue of hereditary rights, had to be content with the larger portion of Lower Pomerania, but was compensated by the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and the reversion to Magdeburg. On the borders of the empire two independent republics, which had previously been part of the empire, were separated from it.

The Compensations of Electoral Brandenburg

For Switzerland this merely implied the recognition of the conditions prevailing since 1499. The States-General, which now were entering on great economic prosperity—the East India Company had been founded in 1602—had acquired the right to political independence in a still higher degree. Their favourable position on the coast urged the towns to rule the seas by means of a trading fleet, and the fall of Spain offered at the same time the opportunity of entering on the inheritance of their former persecutors.

The peace ended the most gloomy section of German history. The mere attempt to picture the sufferings which the German country endured must be abandoned. It must suffice to compare the condition of the districts before the beginning of the struggle with that at the close of the war if a credible picture of the effect of the fury of the combatants is to be drawn. The price of food-stuffs was often ten times the ordinary price. The number of the inhabitants was terribly diminished; in the case of Bohemia calculations have led to the result, which may be considered as correct, that instead of four millions in 1618, only 800,000 inhabitants were still living at the end of the war. In this connection we must reflect that all districts were equally ravaged and equally exhausted by friend and foe. The conclusion of peace did not immediately end all scenes of violence; armies were still stationed everywhere, and individual claims had to be proved and sustained by the interested parties. The task was, on the whole, discharged at Nuremberg, in the course of the year 1649; "the Principal Recess for the execution of the Peace" was finally issued in June, 1650. Even if all the hopes were not at once fulfilled which inspired German hearts on the news of the conclusion of peace, even if Germany still suffered from its wounds for centuries, yet, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that only through such hard trials has it been possible for the empire to shatter the old forms of the constitution, and thus to open the road for the modern development of the state which finally in the nineteenth century led to the new German Empire.

Germany's Stern Path to Development

ARMIN TILLE



THE FRANCE OF RICHELIEU
AND THE GREAT DAYS OF MAZARIN

THE Peace of Westphalia marked the victory of the policy which the great French statesmen had been pursuing for half a century. Louis XIII. (1610—1643), eldest son of Henry IV., was only nine years old when his father was murdered. His mother, Marie de Medici, therefore became regent for him, and took the opportunity to introduce a system of government widely divergent from the existing one. Sully, who had been reluctantly tolerated as one of the Reformed, was dismissed, and Jesuitical influences began to rule the queen. Universal discontent at this filled not only the land but also the magnates of the realm and the members of the royal family, who were excluded from any share in the government.

The "declaration of the king's majority," pronounced by Parliament in October, 1614, conformably to a family law, made no alteration in this, for the king begged his mother to continue to direct the government. In accordance with the general wish, the queen summoned the States-General, but their deliberations had not the least result, so that the last general diet of the French "Estates" before the revolution of 1789 was dismissed without any results having been accomplished. After that time it was reserved for the regular courts of justice—Parlements, of which there were twelve, one for each district—to safeguard the rights of the people against the absolute monarchy, but seldom indeed with success.

The King's Mother, Ruler of France

Owing to the suppression of the Huguenots planned by Marie, it was not long before new hostilities broke out between the religious parties. Prince Henry of Condé allied himself, in July, 1615, with the Protestants, who took up arms, but a peace—in May, 1616—temporarily quieted men's minds, after the prince had been drawn over to the royalist party. The trusted agent of Marie in all her action was the Italian Concino Concini, Maréchal d'Ancre. The fury of the people was especially directed against him; voices were raised loudly against the all-powerful Minister, so that the king ordered his arrest and murder, on April 24th, 1617, and immediately himself took over the government. The queen was forced to retire. Louis, under the advice of incompetent Ministers—the Duke Charles of Luynes, Brullart de Sillery and La Vieuville—sought to mitigate the distress.

Louis in the Hands of His Ministers

But Louis also aroused the discontent of the nobles, who were excluded from the government, and in this way fostered the ambitious schemes of his mother, who allied herself with the nobility and threatened a civil war. Before the actual outbreak of the war an arrangement was effected on August 10th, 1620, at Pont-de-Cé, through the efforts of a man who was destined later to lead the fortunes of France—namely, Jean Armand du Plessis de Richelieu, the queen-mother was permitted to return to court.

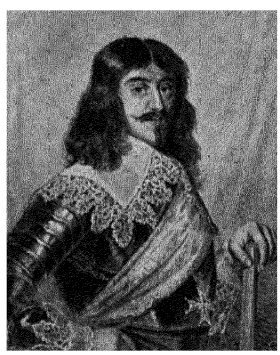
New complications arose owing to the Church question. The Catholic Church had made considerable conquests and began once more the campaign against the heretics, since it endeavoured to recover secularised ecclesiastical property and in part carried out its purpose by force. In the year 1621 it came to an open war against the Huguenots: in the north they were soon subdued, but in the south the struggle lasted until October, 1622, when the Edict of Nantes was once more ratified in essential points. The queen-mother, however, used her newly-acquired influence less in her own private interests than in support of Cardinal Richelieu, whose admission into the Council of State was due to her. After 1624 Richelieu alone guided the affairs of the state.

Richelieu at the Helm of State

With this began the prosperity of the French policy, which henceforth influenced and finally governed European

diplomacy. Richelieu's goal was that of Henry IV., the weakening of the power of the Hapsburgs in Austria and Spain. The Dutch Republic, the German Protestants and the Swedes were supported by France; the War of Succession in Mantua ended on April 6th, 1631, to the advantage of France, and Spain thus lost a strong support to her influence in Italy. The government at home was, under Richelieu, inspired wholly by state considerations; the representation of private interests ceased, and therefore the cardinal found intense opposition at court. In order to prevent further disturbances, which for the last century had always been caused with the help of the Huguenots, the cardinal, in 1626, resolved on their subjection and conquest. Even the aid of Spain was welcomed for this end, while England supported the Reformed party. The strongest place of the Huguenots, La Rochelle, was besieged in 1627 under Richelieu's personal command. It was not until October 28th, 1628, when the expected English relief did not appear, that the town surrendered. Famine had made terrible ravages among the inhabitants. Richelieu promised the survivors security of life and property as well as free exercise of their religion; the fortifications were, however, dismantled, and the privileges of the town declared void. By the treaty of the summer of 1629 the fortifications of all the Huguenot places of refuge were destroyed; but religious liberty was retained, although the political representation of the Huguenots was abolished.

Richelieu at the Siege of La Rochelle



LOUIS XIII. OF FRANCE
The son of Henry IV., Louis was only nine years old when, in 1610, he succeeded to the throne on the assassination of his father. He was a weak ruler, and died in 1643.

The respect formerly entertained by the queen-mother for Richelieu was meantime changed into dislike. She had long intrigued against the Minister, but in vain; she had herself been forced to leave the court. The king's brother, Duke Gaston of Orleans, began in her stead to agitate against the Minister, and in 1632 ventured with the support of Henry de Montmorency to risk a war, but was compelled to surrender after the defeat of Castelnaudary, on September 1st, which brought Montmorency to prison and finally to the scaffold. The attack of the Duke of Orleans was connected with that of Duke Charles of Lorraine, his father-in-law, who supported the emperor and was therefore forced to open Nancy to the French until the conclusion of peace; in fact, the whole country remained occupied by them for almost three decades—until 1659—while Duke Charles vainly fought on the side of the emperor for the recovery of his country.

The Duke of Orleans, taken into favour again in 1634, attempted nevertheless a new plot against Richelieu. This time also the plan failed. His hope of succession to the throne was shortly afterwards—in 1638—destroyed by the birth of an heir to the crown, the subsequent Louis XIV. He attempted, however, once more to overthrow Richelieu in conjunction with Cinq-Mars whom Louis XIII. had made Grand Master of the Horse, and in concert with Spain. Once more all was useless. But Richelieu's end was near; he died on December 4th, 1642, and on May 14th, 1643, the king followed him. Although the cardinal had not been fated to co-operate in the conclusion of peace at Münster, still the weight which France was able there to put into the balance was incontestably the result of his unresting activity.

The guardianship of the infant prince was, contrary to the wish of the father, undertaken by the queen, Anne of Austria, with whom Louis had spent an unhappy married life. The supporters of Richelieu feared an immediate reversal in the system of government. The queen then chose for her trusted servant the Italian Giulio Mazarini, who had been in the French service as Jules Mazarin since 1639—a man who, lacking Richelieu's spirit and energy, was yet, like him, anxious to work for the greatness of France. At home the discontent at the burden of taxation, which was always increasing through the continuous war, led to the serious riots of the Fronde at Paris in the summer of 1648; and they ended with a victory of the Parlement, since it compelled the queen to acknowledge its influence on the most important business of government.

Mazarin in a Position of Power

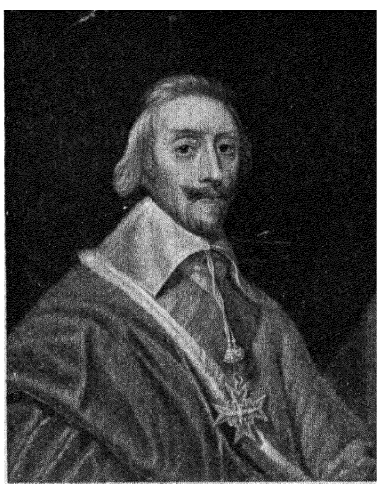


THE CORONATION OF MARIE DE MEDICI IN THE YEAR

The widow of Henry IV, King of France, who was assassinated in 1610, Marie de Medici became regent on behalf of her son, who was only nine years old **when he succeeded to the throne.**
From the painting by Rubens

Any attempts of the queen to annul her concessions were frustrated. She had to give way in the Peace of Rueil, on April 1st, 1649; but Mazarin retained provisionally his commanding position. But when, in concert with the queen, he arrested, on January 18th, 1650, Prince Louis of Condé, the leader of the opposition, and his kinsmen, Armand of Condé and Henry of Longueville, he brought down on his head a storm which banished him for a time from France, although he supported his queen with counsel from Liège and Bruhl. When he wished to return, Condé rose again, and it was only when the latter had been defeated by Turenne in 1652 that Mazarin was able to come home as victor on February 3rd, 1653. Two years before, Louis XIV had technically come of age, and had formally entered on the government; in reality his mother still remained the sovereign. The picture of the home affairs in France during the great war could not be called attractive. Yet French policy had turned the scale in the Peace of Westphalia. It is due to this alone that the emperor consented to allow princes to attend the negotiations as representatives of the empire. It must be said, no doubt, that the efforts of France were directed not so much towards the advantage of the Protestants as towards her own aggrandisement, and that her only concern was that an uncompromising opponent to the Hapsburg emperor might be permanently established in the German prince system, irrespective of all question of creed. This object was attained.

Louis XIV. on the Throne



CARDINAL RICHELIEU
Becoming cardinal in 1622 and Minister of [illegible] crown, while he lessened the political power of the nobility. He died in the year 1642

"The dreams and longings of Philip Augustus, the aims and intentions of Philip the Fair, the traditions of Henry IV.," were almost, though not entirely, realised by the Peace of Westphalia. That peace merely gave France and the French their due, and made valid their natural right of inheritance to the Frankish kingdom of Charlemagne. Much was still wanting to complete the "revindications," of which the French nation had apparently never lost sight. The programme of Guilbert of Metz, of 1434, had not yet been completed. He had laid upon the French king the duty of acquiring Liège, Flanders, Hainault, Brabant, Guelders, Juliers, Upper and Lower Burgundy, Provence, Savoy, Lorraine, Luxemburg, Metz, Toul, Verdun, Trèves, Cologne, Mainz, and Strassburg; but some part of this project had been realised. The districts included in the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had been French possessions for all practical purposes for the last hundred years—from 1552—were now formally separated from the German confederacy, and the old Hapsburg possessions and rights in Alsace and Sundgau, the town of Breisach, and the jurisdiction over the Alsatian imperial towns, now devolved upon the crown of France. The boundary of the Rhine was attained. The disputed boundaries upon the north, the Pyrenees, and the Western Alps still prolonged the struggle with Spain, and war went on for years on these great issues. The great cardinal, who had clung with wonderful tenacity to the acquisitions which Henry IV. had handed down, had not been so fortunate as to live to see the recognition of the "national rights" for which he had spent the resources of his country; but at the time when he laid down his life's work the victory of France had been certainly assured. Mazarin never wavered in this policy, a policy which was eminently national. It was the natural outcome of the just claims of the French, the successors and heirs of the Gauls, who created the old Austrasia. It is, however, not so easy to retrace the conditions which made the "revindications" possible to an origin in the force of public opinion in France.

Mazarin's National Policy

It is difficult to see the connection between the people's desires and the circumstances which led to the imperial concentration of the original dukedoms

and counties composing the whole of France. The extinction of the house of Burgundy in the fourth generation, the acquisition of Brittany and Berry, Anjou and Provence, by the French kings through marriage and inheritance, the death, without heirs, of the three royal brothers—Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III.—were the reasons which made it possible for Henry of Navarre to accept the call to the empty throne, the splendour of which had begun to wane appreciably during the Huguenot wars

If the religious wars of the powerful princely families had been carried on, whose temporal interests would have been largely furthered by a territorial separation of creeds, how could the "Gallic idea" have become a political force, how could antiquarian discussion upon the boundaries of Austrasia have checked the inordinate ambition of the princely houses? The Germans must be recognised as co-heirs with the French to the empire of Charlemagne; that the French could lay claim to inherent rights arose from the fact that German political development took a course exactly opposite from theirs. Would the theory of the natural boundaries of the Gallic nation have entered the sphere of practical politics if the transition from feudalism to absolute monarchy had been carried out in Germany under the favourable circumstances which attended its progress in France?



CARDINAL MAZARIN
Wielding almost as much power as Richelieu, whom he succeeded as Minister of State, Cardinal Mazarin secured the triumph of France over Austria and Spain

How weak are the foundations which support the so-called logical and inevitable character of national development, France had to learn from her own experience at the very moment when she took that first step towards the acquisition of the European supremacy for which she was striving, a step most important and most pregnant of results. The couriers saddled their horses in Munster on October 24th, 1648, to carry to the world the news that Germany had at last complied with all the demands of the foreign mediators, and had saved, at any rate, the sovereignty of her princes from general ruin and misery. None the less, it was by no means certain that the young king, in whose name the cardinal Jules Mazarin tried to save France from her fate, would enjoy all those advantages which had been won for him by German regiments in French pay during the war now ended. The state power, the centralisation of which Richelieu had successfully initiated, now found obstacles before it which had been entirely under estimated. The feudal lords and the bureaucracy, which had an independence of its own, saw that the moment had arrived for the assertion of their rights and privileges as against the power of the crown, and that now was their opportunity to lay such restrictions upon the regency of the queen as the crown had not brooked for the last half-century. The four courts of judicial and administrative officials, united in the chamber of Saint-Louis, demanded a law for the protection of the freedom of the individual, government prisoners, as in England, were to be brought before the court concerned with the case within twenty-four hours after their arrest Moreover, demands for taxation were not to be valid until authorised by the Parlement, the judicial body which guarded justice and the execution of law. The government found that its financial resources, and therefore its military powers, were considerably restricted. It imprisoned two members of the Grand Conseil, hoping thereby to put a stop to the movement of reform; but it was speedily convinced that the result of this action was merely to provoke a vigorous resistance, and to excite the population of Paris in favour of the demands of the official spokesmen. The government gave in, and on that same October 24th made concessions which contributed chiefly to the advantage of the · ᶠ . classes.

The Great Ambition of France

Feudal Lords Assert Their Rights

However, the government did not attain its object. The landed nobility, whom Richelieu had stripped of almost all its privileges, was excited with the hope of regaining the old dominant position in the state, and this through an alliance with the "Noblesse des robes," which had gained possession of the highest official



CARDINAL RICHELIEU IN HIS STATE BARGE ACCOMPANYING CINQ-MARS AND DE THOU ON THEIR WAY TO EXECUTION

From the painting by Paul Delaroche in the Wallace Gallery, London

positions by purchase and inheritance. Jean François Paul de Gondi, best known as the Cardinal de Retz, and coadjutor to his uncle Henry, the Archbishop of Paris, gathered round himself some of the most distinguished peers, who demanded the dismissal of Mazarin and the creation of a council of regency, in which they were themselves to have place and voice. The royal family and the cardinal had to leave the citadel, where the Fronde, as the opposition called itself, seized the power.

However, the Duke of Orleans remained on the side of the government, as also did the Duke Louis of Condé, who had already won a great military reputation as Prince d'Enghien, and had beaten the Spaniards at Lens a short time before—on August 20th, 1648. But Condé's younger brother, Armand Conti, his sister Anne Geneviève, Duchess of Longueville, Vendôme, Beaufort, Bouillon, had become allies of Gondi. The brother of Bouillon, Henri de Latour d'Auvergne, Viscount of Turenne, placed his sword at their service, and would have marched on Paris with an army from the Rhine; but, being no diplomatist, he had allowed Mazarin to deceive him, and had not observed that the cardinal had secretly secured the services of his subordinate, the Swiss. John Louis of Erlach, who won over the troops to the government side by a timely cash payment. Turenne, however, was thought to be the greatest French general next to Condé, and his name alone was a power, which was to increase considerably when the already proposed alliance of the Fronde with Spain should be completed and the idea of raising an army in common could be realised. Mazarin was unable to overthrow these enemies to his policy with one blow, as his predecessors had so often done; he required time to separate them and to conquer them in detail. He reconciled himself to the Parlement, which withdrew the proscription issued against him, and brought the court back to Paris. But the spirit of opposition to an absolute monarchy was not immediately broken. It manifested itself among the manufacturing citizens of the capital, in the provincial Parlements, and in the great families which considered that the foundation of a political power lay in the government of the old duchies entrusted to their own chiefs. The great Condé himself, who did not succeed in pushing Mazarin aside and ruling his royal cousin alone, placed himself at the head of the relatives of the royal house, who were not inclined to see themselves reduced to the position of mere officials. The preponderance of the princes of royal blood threatened danger to the opposing alliance, inasmuch as it implied a loss of prestige to the other great feudal lords. Mazarin recognised this fact, and made overtures to the party of the coadjutor Retz, with the view of dividing them from the Fronde. As he had succeeded with the leaders of the Parisian Parlement, so here he brought their old allies to obedience; and when he had come to an understanding with both parties, he proceeded to take in hand the task of arresting Condé, Conti and Longueville.

How Mazarin Dealt with His Enemies

Mazarin Again Triumphant

MARSHAL-GENERAL OF FRANCE
Turenne fought with distinction in the Thirty Years War during the alliance of France with the Protestants. He was created Marshal-General of France in 1660, and in 1668 changed his faith by becoming a Roman Catholic.

By these acts Mazarin himself gave the impulse to the formation of the new Fronde. Women were the soul of this movement, for they then played a brilliant part in the social life of the period in France, and were centres of far greater force than their less intellectual husbands. The Duchesses of Condé and Longueville gathered together in the south the defendants of the imprisoned princes, secured the town of Bordeaux and the fortresses on the Spanish and Netherland frontiers, and again entered into serious negotiations with Spain. There the opinion was strongly held that individual advantages could be furthered by nothing so much as by the permanent debilitation of the French royal power, which was to be brought about by factions and divisions within France itself. In spite of that close connection with the



THE INFANTA MARIA THERESA OF SPAIN
Maria Theresa was the eldest daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, and was married to Louis XIV. of France.

priesthood which had always been a cardinal point in the foreign policy of Spain, the party speculated upon the revival of Huguenot traditions, and looked for a military organisation of the Protestant nobility by Turenne. Even after his defeat at Compy, on December 15th, 1650, the greatest danger to France consisted in the union of the two most capable and popular generals, and in their co-operation with the foreign enemy. Mazarin lost control of the forces which he had hoped to guide. The Duke of Orleans declared him to be the one great enemy of France, and declined to attend a sitting of the Regency Council if he were present. The members of the old Fronde deserted him almost as soon as he had won them over, and the Parlement of Paris demanded that the princes should be set free and the cardinal dismissed. He thought it advisable to bow before the rising storm, left Paris in February, 1651, and took refuge with the Elector of Cologne.

The retrogression of the French kingdom to the pattern of the mediæval feudal system, the restriction of the royal power by the separation of large districts into principalities, might now have taken place if Condé had been capable of conceiving

and executing a political programme. He was, however, nothing more than an ambitious plotting prince, and had not the powers or experience of a ruler accustomed to take upon himself the manifold responsibilities of administration in his own territory. The relations of the high nobles about his person to the country and its people had as little closeness or reality as his own. To the nobles the people were the means to the maintenance of their own splendid establishments. These nobles possessed villages and towns, fortresses and harbours. They could call out a levy of their vassals, and gather them for an armed expedition; but the feeling that they were all people of a common country, which bound lord and vassal together in the German states, was here wholly wanting.

At that time there were in France too many official bodies whose sphere of action was not coincident with the territorial departments, too many forces subserving the central power, too many interests which could be forwarded by bureaucratic government, and very few which rested on the foundation of territorial rule. Consequently, the state of parties during the military period was continually changing; every week new groups were formed, fresh conditions were arranged for convenience of participation in this or the other undertaking. Condé nearly succeeded in coming to an arrangement with the queen and uniting the position of Prime Minister to that of first prince of the blood royal, but Mazarin threw his influence into the opposite scale, and warned the queen from Bonn that a compact with Condé would imperil the future of her son, who had just attained his majority. The negotiations then came to a point at which open war against Condé was the only remaining alternative. The members of the old Fronde left him, and agreed to the recall of Mazarin, and to the removal of the court from Paris, where it could have been best watched and influenced.

The Court Removes from Paris

Condé's greatest loss, which perhaps decided the result of the now unavoidable civil war, was the desertion of Turenne, whose action was determined by personal desires and hopes rather than by political considerations. The beautiful Duchess of Longueville might have succeeded in keeping him under her brother's standard; but she rejected the advances of the only dependent who was capable of successfully upholding her own and her brother's cause. Turenne's talents decided the appeal to arms in favour of the king. Neither by the mercenaries of Lorraine nor by the boldness of the Grande Mademoiselle of Orleans could the defeat of the great Condé be averted. When Paris opened her gates to him after his defeat at Saint Antoine and saved him from annihilation, his fate was sealed, for the citizens of the capital were tired of the war and showed no hesitation in concluding peace with the king, who had approached the town, accompanied by Turenne.

Fresh Honours for Mazarin

Once again—on August, 1652—Mazarin retired from the court in order not to stand in the way of a pacification; a few months later Louis XIV, who had marched into Paris at the head of his guards, brought him back with the greatest splendour, and received him on February 3rd, 1653, into the town by which he had been so passionately hated and persecuted

The unity of the kingdom was saved. The royal government could not look forward without anxiety to the future as long as the war with Spain continued and Condé was fighting on the enemy's side. They were obliged to keep a careful eye on the individualist movements in Normandy, Guienne, and Burgundy, and upon the fresh intrigues of Retz, who was laying claims to the archbishopric of Paris after his uncle's death. But there was no longer any necessity to fear that the unity of the provinces composing the kingdom was liable to dissolution. Condé had gone over to the side of Spain; but his defection did not imply that of some province of the kingdom bound to himself, as was the case when Bavaria or Brandenburg allied themselves with France against the Holy Roman emperor. Foreign powers had received the most striking proofs that the royal government was again in full consciousness of its strength. Upon the death of Ferdinand III., Mazarin was able to propose the candidature of Louis XIV. to the German electors, and to reply to their preference for the Hapsburg by the foundation of the first Rhine confederacy under a French protectorate. Moreover, the English Commonwealth, in accordance with Elizabethan tradition, took the side of France in the quarrel of the two Romance kingdoms of Western Europe, and

England on the Side of France

helped the impoverished resources of the court with the offer of some brigades of English infantry at its own cost The price paid for this assistance—Dunkirk—was certainly very high; but after this undertaking the military resistance of the Spanish monarchy might be considered as entirely crushed, and recompense could then be taken. The Peace of the Pyrenees, which was brought about after long negotiations on November 7th, 1659, was the outcome of the defenceless position into which the monarchy of Philip II. had fallen in the course of two generations France gained a number of fortresses and districts, which materially improved her strategical position, and gave increased importance to the places acquired under the Peace of Westphalia. In particular, a beginning was made of the strengthening of the northern boundary of the kingdom by the incorporation of Artois with Arras; for, in the event of a defensive war, France's chief danger lay in the fact that the Belgian frontier was but a short distance from the capital. Stenay and Thionville were important outposts of the dioceses of Metz and Verdun, as was Avesnes of Champagne.

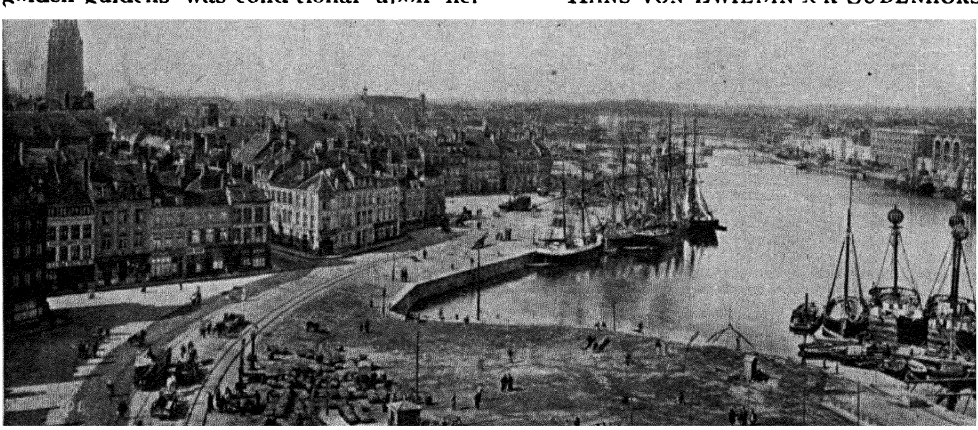
The Peace of the Pyrenees

The possession of Roussillon made it difficult for Spain to take the offensive against the Lower Aude, and Pignerol secured at the same time the approaches to Piedmont. The young king overcame his preference for Maria Mancini, Mazarin's niece, and consented to marry the Infanta Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Philip IV., the payment of whose dowry of 500,000 golden guldens was conditional upon her renunciation of her rights of succession to the Spanish-Hapsburg territories.

To Mazarin the Florentine France is no less indebted than to the national leader, who had taken up the inheritance of Henry IV.; he had left the affairs of the state which he served in an admirable position before his death, on March 9th, 1661. His family possessions had increased considerably during his term of office, and the state benefited by the care he expended in this department, as Mazarin brought over great families to the court interests through the marriages which he arranged for his nieces. Such families were the Conti (by marriage with Anna Maria Martinozzi), the Mercœur of the house of Vendôme (by marriage with Laura Mancini), the De la Porte-Meilleraye of the house of Richelieu (with Hortensia Mancini), and the Savoyard-Carignan (with Olympia Mancini). The greatest proof that the royal family could have had of the subordination of his personal ambition to the welfare of the state is the fact that he opposed the marriage of the king with Maria Mancini, who afterwards became Princess of Castiglione-Colonna. The moral victory which Louis won over his passion under Mazarin's guidance is of no slight importance in the development of the king's character. And now this true servant voluntarily retired, and left the young king alone in his place, so soon as it became apparent that his presence might have interfered with the king's progress to the position of independent ruler.

France's Debt to Mazarin

ARMIN TILLE
HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST



DUNKIRK THE LAST ENGLISH POSSESSION IN FRANCE
The important seaport town of Dunkirk was ceded by France to England in 1658, for the latter's assistance in the quarrel between the two Romance kingdoms of Western Europe, and was sold back to France by Charles II in 1662.



DECLINE OF THE SPANISH POWER
AND THE BEGINNING OF A NEW LIFE

SPAIN became transiently great through the accidents of inheritance that made her for forty years the financial centre of Charles V.'s vast empire, by the equally fortuitous possession of the New World and its treasures, and, above all, by the exalted conviction of Spaniards that to them and their king was confided the sacred task of extirpating the foes of the faith throughout the world—a mission which conferred upon them national superiority, individual distinction, and the certainty of ultimate victory. Even in the time of the Great Emperor his forces were defeated again and again by Lutheran, French and Turk; but they were never beaten, for were they not fighting God's battles, and could He be vanquished in the end? Through many years of fruitless struggle in Flanders, through endless insults and depredations by English sailors and Turkish corsairs, through discouragement, failure and ever-growing poverty, this assurance of divine protection kept Spaniards in proud confidence that defied disillusion. The first dread whisper that their faith was groundless ran through the fleet on the night of August 7th, 1588, when the great Armada, upon which the prayers and benisons of all Catholic Christendom had been poured, was hustled up the Channel, a helpless mob of ships, flying in panic from Drake's fire-sloops.

The Disaster that Destroyed Spain's Faith

"God has forsaken us!" cried the sailors with pallid lips as they realised their impotence, and though the cry was promptly hushed, for the Inquisition had ears on sea as well as land, the thought to which it gave utterance grew irresistibly until the scales fell from the nation's eyes, and in the bitter knowledge forced upon them by misery, defeat and impotence, the Spaniards turned in mocking scorn and spurned the chivalrous ideal of exaltation by sacrifice that had been the secret of their potency as a people.

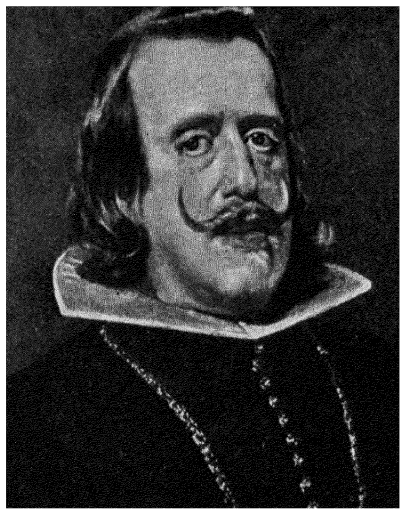
Castile, with its weakened parliament, bore most of the cost of Philip II.'s wars, and when he died, in 1598, his unwise taxation had strangled industry, depopulated the land, and reduced his people to despair. If impossible dreams of imposing orthodoxy upon the world had been abandoned frankly even now, Spain might have become prosperous and happy again, though she had lost her proud supremacy abroad. But the vain illusion still prevailed and the fable of Spain's boundless wealth persisted. In the face of crushing debt and penury, Philip III. and his Minister, Lerma, maintained the old claims. The hopeless war in Flanders was continued, Spanish men and money were still lavished to support the Austrian emperor in his wars against Lutheranism and the Turk, and the pretence that Spain might yet by force change the religion of England was still kept up. Religion became for most Spaniards a slavish ritual unconnected with the conduct of life, its every form tremblingly followed under the eyes of friars and familiars, however much the heart might rebel in secret.

Spain's Era of Defeat and Penury

On the accession of Philip IV., in 1621, another chance came, the last one, for Spain to recognise patent facts and abandon an untenable position. Again national pride prevailed, and the chance was neglected. The jealousies of other powers and the clash of rival interests conspired with Spain's assumption to maintain the fable of the over- w[illegible] ower and wealth of tl[illegible] king, while the very table of Philip IV. lacked necessary food, his armies starved, in rags, and his fleet was rotting and useless. Pauper though he was, it was incumbent upon Philip still to interfere in the religious concerns of Central Europe, and to continue to squander all he could squeeze from Castile or borrow from the Genoese in the

The Pauper King Philip IV.

hopeless task of subduing the Dutch Protestants. The persistence in the fatal tradition inherited from Charles V. of the hegemony in Christendom of the house of Austria under the ægis of Spain precipitated the final catastrophe Francis I. had fought against such a consummation in the days when Spain and the empire were strongest, and now with powerful Richelieu controlling a homogeneous France, the opportunity of crushing a weak and disillusioned, corrupt and disunited Spain was too good to be lost. Philip IV. and his advisers would still not learn wisdom and abandon their dreams. The struggle with France, which humility might have avoided, was accepted by Spain with haughty alacrity, and the nation, at the bidding of its king and his favourite Olivares, took the last fatal step upon the slope of ruin.



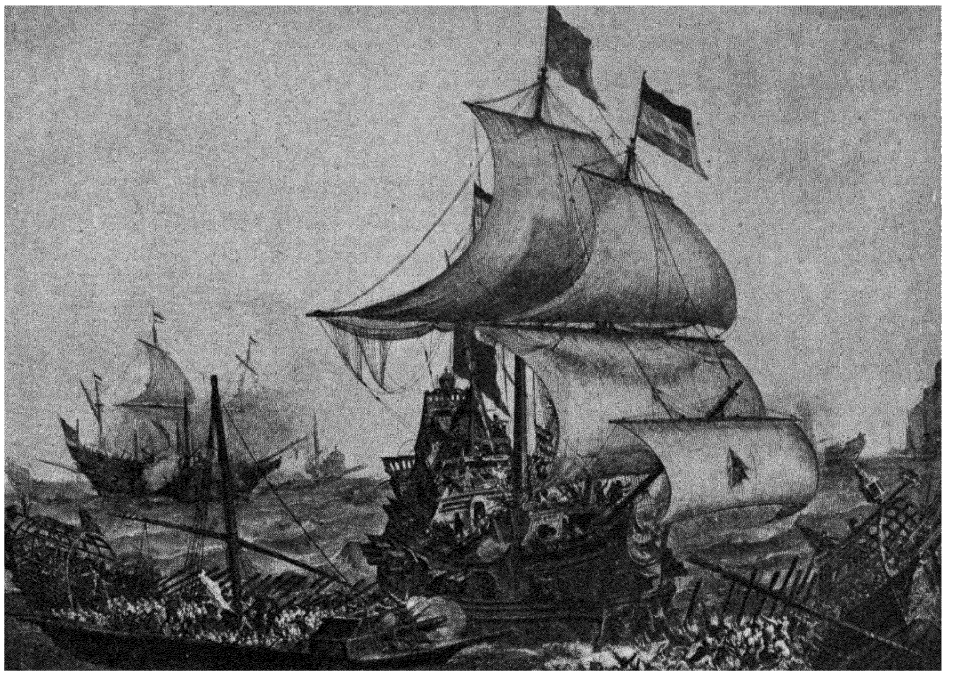
KING PHILIP IV.

A royal pauper, lacking necessary food, "his armies starved and in rags," while his "fleet was rotting and useless"- such is the picture given to us of Philip IV and his once powerful kingdom of Spain. The king died broken-hearted in 1665.

For years the wars went on in Flanders, in Germany, in Italy, France always leading the foes of Spain. The attempt to levy unconstitutional taxation in Aragon and Portugal gave Richelieu the opportunity of promoting revolt in Spain itself. Portugal threw off the yoke in 1640, Catalonia transferred its allegiance to France, and the overburdened king, who claimed the control of Christendom, was now unable to hold even his own soil. From mere exhaustion the inevitable



PHILIP IV. VISITING THE STUDIO OF THE FAMOUS PAINTER VELASQUEZ



THE DUTCH VICTORY OVER THE SPANISH FLEET IN 1607

In 1607 Heemskerk, the admiral of the Dutch fleet, sailed from Holland, determined t[illegible] self in some great exploit Learning that the Spanish fleet lay at anchor in the Bay of Gibraltar, he [illegible], and gained a notable victory, four of the Spanish galleons being sunk or burned. The brave Dutch admiral was killed in the fight.

independence of the Dutch was [illegible] by Spain in 1648, and Catalonia sulkily returned to its allegiance by the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, except Roussillon, which remained French; and Philip IV. died broken-hearted in 1665, knowing that, deny it as he might, Portugal was lost to Spain for ever.

Fallen indeed was the power that had bulked so big for a century, but the cup of humiliation was even yet not full. Under the rule of Charles II., an infant when his father died, and almost an idiot and a monstrosity in his [illegible], blow after blow fell upon Spain. More of her Flemish provinces and the Franche Comté were lost, and the national exhaustion was complete. Law and order in Spain were at an end. Greedy factions divided the court and raged around the cretin king. The laboriously constructed system of personal power established by Charles V. and Philip II. had now no centre, for "Charles the Bewitched" was too weak and silly even to be ruled by a favourite, and responsibility rested nowhere. Utterly corrupt and hopeless, the nation awaited [illegible] what should happen when the childless king should die. Around his bed the powers of Europe intrigued for his inheritance, and when he died of senile decay at thirty-nine in 1700, the tempest of civil war swept over the land and purged it of its baser dregs. From the purifying fires of loyal suffering Spain emerged, stripped of her pompous claims, but sane and clear of vision, to begin national life anew under a Bourbon French king, Philip V., the descendant both of the house of Spain and of its enemy, Louis XIV. The decline of old Austrian-Spain had been consummated, and the nation had regained its youth, weaker, but full of hope and free from illusions.



THE FEEBLE CHARLES II

As an infant, he succeeded his father, Philip IV, on the throne of Spain. He was weak in intellect, and at the early age of thirty-nine died of senile decay in 1700.

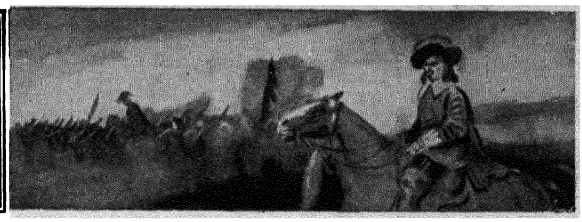
MARTIN HUME



BAITING A ROUNDHEAD THE TOAST OF KING CHARLES AT THE POINT OF THE SWORD

"And he that will this health deny, down among the dead men let him lie." So run the words of the old English song, here illustrated. An unfortunate Roundhead has fallen into the hands of the king's friends, and at the point of the sword is being compelled to drink the health of King Charles I., whose portrait is shown directly above his head.

From the painting by Daniel A. Wehrschmidt, A.R.A., by permission of the artist and of the trustees of the late H. H. North, W.S.



ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES I.

THE STRUGGLE OF CROWN AND PARLIAMENT

THE accession of James I. naturally leads to a close connection between the histories of England and Scotland In both countries his policy sowed the seed for a future reaction. But whereas in England the opposition to the Stuarts was political no less than religious, in Scotland all other questions were subordinated to those of ecclesiastical government; and the influence of Scotland is largely responsible both for the peculiar lines on which English Nonconformity developed and for the programme which the Presbyterian section of the Nonconformists adopted, Scottish Protestantism having developed on Calvinistic and Presbyterian lines.

But from 1575 the General Assembly, the representative body of Scottish Presbyterianism, began to assume an importance in the state which far exceeded that of the corrupt and servile Parliament. Fear of a religious reaction compelled the regent Morton, and after Morton, King James himself, to treat with some respect the theocratic claims of the ministers. James fought hard for the maintenance of episcopacy, and by degrees formulated a policy of absolutism which had the support of moderate men and of many who sighed for a return to the old religion. But his only prospect of success lay in dividing the Protestants among themselves; in 1587 he renounced all hope of establishing a strong episcopate in order that he might obtain a parliamentary grant of the Church's lands, and in 1592 he was compelled to sanction an act which formally recognised Presbytery.

The King's Fight for Episcopacy

The Genevan system had triumphed; but the ministers abused their opportunity and the weakness of the Crown. Their insolence fostered in the mind of James a belief that Puritanism was necessarily connected with democratic and theocratic principles which could not fail to subvert all government if they were permanently accepted. In the years immediately preceding the death of Elizabeth the king was working by circuitous means to revive a real episcopal system in subordination to the Crown.

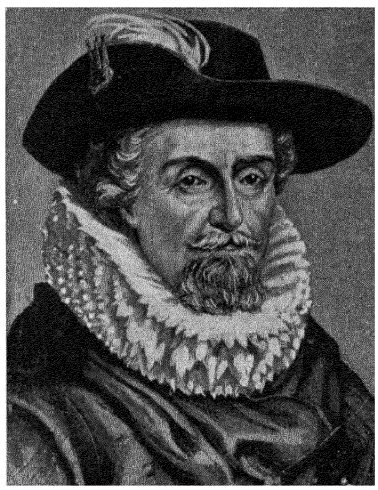
He came to England with a determination that he would never allow the Presbyterian spirit to gain a footing in the Communion, and that resources should be used to remodel the Scottish Kirk upon Elizabethan lines. The second half of the plan was accomplished when, in 1606, a Parliament, assembled at Perth, accepted an act for the restitution of bishops; the measure was followed by the expulsion of the most prominent among the Presbyterian leaders.

Expulsion of Presbyterian Leaders

In England James' policy was emphatically proclaimed at the Hampton Court Conference, in which he and the bishops met those of the clergy who pressed for a simplification of the established ritual. The king came to the conclusion that the advocates of simplicity were Presbyterians in disguise, and dismissed their petition with an absolute refusal. Thus in both countries an impetus was given to religious disputes; the king had identified himself with practices and forms of government which a large proportion of his subjects condemned on conscientious grounds The Catholics, at the beginning of the reign, had hopes that the new ruler would feel it politic to make large concessions to them; but finding that hope vain, a few of them embarked on the desperate Gunpowder Plot for blowing up the Houses of Parliament. The work was to be done by Guy Fawkes; the plot was betrayed; several of the conspirators suffered the extreme penalty, and the popular prejudice against Romanism was intensified a hundredfold. The lines of the coming struggle between Crown and Parliament in England were largely determined by the fact that James had been actually

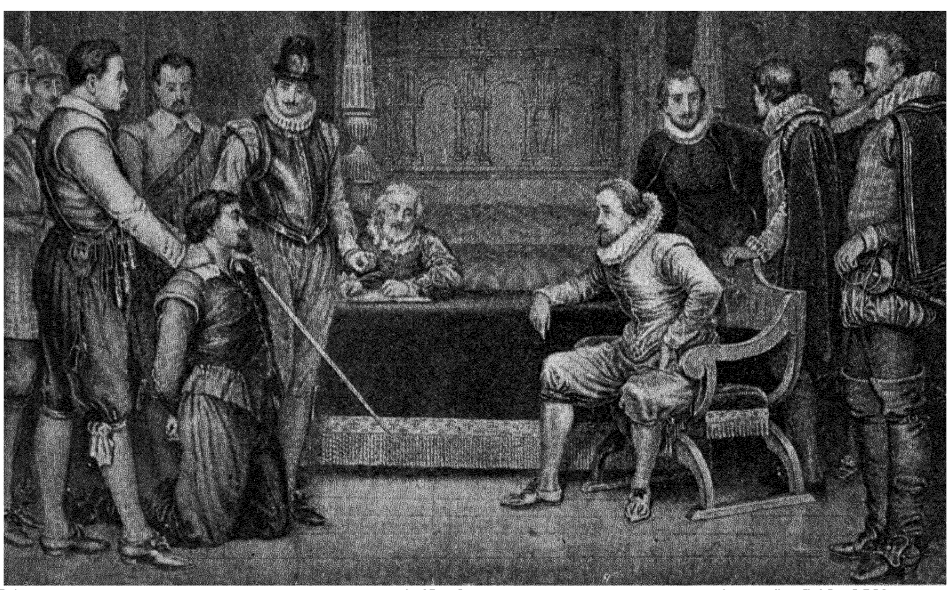
King and Parliament at Variance

King of Scotland five and twenty years before he ascended the English throne. In England other causes of friction soon arose. James was at variance with his parliaments from first to last. Sometimes the quarrel was due to his superior enlightenment, as when he concluded peace with Spain, when he projected a legislative union between England and Scotland, when, being balked in the plan, he procured a judicial decision that Scots living in England were entitled to all the private rights of native Englishmen, when, finally, he framed plans for an increased measure of toleration to the Catholics. But even when his views were sound he showed no tact in his manner of unfolding them, and there were cases in which his projects involved a serious menace to constitutional liberty. He inherited Elizabeth's conception of the prerogative without being able to plead, like Elizabeth, the dangers of foreign intervention as an excuse for absolutism.



The only son of Mary Queen of Scots and Darnley, he was proclaimed King of Scotland, as James VI, in [illegible] one year old, in 1603, he [illegible] throne, thus uniting the [illegible] countries.

The Commons, on the other hand, were not disposed to treat him with the forbearance which had always characterised their attitude towards his predecessor. He won a remarkable triumph over them in 1606 when the judges ruled that he could impose new customs duties without the consent of Parliament; and he used this permission to make good the deficit in his budget which resulted from the reluctance of the Commons to vote him adequate supplies. But they took their revenge by refusing his request for a fixed income in lieu of his feudal dues and privileges. They opposed his scheme for marrying his son Charles to a Spanish princess, and made a hero of Sir Walter Raleigh, whom he caused to be executed in 1618 for a descent upon a Spanish settlement in the valley of the Orinoco. In 1621 they impeached various persons to whom the king had sold monopolies, and compelled him to punish the Chancellor, Francis Bacon, the most able



GUY FAWKES CONSPIRATOR, BEFORE JAMES I. AND HIS COUNCIL

Hoping to regain power and position in England, and inspired with zeal for their religion, a company of Roman Catholics plotted to overthrow King and Parliament in 1605. Barrels of gunpowder were secretly conveyed to the cellars underneath the Houses of Parliament, the intention being to explode these when King and Parliament were assembled. But the plot was discovered, and Guy Fawkes, the leader, with other conspirators, was put to death.

exponent of autocratic principles, with a heavy fine and dismissal from all offices. The ostensible charge against Bacon was one of bribery and corruption, the real offence was his criticism of parliamentary government and his hostility to Coke, the greatest of living lawyers and a staunch defender of constitutional principles. James abandoned the monopolists and Bacon to their fate; he was always on the verge of a serious breach with Parliament, but always retracted in time to avoid the final rupture; it would have been well for his dynasty if he had yielded sooner and with better grace. Obsequious judges and his native pertinacity preserved for him a larger share of power than the Commons desired But the consequence was to leave his successor in a position from which even a king more tactful and far-sighted than Charles I would scarcely have emerged with credit.



SIR EDWARD COKE AND SIR FRANCIS BACON
Sir Edward Coke, the greatest lawyer of his time, took a leading part in the prosecution of the Gunpowder conspirators. Sir Francis Bacon became Lord Chancellor in 1618 and in 1621 was created Viscount St. Albans Charged with bribery and corruption, he was heavily fined and dismissed from all the offices which he held

In several respects this reign was an age of new developments. It saw the growth of a new and more political form of Puritanism It also saw the first appearance, under the guidance of Laud, of the High Church party. James completed the conquest of Ireland and crowned the policy of colonisation, which under Mary and Elizabeth had already been pursued on an extensive scale, by settling six counties in Ulster with Scots and Englishmen Of better omen was the settlement established in New England by English Puritans, who, in 1620, had expatriated themselves to avoid the persecutions of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court. These religious exiles succeeded where Raleigh and the gold-seekers had failed, and the first half of the seventeenth century saw the foundations of an English North America securely laid On the other hand, the glories of the Elizabethan epoch, the great explorers, the great dramatists and men of letters, the seamen who had made our naval supremacy, passed from the stage without leaving successors to fill their places.



ARCHBISHOP LAUD
The leader of the High Church party, William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, attempted in vain to root out Calvinism in England and Presbyterianism in Scotland.

Most of the new developments which marked the age foreboded strife and unrest and civil war. Peace was the object which James most cherished after that of his own aggrandisement. But peace was not to be secured. In spite of himself, he was dragged, at the end of his reign, into the first operations of the Thirty Years War as the ally of his son-in-law, Frederic the Elector Palatine The strain and stress of a foreign war gave the first shock to the unstable equilibrium of English society. The follies of Charles I. soon made it impossible for that equilibrium to be restored.

Charles and his favourite Buckingham had given proofs of their incapacity before the death of the old king. But their mismanagement of the negotiations for the Spanish marriage, which James had earnestly desired, in 1623, invested them with a halo of popularity. The nation detested the Spanish connection as un-English and un-Protestant The popularity was soon forfeited Buckingham mismanaged England's share in the Thirty Years War. Charles found in Henrietta Maria of France a wife whose nationality and religion were alike detested by his subjects From the beginning of the reign Parliament showed a reluctance to grant even the customary supplies, and the dismissal of Buckingham soon became the indispensable condition of further subsidies. It was in vain that the favourite courted national prejudice by entering on a war with France and leading



THE KING AND HIS FAMILY ENJOYING THEMSELVES ON THE RIVER

From the picture by F Goodall, R A

an expedition to the relief of the Huguenots in La Rochelle in 1627. The government was obliged to meet the expenses of the campaign by a forced loan, and to provide for the new levies of soldiers by means of billeting. Buckingham at first bore the blame for these arbitrary measures. But the assassination of Buckingham in 1628 produced no improvement in the policy of Charles; and the Commons were reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the king, rather than his Ministers, should be held responsible for all the shortcomings and excesses of the administration.

Even before the death of Buckingham the opposition secured a signal triumph, and gave the country a foretaste of their programme by extorting the king's assent to the Petition of Right in 1628. This celebrated statute forbade the billeting of soldiers on private householders, made it illegal to enforce martial law in time of peace, condemned the practice of arbitrary imprisonment by which the royal demands for forced loans had been made effectual, and reasserted the ancient principle that no tax or impost could be raised without the assent of Parliament. To these terms Charles assented with a tacit and disingenuous reservation of the rights inherent in his royal prerogative, and he continued to levy customs duties without statutory sanction.



The reign of this king, which began on March 27th, 1625, on the death of his father, James I., and ended at his execution at Whitehall on January 30th, 1649, was crowded with troubles both at home and abroad. He quarrelled with his Parliaments, three of which were summoned and dissolved within four years, and for eleven years ruled without one.

From the painting by Vandyke in the Dresden Gallery

This evasion of his promise, and the . . . . which he and Laud gave to the clergy of the High Church school, provoked from the Commons a storm of angry protests. Charles retaliated by imprisoning the leaders of the opposition, and for the next eleven years (1629–40) did his best to govern without Parliament.

In this policy he had able supporters. Strafford (Lord Wentworth), originally a member of the opposition, but converted to the side of prerogative by his indignation at the impracticable and obstructive tactics of the Commons, proved himself a vigorous and resourceful administrator. He was first appointed President of the Council of the North, a local Star Chamber, which Henry VIII had created after the Pilgrimage of Grace; subsequently he went to Ireland with a commission to continue the work of colonisation, to manage the Irish Parliament, and to make the island a profitable possession for the Crown. In all these objects he was signally successful, the more so because he paid no attention to laws which would have imposed inconvenient checks upon his action; and the fear gained ground in England that Ireland would be made the training-ground of armies for the coercion of England.

Laud, now Archbishop of Canterbury, devoted himself to English finance, to the reform of the Church in a High Church sense, and to the maintenance of a severe censorship of the Press. Under his direction the Star Chamber and the High Commission became a terror to Puritans and constitutional pamphleteers. Through Laud's influence, Charles had in 1629 forbidden all religious controversy. The archbishop trusted that the majority of the nation would in course of time become habituated to the elaborate forms and

ceremonies which he admired, provided that the voices of hostile critics were rigorously silenced. But his utmost efforts failed to check unlicensed writing and preaching. He succeeded only in cementing more firmly the alliance between the political and religious opposition.

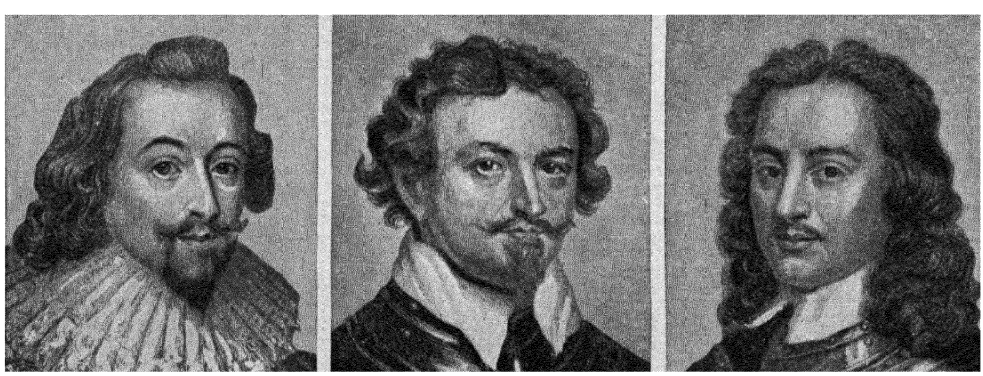
The king was strong in the support of the judges, the recognised interpreters of the common law. They sanctioned the imprisonment of the parliamentary leaders; and the high-minded Eliot, who had been the moving spirit of the Commons died in prison in 163[illegible] So, again, they allowed the statute of 1624 against monopolies to be evaded, and ruled in 1637 that the king could levy ship-money for the defence of the realm without consulting Parliament. John Hampden refused to pay his quota of the new tax, but when he appealed to the courts in 1638, a majority of the judges confirmed the previous ruling But monopolies and ship-money were insufficient to meet the king's expenses, even though his relations with the Continental powers were pacific. He was obliged to press his feudal rights to the utmost, to revive obsolete claims of forest-right over lands which had been in private hands for generations, and to use the Star Chamber as an instrument for levying enormous fines at the slightest provocation It was certain that he would be unable to avoid meeting Parliament if any necessity for exceptional expenditure should arise.



HENRIETTA MARIA, QUEEN OF CHARLES I

Five weeks after his accession to the throne of England, in 1625, Charles married Henrietta Maria, daughter of King Henry IV. of France, and in spite of the troubles which clouded the king's reign, their domestic life was peaceful and happy. The Queen died in 1669.

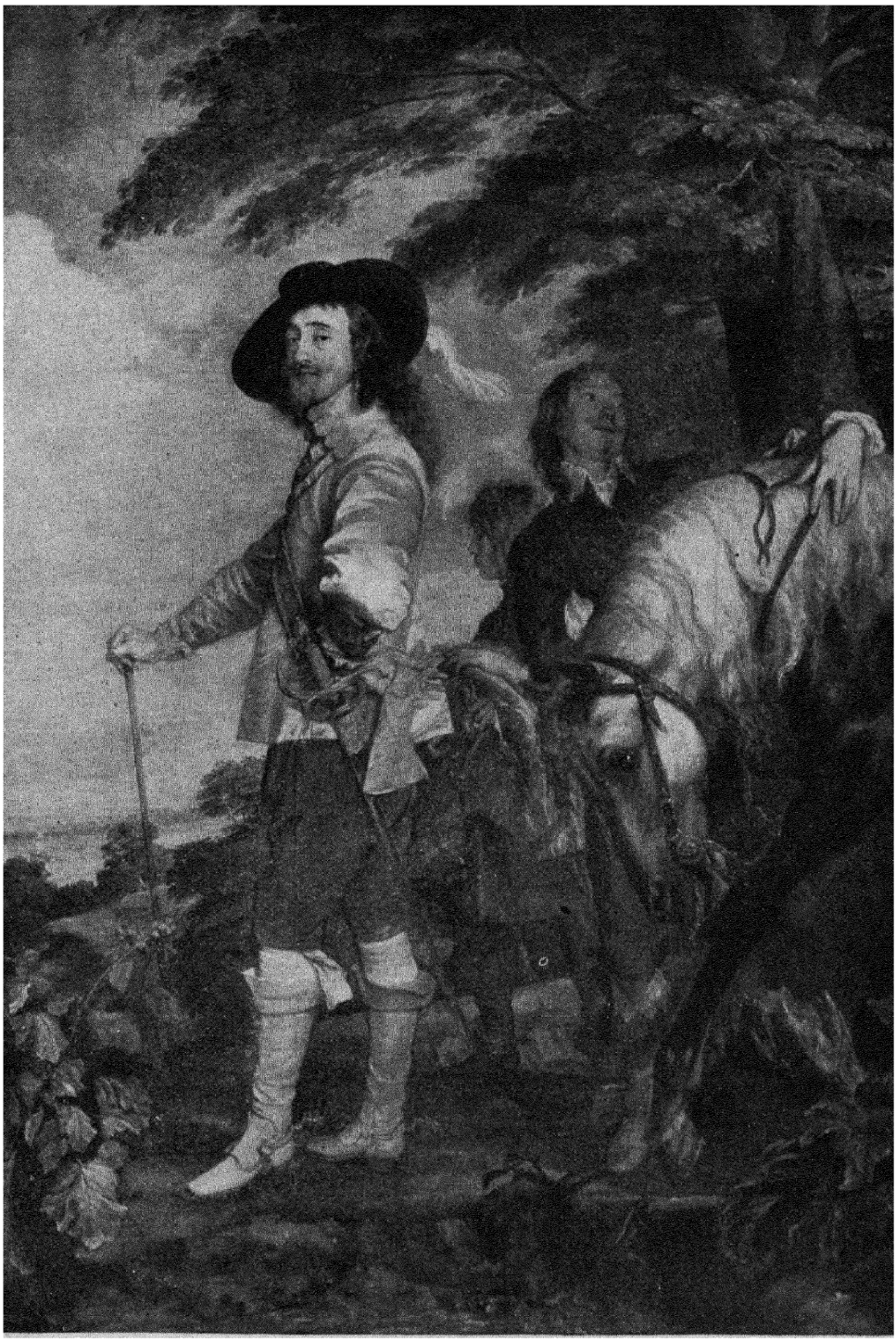
Yet his own zeal and that of Laud impelled him to choose this opportunity for provoking a struggle with the Scottish Presbyterians. In 1637 Charles prepared to consummate the triumph which James had won by the introduction of episcopacy. A new Prayer Book for use in Scottish churches was prepared by Laud and sent



Buckingham Strafford Hampden

THREE HISTORIC FIGURES IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was a court favourite of James I and also of Charles I, negotiating the marriage of the latter to Henrietta Maria of France He was assassinated in 1628 After the death of Buckingham, Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, became the adviser of the king, but fell from power and ended his life on the scaffold A patriot of high character, John Hampden opposed the king's policy, and was one of the members of Parliament whom Charles attempted to arrest in 1642 He died from a wound received while opposing Prince Rupert.



CHARLES I., KING OF ENGLAND
From the painting by Anthony Vandyke in the Louvre

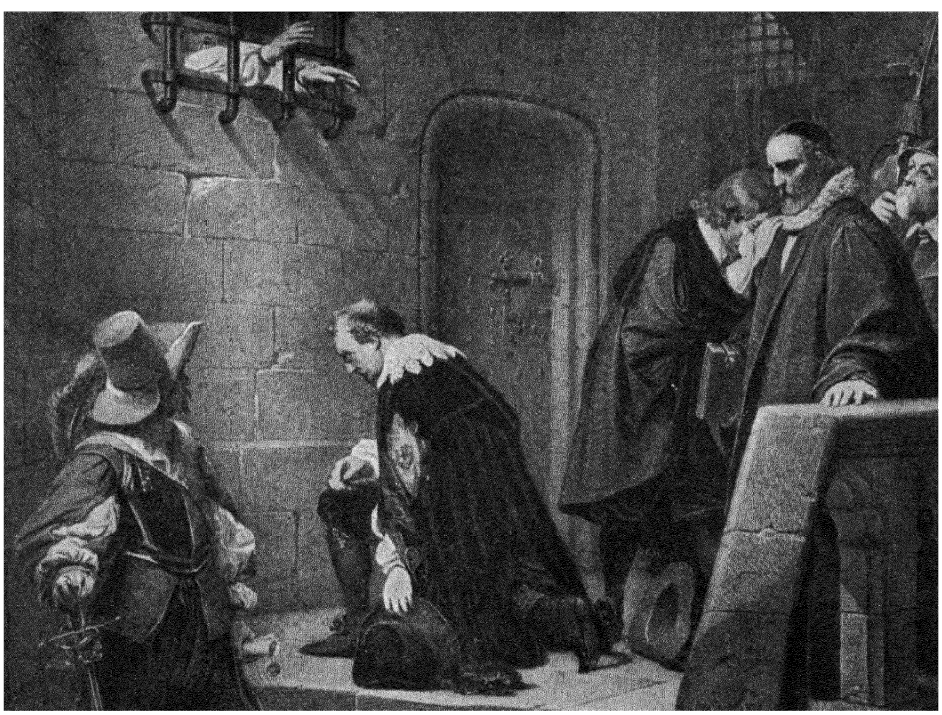
down to Scotland A riot began in the church of St Giles in Edinburgh on the first Sunday morning when the new liturgy was used. Then followed the subscription of the National Covenant by all classes of the Scottish nation, and a General Assembly of the Church which was so largely reinforced by laymen as to resemble a national parliament, declared in favour of a return to the strict Presbyterian system.

The king ordered the assembly to dissolve But it defied him, as its predecessors had so often defied his father; and when Charles, in 1639, advanced to the border with a hastily raised and ill-provided army, he found himself confronted by a force stronger than his own, under the command of David Leslie. The only possible course was to grant the Scots for the moment all that they asked. Charles could not acquiesce in this humiliation. He called a Parliament in 1640, expecting that national pride would induce the Commons to postpone domestic difficulties until the Scots had been chastised. But the Commons were obdurate. They informed the king that redress must precede supply, and were dismissed within three weeks of their first meeting. A second attempt to raise an army without taxation failed. The Scots entered England and forced Charles to make terms. Pending a definite settlement, he was obliged to make himself liable for the pay of the Scottish army. The peers, whom he asked to help him in his financial straits, insisted that he should have recourse to Parliament. Accordingly the Long Parliament was convened at the



JOHN PYM

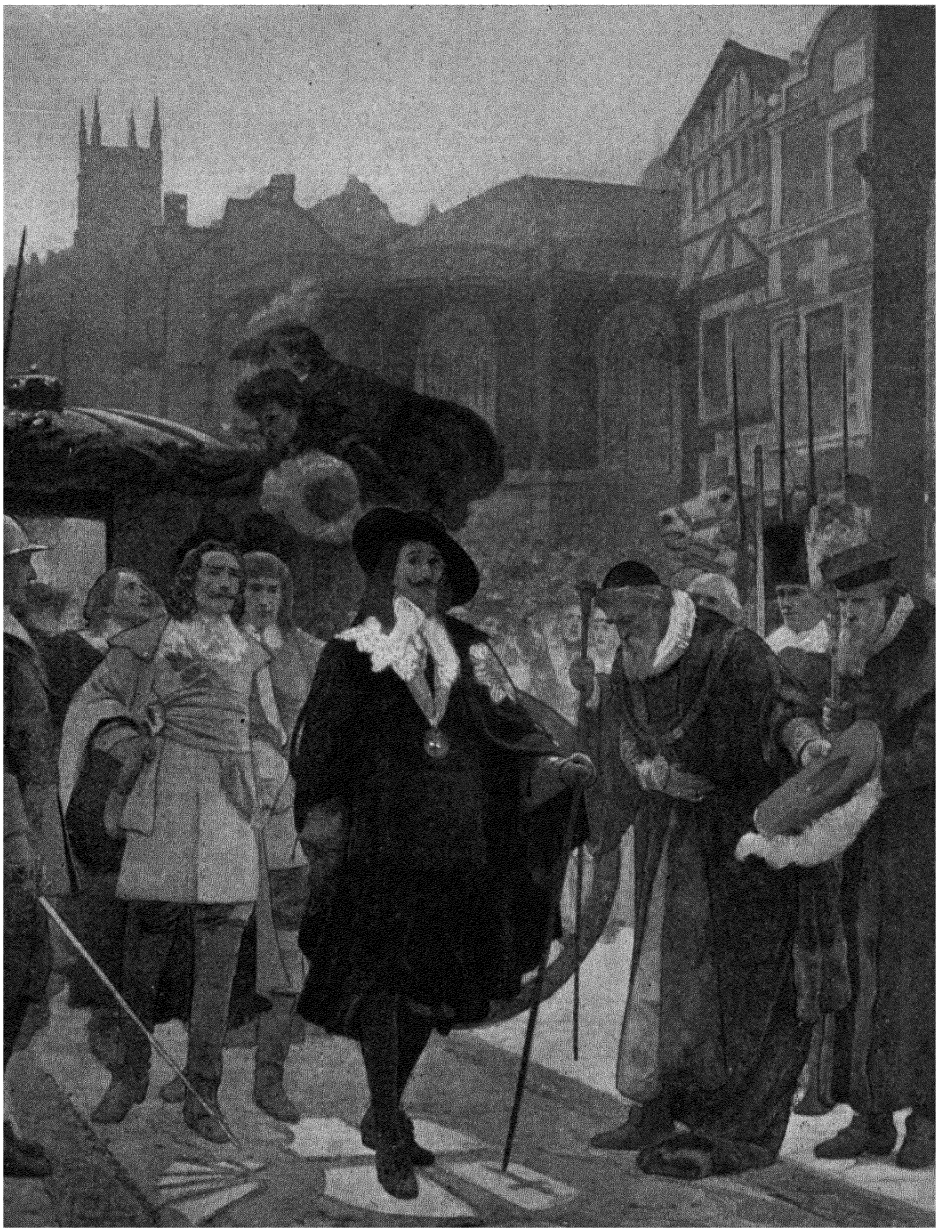
He was another of the five members of Parliament whom Charles I attempted to arrest, and was also conspicuous in the proceedings against both Strafford and Laud



THE EARL OF STRAFFORD ON HIS WAY TO EXECUTION

After enjoying twelve years of power under Charles I, the Earl of Strafford was impeached for high treason on the charge of endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom by making the monarchy absolute. He defended himself with conspicuous ability at his trial in Westminster Hall in 1641, but he was condemned and afterwards beheaded on Tower Hill The above picture shows Strafford kneeling, as he passes on his way to execution, under the window of his fellow-prisoner, Archbishop Laud, that he may receive his blessing and have his prayers in his last moments.

From the painting by Paul Delaroche



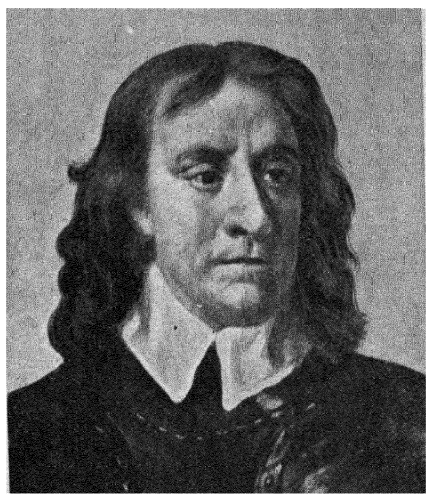
CHARLES I. DEMANDING THE ARREST OF FIVE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Unsuccessful in his attempt to arrest at Westminster the five members of Parliament who were accused of high treason in their correspondence with the Scots, Charles I., learning that they had taken refuge in the City, proceeded to the Guildhall and demanded their surrender from the aldermen. The sheriffs paid no heed to the writs issued for the arrest of the five members, while a proclamation declaring them traitors was also allowed to pass unnoticed.

From the painting by Solomon J. Solomon in the Royal Exchange

close of 1640, and the new members began the work of criticising the executive, with the knowledge that the king could not afford to dismiss them as he had dismissed their predecessors. Under the leadership of Pym, the greatest orator and party manager of their body, the Commons at once took vigorous measures against the Ministers of Charles. They impeached Strafford and Laud; and upon discovering that it was impossible to convict the former of positive illegality condemned him to death by an act of attainder. It was a

harsh measure, but Strafford was the one man whose genius might have secured success for the autocratic designs of Charles: and the Commons, rightly or wrongly, were convinced of Strafford's intention to govern England with an Irish army. Charles might have saved his Minister by refusing to sign the attainder, but yielded to the pressure of the opposition; it is some excuse for this violation of the express promises which he had given to Strafford that the London mob was clamouring for the head of the queen, on whom, as a Catholic, the blame for Laud's ecclesiastical policy was thrown.



Cromwell came to his country's rescue at a time when the rights of the people and their Parliament were facing a bitter and resolute enemy in the king. He built up a strong fabric of government which, however, did not endure after the death of its founder

Meanwhile Parliament proceeded, by legislation of less disputable character, to make the restoration of absolutism impossible. A Triennial Act provided that the Houses should meet every three years, and that a royal summons to the members should not be indispensable. Another measure enacted that the existing Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. The prerogative courts and councils, of which the Star Chamber, High Commission, and Council of the North were the most important, were all swept away. Ship-money was declared illegal; the king's forest rights were restricted; and Parliament reasserted its exclusive right of controlling all customs duties, thus setting aside the judgment in virtue of which James had settled these imposts at his pleasure. The general result of these sweeping measures was a return from the Tudor to the Lancastrian conception of the prerogative. Of this fact the Commons showed full consciousness. Their debates abounded in appeals to the parliamentary precedents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They were deliberately reviving a polity which had been discarded after the Wars of the Roses.



CROMWELL ON HIS FARM AT ST IVES, HUNTINGDON
From the picture by Ford Madox Brown by permission of Mr Frederick Hollyer

It remained to be seen whether the Commons had made a sufficient advance in practical statesmanship to avoid the error by which the Lancastrian Parliament had been irretrievably discredited. Charles could not refuse to sign these acts which undermined his laboriously constructed absolutism; nor could he prevent the Commons from paying off the army which he had raised against the Scots. But he had not lost all hope of a



WAR THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR

In the great encounter fought at Marston Moor, about nine miles from York, on July 2nd, 1644, the forces of the king, under Prince Rupert and the Duke of Newcastle, were defeated by the Parliamentary troops Fifty thousand men, it is said, were engaged in the struggle, and the result was a sad blow to Prince Rupert, who had hitherto been invincible.
From the painting by Ernest Crofts



Riding roughshod over all the rights and liberties of the nation, Charles I aroused the indignation and the opposition of his people, and they rose up in revolt. In this picture we see the king raising his standard at Nottingham, where the Civil War had its beginning. This ceremony had not taken place in England since the battle of Bosworth Field.



The artist depicts in this picture the scene at Westminster when Charles I attempted to arrest the five members of Parliament, and shows Speaker Lenthal, on his knees, asserting the privileges of the Commons against the king.
From the frescoes in the House of Lords by C. R. Cope, R.A.

THE KING WHO DEFIED HIS PARLIAMENT AND HIS PEOPLE

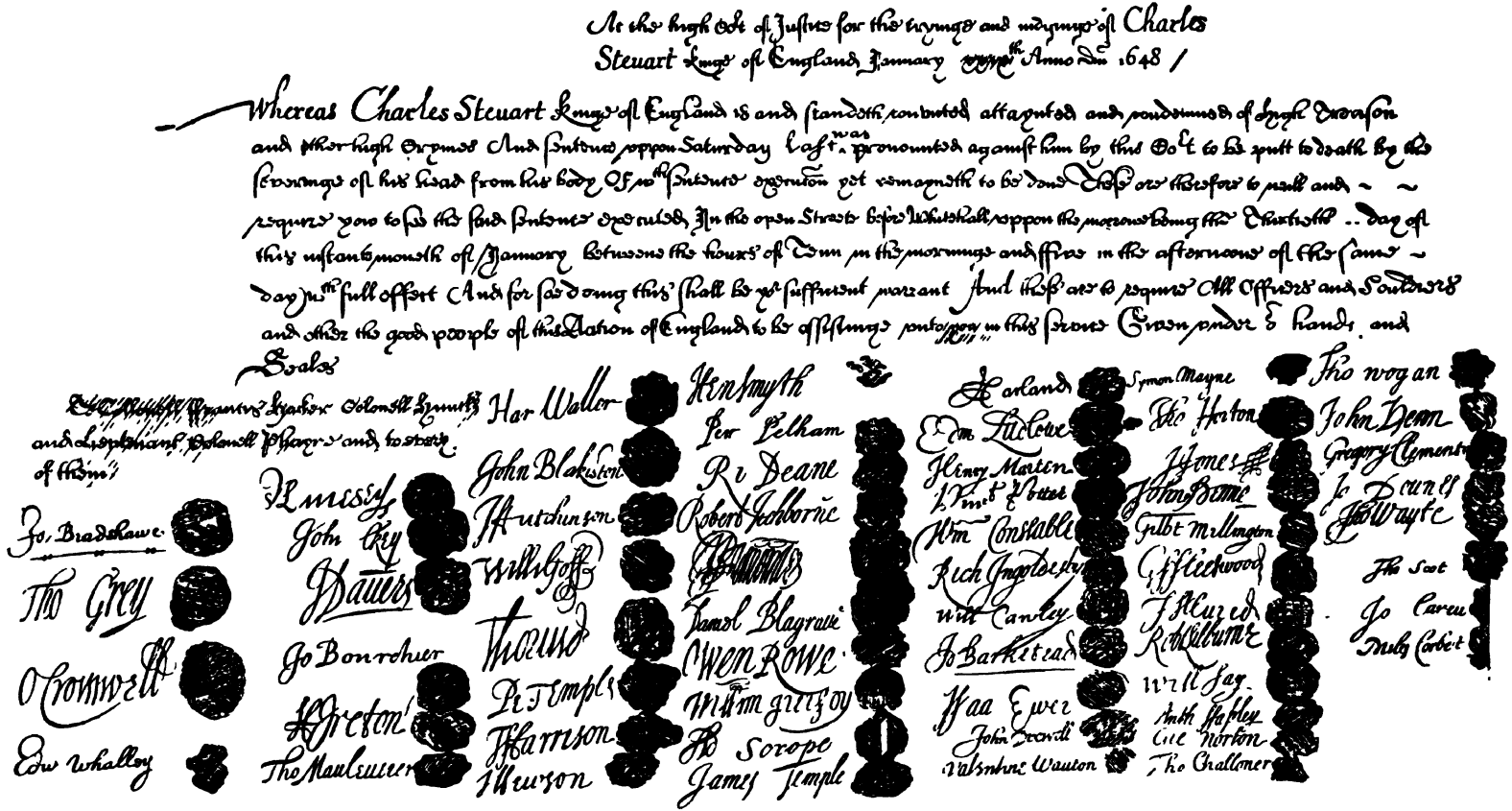


Brought to trial in Westminster Hall on January 20th, 1649, Charles was accused of high treason, and sentence of death was pronounced against him. Throughout the proceedings the king bore himself with great dignity, and refused to submit himself to the jurisdiction of the court, but many witnesses were examined and he was condemned.



The [illegible] the hall after his trial. The Commons who have tried him are shown in the background. Soldiers insulted Charles as he passed, people offered up prayers for his safety.

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert in the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield



At the high Ooft of Justice for the tryinge and indginge of Charles Steuart Kinge of England January xxxx^th Anno Dni 1648 /

Whereas Charles Steuart Kinge of England is and standeth conuicted attaynted and condemned of high Treason and other high Crymes And sentence uppon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Ooft to be putt to death by the severinge of his head from his body Of wth sentence execution yet remayneth to be done These are therefore to neill and require you to see the said sentence executed In the open Streets before Whitehall uppon the morrow being the Thirtieth day of this instant moneth of January betweene the hours of Tenn in the morninge and ffive in the afternoone of the same day wth full effect And for so doing this shall be yr sufficient warrant And these are to require All Officers and Souldiers and other the good people of this Nation of England to be assistinge unto you in this service Given under our hands and Seales

Fr Hacker Colonell Huncks and Lieutenant Colonell Thayre and to every of them

Jo Bradshawe
Tho Grey
O Cromwell
Edw Whalley
Jo Bourchier
Tho Maulevrer
John Blakiston
Hutchinson
Willi Goffe
Thorold
Pe Temple
Harrison
Hewson
Henry Smyth
Per Pelham
Ri Deane
Robert Jechborne
Daniel Blagrave
Owen Rowe
Wm Greffoy
Tho Scrope
James Temple
Harland
Edm Ludlowe
Henry Marten
Wm Constable
Rich Ingoldesby
Will Cawley
Jo Barkstead
Isaa Ewer
John Dowell
Valentine Wauton
Simon Mayne
Tho Horton
Jones
John Bone
Gilbt Millington
Gfleetwood
Rob Lilburne
Will Say
Anth Stapley
Gee Norton
Tho Challoner
Tho Wogan
John Hewn
Gregory Clements
Jo Downes
Jo Wayte
Tho Scot
Jo Carew
Thos Corbett

THE WARRANT FOR THE EXECUTION OF KING CHARLES

This memorable document, addressed to "Colonel Francis Hacker, Colonel Huncks, and Lieutenant-Colonel Thayr, and to everyone of them," was signed by the court on January 29th, 1648, and after stating the crimes for which the king was condemned, demanded his execution "in the open street before Whitehall upon the morrow, being the thirtieth day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the afternoon with full effect" As will be observed from the above, which is taken from the original document in the House of Lords, the warrant is signed by John Bradshaw, Thomas Grey, Oliver Cromwell, and fifty-six others who were prominently identified in the movements of that period.





CHARLES I. ON HIS WAY TO EXECUTION, 1649

From the painting by Ernest Crofts, R A, by permission of Messrs Hildesheimer & Co, Ltd

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reaction. He resolved to sacrifice his most cherished convictions in order to regain the support of the friends of the Covenant: for he believed, with some justice, that these, if satisfied on the religious issue, were unlikely to sympathise with the political aspirations of the English opposition.

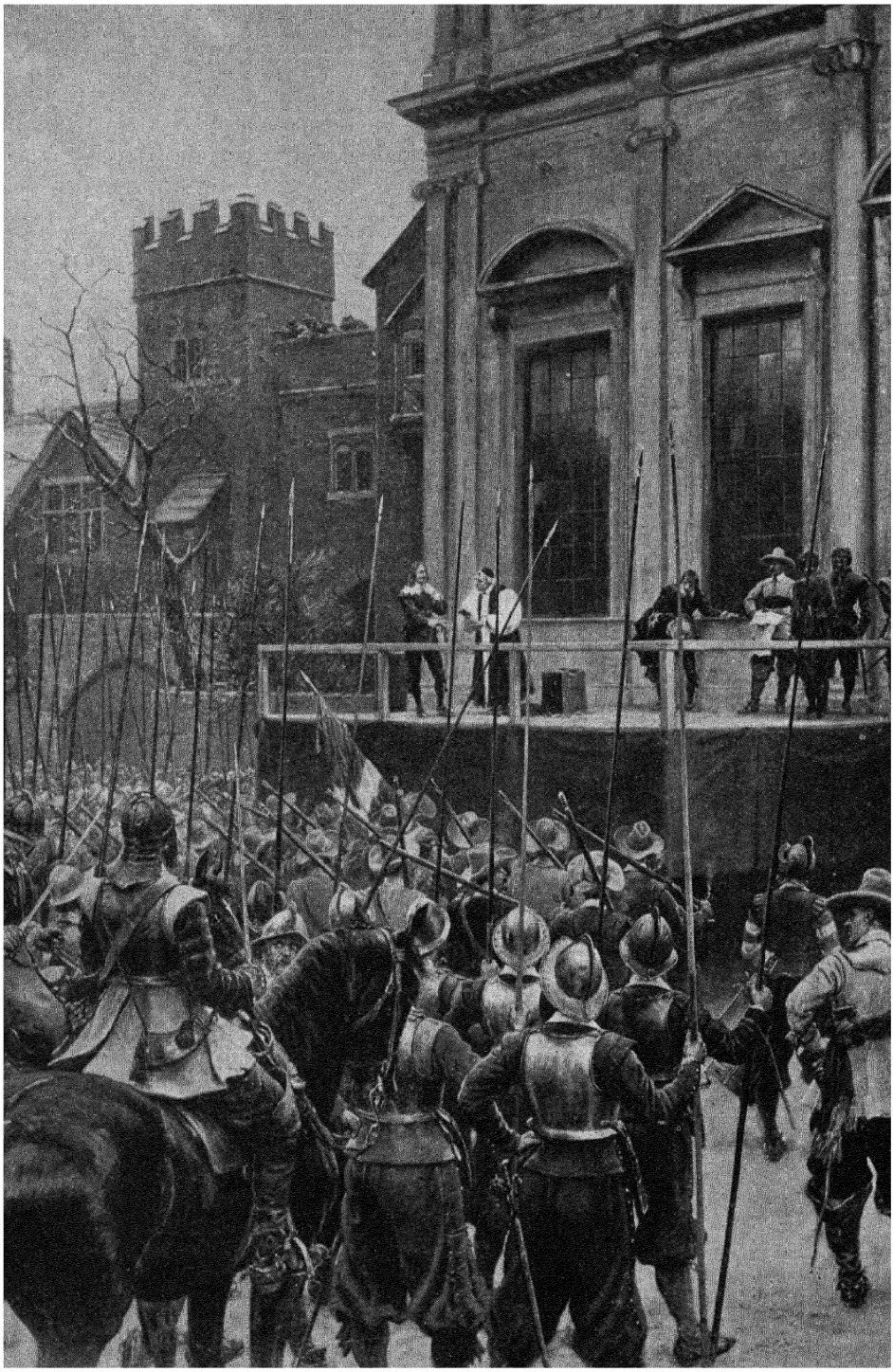
He travelled northward to confirm the Presbyterian settlement in a Parliament at Edinburgh, and used the opportunity to sow the seeds of dissension among the adherents of the Covenant.

On Ireland he built still greater hopes. There the materials of a formidable rebellion were fast coming to a head. The terrible wrongs committed by the Tudors, by James I., and by Strafford, in connection with the policy of plantation, were responsible for much of the Irish discontent; but national and religious feelings came into play as well, and filled the conspirators with a fanatical hatred of the English Protestants, who lorded it in the most flourishing districts of the island. Charles was prepared, in the last resort, to leave Ireland at the mercy of the rebels. He knew that he could count on their undying hatred of a Puritan and English Parliament; he shut his eyes to the probable fate of the English colonists. In 1641 a terrible massacre more than decimated the Ulster Protestants and produced in England the suspicion that Charles was already in active alliance with the Irish. Without entirely adopting this view, Parliament resolved that the king could not safely be entrusted with an army for the suppression of the rebels unless he would put himself in the hands of Ministers responsible to the representatives of the people. So far all were unanimous. But the majority in the Commons desired



THE CONDEMNED KING AND HIS SPIRITUAL COMFORTER

After sentence of death had been passed upon him, Charles returned to St. James's Palace, where he spent the brief interval between his trial and execution. There he bade farewell to his only two remaining children in England, the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth, and there, too, he was attended by Juxon, the late Bishop of London, who, on the fatal day, walked on the king's right in the procession to the scaffold administering spiritual solace.

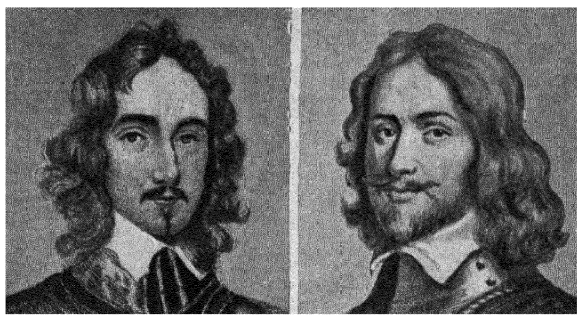


THE EXECUTION OF CHARLES I. AT WHITEHALL

Only three days elapsed between the king's condemnation and execution On January 30th, 1649, the life of the unhappy Charles ended at Whitehall, one blow of the executioner's axe severing the royal head from the body

From the painting by Ernest Crofts, by the artist's permission

to go further, and to take upon themselves the reformation of the English Church. There was little doubt that parliamentary control of the Church would end in the substitution of Presbyteries for the Episcopate. Rather than submit to this innovation, the best members of the Church rallied to the king's cause The introduction of the religious issue gave him a body of English support which seemed to make his Irish and Scottish intrigues no longer necessary. He returned from Scotland and at once put himself forward as the representative of orthodoxy against reckless innovation. From this point events moved rapidly towards an irreparable breach. On hearing a rumour that the queen was threatened with an impeachment, Charles, in 1642, made an ineffectual attempt to seize the five members who had been pointed out to him as her chief enemies Immediately afterwards he definitely announced that he would never consent to surrender the control of the militia, the only armed force which England could under ordinary circumstances bring into the field. On this issue war was declared.



GENERALS IN THE CIVIL WAR

Sir Thomas Fairfax was commander-in-chief in the decisive campaign, and succeeded his father as Lord Fairfax General Ireton, whose portrait is also given, fought on the side of Parliament, he was a stout opponent of the king and signed the warrant for his execution.



AFTER THE EXECUTION: CROMWELL AND THE DEAD KING

From the painting by Paul Delaroche



THE BURIAL OF KING CHARLES I. IN WINDSOR CASTLE

For seven days after the execution of Charles, the coffin remained at Whitehall exposed to public view On February 8th, the remains of the ill-fated king were laid to rest in St George's Chapel in Windsor Castle Snow fell heavily as the body was being removed from the interior of the castle to the chapel, "and the servants of the king were pleased to see, in the sudden whiteness that covered their unfortunate master's coffin, a symbol of his innocence."

From the painting by C W Cope R A

But the real question lay between Puritanism and the Elizabethan Church.

The first Civil War lasted from 1642 till 1646. It divided every social class and many households, but there were certain districts in which one or the other of the contending parties enjoyed a lasting predominance. East of a line from Hull to Arundel lay the headquarters of Parliamentary influence, the wealthiest and most progressive part of the country. Cornwall, Oxfordshire, and North Wales were consistently Royalist. The Midlands continually changed hands; the country between Cornwall and Sussex was first Parliamentary, then Royalist, then reconquered by Parliament. The north was at first held for the king, but was lost to his cause in 1644. The theatres of military operations were various and widely scattered despite the fact that the headquarters of the king were fixed at Oxford, at no great distance from London where the Parliament was sitting. Besides maintaining several armies simultaneously in different parts of England, the king relied upon the diversions effected by his supporters in Ireland and Scotland. The campaigns of Montrose in Scotland (1644–1645) were, from a military point of view, one of the most striking features in the war. The Parliament acted more wisely when it resolved to concentrate the bulk of its available forces on the conquest of England. In 1643 it purchased Scottish aid by accepting Presbyterianism, though with reservation, under the Solemn League and Covenant; a Scottish army thereupon



CAREY AND RUPERT FRIENDS OF THE KING

Lucius Carey, Viscount Falkland, was an eloquent advocate of constitutional liberty, he s [illegible] Civil War broke out, and was killed at the [illegible] Known as the "Mad Cavalier," Prince Rupert was a leading spirit in the Royalist cause, and fought with great courage in its battles He died in 1682



CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT

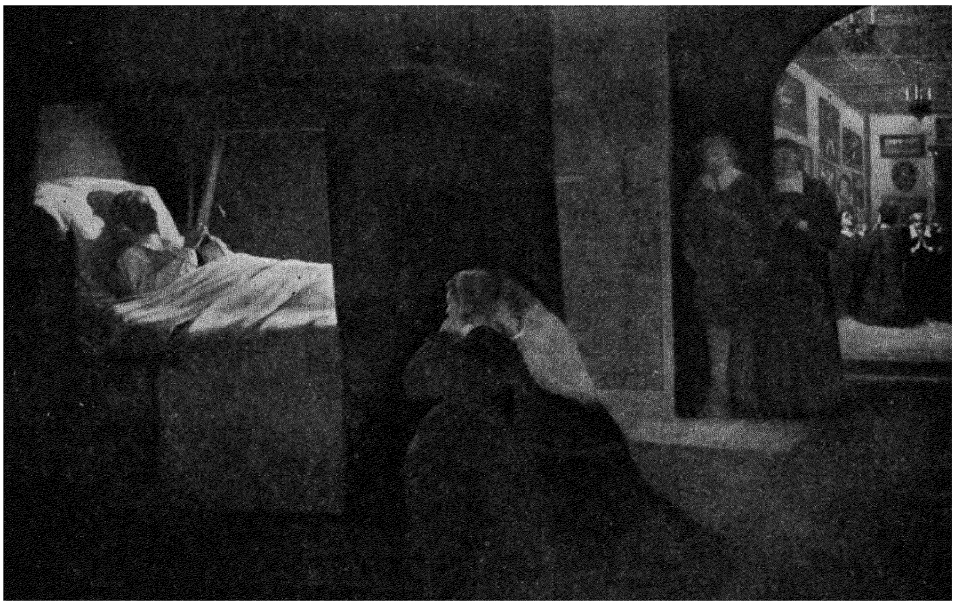
Cromwell dismissed the Long Parliament, which had sat for twelve years and had supported the nation's rights against the king The members of the Council were also dispersed The historic scene when Cromwell, pointing to the mace, exclaimed, "Take away that bauble!" is shown in this picture from the painting by Benjamin West



CROMWELL REFUSING TO BECOME KING

The greatest man in the nation and the o[illegible] destinies, it was felt that he should possess the title as well as the power, and a committee of P[illegible] asked him to accept the crown and become king It was a tempting invitation, but Cromwell put it from him, fearing, it is said, the disapproval of the army

From the painting by J Scheffer in the Walker Art Gallery Liverpool



THE DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL AT WHITEHALL ON SEPTEMBER 3RD, 1658
From the painting by D W Wynfield in South Kensington Museum

marched across the border and proved invaluable in the northern operations

The military movements in England may be briefly summarised. In 1642 the king made Oxford his headquarters and attempted a direct attack upon London, from which however, he was deterred when he found a Parliamentary force drawn up at Brentford to oppose his advance. In 1643, Charles again made London his objective, but resolved to make the attack with three converging armies, of which one, under Newcastle, was to advance from the north; a second under Hopton, from the south-west, a third, under his own leadership, from Oxford But the armies of Hopton and Newcastle, though successful in their own districts, showed a tendency to melt as they advanced The garrisons of Hull and Plymouth did good service to the Parliament in giving occupation to their Royalist neighbours. Another useful outpost was acquired in Gloucester, in the eastern counties a local association organised and put under the command of Oliver Cromwell —a Huntingdonshire squire, hitherto known only as a member of the Parliamentary opposition—the famous force of the "Ironsides," who soon became the terror of Royalist commanders.



THE GREAT ADMIRAL BLAKE
This great admiral, Robert Blake, did much to establish the sea power of England, and won many victories for the flag of his country. He died on August 7th, 1657, just as his ship entered Plymouth Harbour, and was buried in Westminster Abbey

In 1644 York was besieged by the combined forces of Parliament and the Scots; and the king's nephew, Rupert of the Palatinate, in attempting to raise the siege, experienced a crushing defeat at Marston Moor. To some extent this battle was counterbalanced by the success of Hopton, who forced a Parliamentary army to capitulate at Lostwithiel. But in the following year, 1645, the scale turned against the king. The Commons, grown wiser by bitter

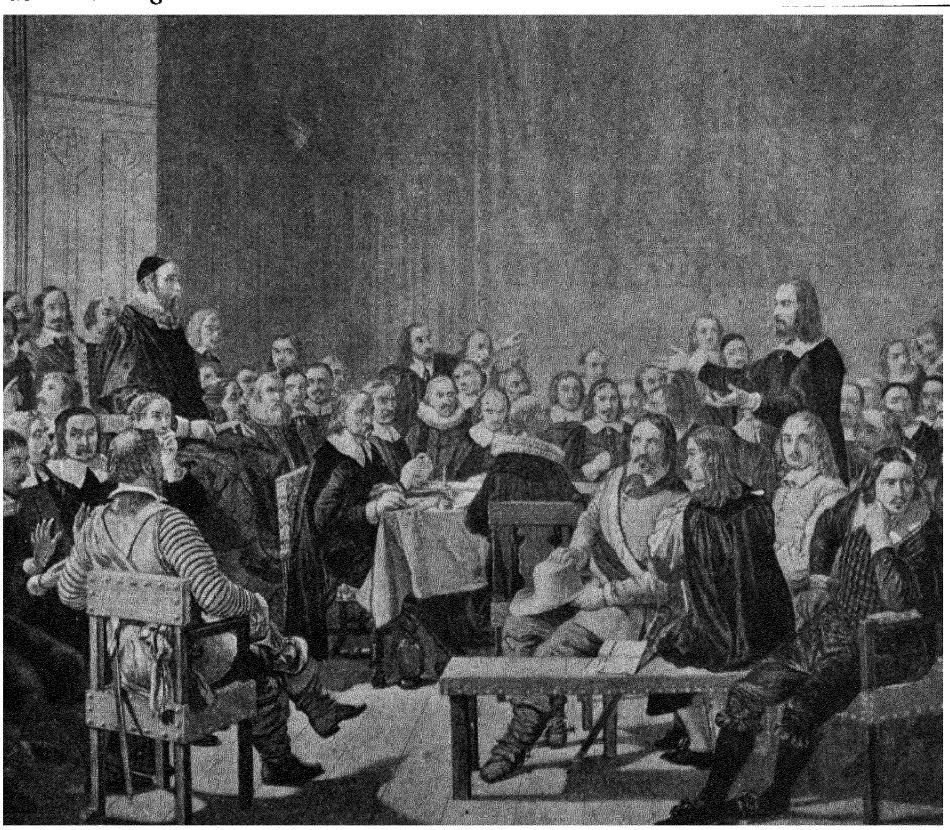
experience, abandoned the custom of entrusting their armies to incompetent peers. The supreme command was given to Fairfax, with Cromwell as his lieutenant-general; and the two received full powers to reorganise. The "New Model" soon justified the expectations of its makers. In marching northward to effect a junction with the victorious Montrose the king was defeated at Naseby, and again at Rowton Heath in 1645. About the same time the hopes which he rested on Montrose were shattered by the rout of that general's Highland army at the battle of Philiphaugh.



THE DUTCH ADMIRAL TROMP

Martin Harpertzoon Tromp, the victor of no fewer than thirty-three sea fights, took part in many naval battles against England, and lost his life in a fight against Monk off the coast of Holland in the year 1653, when the Dutch lost no fewer than thirty men-of-war.

These disasters, accompanied by minor reverses in the west and south-west, made it impossible to continue the war. In 1646 Charles threw himself upon the mercy of the Scots, from whom he looked to obtain better terms than Parliament would offer. But the Scottish proposals were harsh—that Parliament should have the control of the armed forces for the next twenty years, and that episcopacy should be abolished in England. Charles hoped to temporise, but the Scots, impatient of



ASSERTION OF LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE BY THE INDEPENDENTS IN 1647

The Presbyterians, with the support of the Scots, were bent on establishing a religious despotism in England, but the Independents, who had grown into a body of considerable influence, claimed liberty of conscience and freedom of worship

From the painting by J. Herbert, R.A.

his delays and tempted by an offer of compensation for their expenses in the war, surrendered him to Parliament.

There was still the hope that Parliament and the army might be set at variance by Royalist intrigue, for the Parliament was pledged to the enforcement of Presbyterianism, while the army was composed of many sects; and Cromwell, now the acknowledged leader of the soldiers, showed his loyalty to the Independent creed by demanding liberty of belief and worship for all honest men. The king might still win over the army by promises of toleration, or the Parliament by accepting Presbyterianism. In 1647 the feud of Presbyterian and Independent ran high, and Parliament proposed to disband the army. The soldiers thereupon took the law into their own hands. They seized the king's person, to prevent him from coming to terms with their opponents, and offered to restore him on condition of toleration and a remodelling of Parliament on a more democratic basis.

But the flight of the king to Carisbrooke came as a proof that he intended to play off one party against the other. He was in communication with the Scots, who had offered, if he would grant them terms, to invade England. The bargain was struck, and the Scots fulfilled their part of the bargain, thus opening the second Civil War in 1648. But it was an affair of a few months only. Under Cromwell's influence the soldiers postponed their claims until "Charles Stuart, that man of blood," should have been brought to justice.

The "Man of Blood" Brought to Justice

The Scots were defeated at Preston, the king was recaptured, the army could now afford to settle accounts with him and with Parliament. By the incident known as Pride's Purge, when Colonel Pride and his troop admitted to the House only the pliant members, the Commons was cleared of those who refused toleration, the remaining members, under the influence of the army, appointed an extraordinary court of justice, by which the king was tried and sentenced to death. He was beheaded at Whitehall on January 30th, 1649. In the following May the expurgated Parliament known as the "Rump" resolved to establish a republic, in which there should be neither king nor House of Lords. Thus was inaugurated the Commonwealth, which lasted until 1660. Time had effaced from the memories of men most of the objects with which Parliament had embarked upon the great rebellion. Moreover, the victory had been already gained, so far as constitutional principles were concerned, before the war began. The feud with Charles had been in part religious, and still more of a personal character. He had been attacked as the champion of Anglicanism, and because he would not submit to the extraordinary restraints which the shiftiness of his character seemed to make imperative. Anglicanism was now a beaten cause. A new religious question had arisen — whether there should or should not be a State Church and enforced uniformity. In politics, too, there was a new issue—whether the relations of legislature and executive should remain as settled in 1642, or whether the executive, resting on the support of the army and Independents, should be strengthened at the expense of a Parliament which was elated by success and likely to tyrannise.

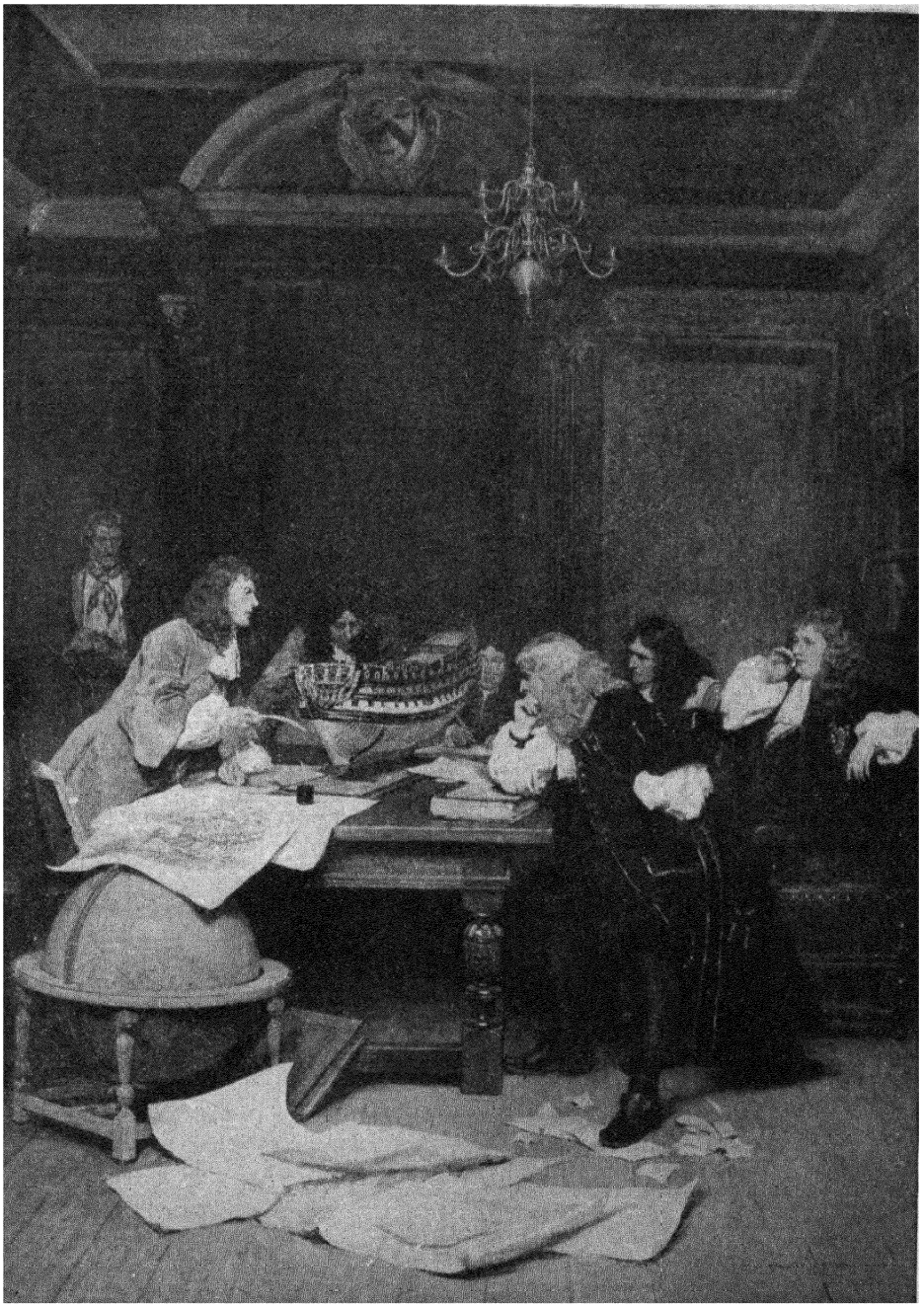
Inauguration of the Commonwealth



JOHN MILTON

The greatest English poet after Shakespeare, John Milton was born in Bread Street, Cheapside, London, on December 9th, 1608. His sight failed him in 1652, but this calamity did not stem the flow of his immortal verse, as the picture on page 4350 shows. He died in 1674.

The army was master of the situation, but Cromwell was master of the army, and Cromwell's wish was to secure the toleration and practical reforms which the army desired with the least possible violence to the old system of government. He hoped that the Rump would satisfy the soldiers by providing for a new and truly representative Parliament, from this body he expected to obtain a satisfactory settlement. The reluctance of the Rump to abdicate was, however, invincible. Cromwell therefore expelled it by armed force in 1653, and, with the help of his officers, framed a list of members for a



ENGLAND PREPARING "A WHIP FOR VAN TROMP"

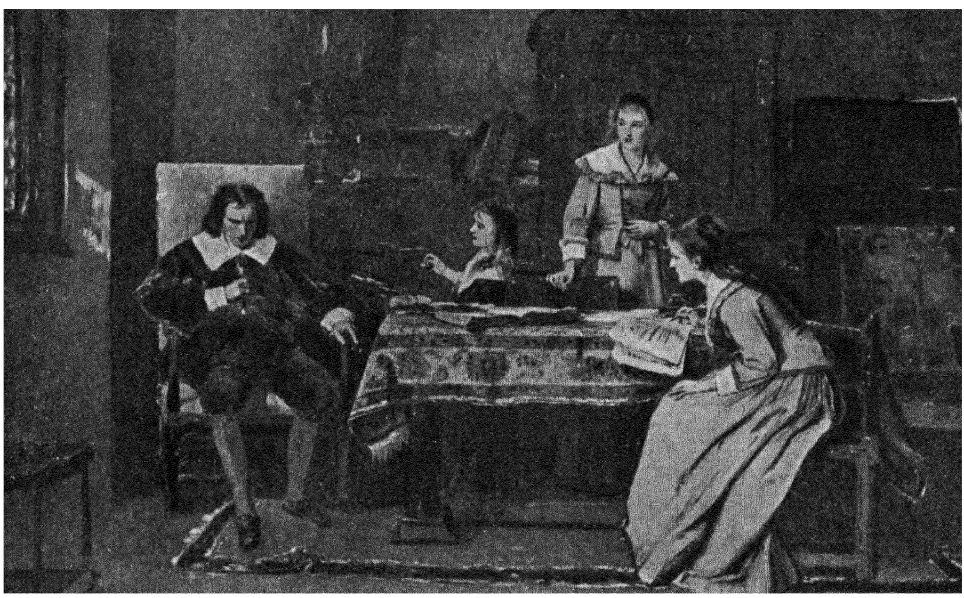
The struggle for the supremacy of the seas waged between the English and the Dutch was attended by many encounters between the fleets of the two nations. Van Tromp, the Dutch admiral, is said to have hoisted a broom at the masthead of his ship to suggest that he would sweep the English from the seas, to which the English admiral replied by hoisting a whip at his masthead. In this picture a naval architect is seen exhibiting to the assembled lords and gentlemen the model of a new warship, which was meant to be "a whip for Van Tromp."

From the picture by Seymour Lucas, R.A., by permission of the Leicester Art Gallery

nominated Parliament. This assembly, proving both unpopular and incapable of a constructive policy, was soon dismissed; and at the end of 1653 Cromwell, at the wish of the army, assumed the title of Protector. A new constitution, the Instrument of Government, was published, defining his position and the unalterable principles which were to be respected by all future legislation. He was to be assisted in executive duties by a council of state. The chief part in legislation and taxation was assigned to a Parliament, in which representatives of Scotland and Ireland were to take their places by the side of the English and Welsh members. Parliament was to meet every three years, but, in the interval between one Parliament and another the Protector was allowed powers considerably greater than those of a Tudor or Stuart king. Such was the unexpected result of a twelve years' battle for liberty.

The first Parliament of the Protectorate, in 1654, felt the irony of the situation, and proposed to reconsider the whole constitution. This Cromwell would not allow. If fundamentals came under consideration, he feared that toleration would be lost, and the executive reduced to an impotent shadow. Hence a deadlock, terminated only by the dismissal of Parliament. A second assembly, though elected under the influence of major-generals whom the Protector had appointed as local viceroys, proved equally unaccommodating (1656–1658). England for the whole period of the Protectorate remained under arbitrary rule. It is for this reason that the brilliant success of Cromwell in foreign policy, the restoration of internal order, and the toleration which he established could not make himself popular or his system permanent. He averted a Presbyterian tyranny, but he was endured as the less of two evils. With his home government posterity can sympathise to some extent, and he may fairly be praised as the first ruler who effectually united all the British Isles beneath one central authority. But his warmest admirers must admit that in Ireland his rule was fundamentally unjust. Here, as in so many other directions, he continued the Tudor tradition; but here his model led him astray in a more than usual degree. He found Ireland involved in the throes of civil war. It was imperative that he should deal sternly with the forces of agrarian and religious discontent which the Royalist leader Ormonde had enlisted in his master's service.

The massacres of Drogheda and Wexford in 1649 were terrible but necessary examples. But when the last embers of the Royalist party were extinguished in 1652,



THE BLIND MILTON DICTATING "PARADISE LOST" TO HIS DAUGHTER
From the painting by Munkacsy

it would have been generous to forget the massacres and act of treachery with which the Irish rising had begun, and to consider the best means of remedying the grievances to which it had been due. Cromwell, however, could not, where Ireland was concerned, rise above the prejudices of the ordinary Englishman.

Instead of mitigating the unjust system of plantations, he extended it. His Act of Settlement in 1652 proscribed one-half of the Irish nation, and left the majority of Irish landowners liable to eviction at a moment's notice. His plan was to resettle the whole of the Keltic population in the remote west of the island, and although the literal execution of the plan was abandoned as impossible, a large proportion of the soldiers of the New Model army received their arrears of pay in the form of Irish land. In practice tolerant of Catholics, Cromwell refused to give them legal toleration. He perpetuated the divisions which he found existing in Ireland, and his name is to this day a byword with the Irish people. The provocation which he received from Scotland was almost as great, though different in kind. In 1650 the Scots recalled Charles II. and prepared for the invasion of England, proposing to re-establish monarchy and Presbyterianism at one and the same time. Their hopes were crushed by the victories which Cromwell won over David Leslie's army at Dunbar in 1650 and over Charles at Worcester in 1651. Scotland lay at England's mercy and was placed under a military government. Monk, the commander of the English garrison, proved a stern and resolute enemy of law-breakers and conspirators, but he gave the country peace and a measure of prosperity.

Cromwell's War in Ireland

His foreign policy was spirited, though wanting in far-sighted sagacity. With Blake for a subordinate, he was not likely to forget the ambitions of the Elizabethan seamen. The Navigation Act (1651), confining English trade to English vessels, struck a deadly blow at the prosperity of Holland, the chief of England's maritime rivals; it led to a war in which Blake met Tromp, and the honours remained with the Englishman. Such a conflict between the two greatest of Protestant powers was a proof that a new era had dawned, in which religious sympathies counted for less than commercial rivalries.

Yet in other respects the foreign policy of Cromwell was governed by Protestant feeling; he had not learned the lesson conveyed in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. He regarded Spain as the arch-enemy, and attacked her colonies in the New World with the same mixture of crusading and mercantile enthusiasm which had animated Drake and Hawkins. To France, as the natural enemy of Spain, he attached himself by a treaty with Mazarin in 1655, through which England acquired Dunkirk. From this base the Protector hoped to use the New Model for the succour of oppressed Protestants.

The Foreign Policy of Cromwell

The Puritan was no mean man of business. But the growth of commerce was only one of the many causes which combined under the Protectorate to exhaust the Puritan spirit. In Cromwell's later years all England, with the exception of a few idealists, was preparing to resume and carry further the course of thought and action which the great rebellion had cut short.

Bacon, whose scientific prophecies had been, thirty years before, the voice of one crying in the wilderness, was now to enjoy a posthumous triumph. The spirit of the "Novum Organum" and "New Atlantis" dominates the best thought of Restoration England. Bacon had little in common with the Puritan except the love of intellectual liberty; and to this only the best of Puritans were faithful. The strength of the Puritans lay in destruction and in protest; victory corrupted them, and they tended to become tyrants in their turn. Yet no temper less robust than that of Puritanism would have sufficed to break the chains of obsolete tradition and authority, to free England for the process of intellectual development which Bacon had imagined. And in Milton the religious movement made a contribution of the highest worth to England's spiritual heritage. The "Areopagitica" is the final plea for liberty of conscience and discussion; "Samson Agonistes," the most splendid expression in modern literature, of the truth that strength is purified through suffering; while "Paradise Lost" expressed with extreme force the conception of a world in which God and the individual are the sole realities, and the divine service, the sole liberty and the highest good of all created beings.

The Age of Puritanism

H. W. C. DAVIS



THE FIRST MEETING OF QUEEN MARY AND RIZZIO, THE ITALIAN MUSICIAN

An Italian musician of many accomplishments, David Rizzio ingratiated himself into the good graces of Queen Mary, occupying a position of honour at her court and becoming her chief Minister after Moray's rebellion His great influence with the young queen excited the jealousy of the nobles, who at last murdered him, almost before Mary's eyes

From the painting by David Neal, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co



SCOTLAND FROM FLODDEN TO THE RESTORATION

NINETY years after James IV fell on Flodden Field his great-grandson was king both of England and Scotland; the matrimonial diplomacy of Henry VII. had borne its fruit in the union of the crowns. The interval had passed stormily enough with the northern nation.

No attempt was made to follow up the victory of Flodden. The King of Scots was a babe, his mother, Margaret, was the sister of the English king, whom she anticipated in her passion for matrimonial experiments, but otherwise did not greatly resemble. Scotland became a battle-ground for the frays and the intrigues of rival nobles, a state of affairs carefully encouraged by Henry and Wolsey. In spite of Margaret, who, however, was not consistently favourable to her brother's views, the partisans of the French alliance kept, on the whole, the upper hand. As had always been the case, the clergy were especially [illegible] to English interests; and James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, can claim more credit for consistency and statesmanship than any of the lay nobility.

The young James V. was still a boy when he assumed the reins of government in 1528. Henry was now on the verge of his ecclesiastical reconstruction. For some years he [illegible] conferences, to be held in England, for the settlement of disagreements, suggestions at which James looked very much askance, having shrewd suspicions that he or Beaton would find themselves caught in a trap. Distrust of his uncle [illegible] his inclination to maintain his alliance with the Churchmen, while Henry would have persuaded him to follow the example of his own anti-clerical policy. Lutheranism was finding its way into Scotland, and the burning of Patrick Hamilton by the archbishop had already had an effect precisely the opposite of what was intended.

Thus the whole trend of events was towards attracting advocates of the Reformation into an Anglicising party, and associating clericalism with patriotism—so far, at least, as patriotism meant a desire to resist English domination. Again, this position of affairs tended also to set the nobility on the side of the Reformation, the alliance of the Crown with the Church being opposed to their interests, for, on the one hand, they were eager to profit by a spoliation of the Church like that which was going on in England, and, on the other, the king, like many of his forebears, was bent on strengthening the central government by breaking the power of his great semi-independent feudatories.

The marriage of James to Mary of Guise, or Lorraine, a member of the most powerful family in France and the most hostile to England, virtually ensured that the old policy of the French alliance would be adhered to, and the relations between the Scots king and his uncle became more strained than ever. Finally, a raid into Scotland was followed by preparations for a counter-invasion of England; but the Scottish force was utterly routed at Solway Moss. The blow killed James, who died a few weeks later, leaving as his heir the infant daughter who was to become famous as Mary, Queen of Scots.

CARDINAL BEATON
Ambitious and unscrupulous, Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews, struggled hard to overthrow the reformed faith in Scotland. He was assassinated in 1546.

Once more, and not even now for the last time, Scotland was to suffer the distractions of a regency. Both in character and ability, the queen-mother, Mary of

Guise, stands high among the many able women rulers of the sixteenth century. It was her misfortune that she stood for the side which was doomed to fail in the long run—Catholicism and the French alliance. The future of Scotland was bound up with Protestantism and union with England But, for the moment, the vital necessity was independence from England. A union which meant subjection would not have served the purpose; and subjection was what Henry aimed at. Cardinal David Beaton, the nephew of Archbishop James, and the heir of his policy, was a very unlovely character; yet it is not impossible that but for him and Mary of Guise, Henry would have achieved his aim. In fact, Solway Moss made the French and clerical ascendancy in Scotland the condition of independence. Before twenty years were over the country had found both intolerable, and had got rid of them for good and all. But by that time the crisis was past, and independence was no longer in danger.



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS
The daughter of James V of Scotland by his second wife, Mary of Guise, Mary was born at Linlithgow in 1542 Her early years were spent in France, where she married the Dauphin who succeeded to the throne as Francis II in 1559 In 1587 she was executed

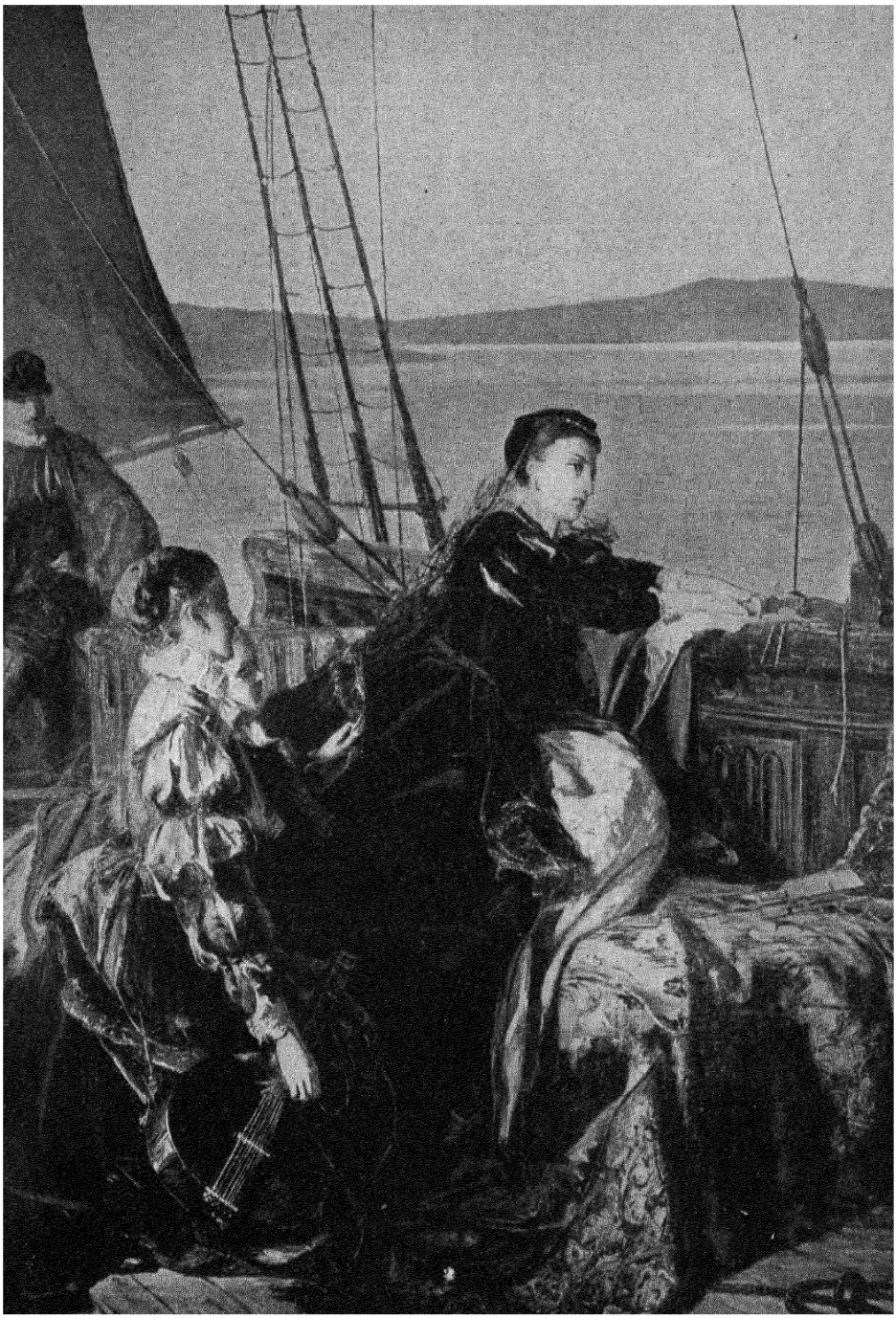
The cardinal was murdered just before Henry's death The Protector Somerset, whose aims were usually as enlightened as his methods were blundering, wanted to bring about a free and harmonious union, and tried to effect it by fire and sword. The Scots at Pinkie Cleugh met with disaster hardly less crushing than Flodden or Solway Moss, but they shipped little Queen Mary off to France, where she was betrothed and afterwards married to the Dauphin. Somerset had too many irons in the fire to interfere further directly in Scotland, which for similar reasons was left severely alone by Northumberland and by Mary Tudor. Mary of Guise, as regent, and the Catholic party had to maintain their position during the fifties mainly by French troops, while Calvinism rooted itself more and more firmly among the populace. The shrewd Cecil persuaded Elizabeth to give material aid to the "Lords of the Congregation" — the title assumed by the Protestant leaders.



ANOTHER PORTRAIT OF SCOTLAND'S UNHAPPY QUEEN
From the painting by Oudry in the National Portrait Gallery, London

The result was that Mary and the French were forced to accept terms which permanently expelled the French garrison and secured the domination of Protestantism. The death of the regent immediately preceded the Treaty of Leith in the year 1560.

In December, Queen Mary, whose husband had succeeded to the French throne in the previous year, became a widow, and the prospect of the French and Scottish crowns being united disappeared. She was half French by birth, wholly French by training,



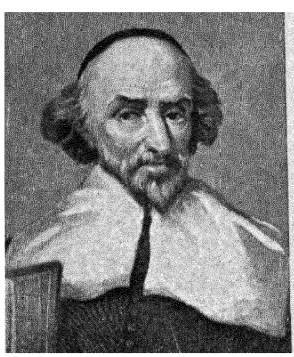
QUEEN MARY'S FAREWELL TO FRANCE

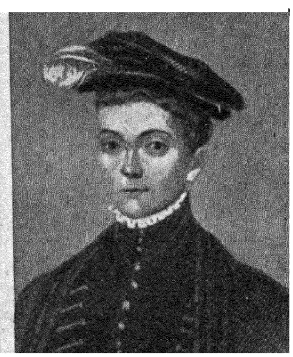
No longer Queen of France after the death of her husband in 1560, Mary's thoughts turned to her native land, where she was urgently required, her mother's death having left the country without a government She sailed from Calais on August 14th, 1561, arriving at Leith five days later. At night Mary had her couch spread in the open air that she might have a parting view of the shores of the country which she loved so well, on awaking in the morning.

From the picture by Robert Herdman, R S A

and an orthodox Catholic by religion. Also, on the theory that Elizabeth was illegitimate, she was incontestably the heiress-claimant to the English throne. These conditions made her relations with England sufficiently complicated, while in Scotland she had to deal with a people among whom the rigid John Knox was already regarded almost as an inspired prophet, and with a nobility as turbulent as any to be found in Europe. Nevertheless, being just eighteen, she determined to embark on these stormy waters and returned to Scotland in 1561.

Sympathy between Queen Mary and Knox was out of the question. Neither of them ever had the faintest chance of understanding the other's point of view. The Queen's illegitimate half-brother, Lord James Stuart, better known as the Earl o' Moray, tried to carry out a policy by which concession should not be all on one side; but the Reformation party were as intolerant in their power as the Catholic prelates had been. Mary was eternally suspected of aiming at the overthrow of Protestantism. Her cousin on the English throne professed the utmost friendliness but invariably urged the young queen to follow a course which would have made her thoroughly dependent on her loving sister's goodwill. Above all, she must not marry anyone who would strengthen her position.





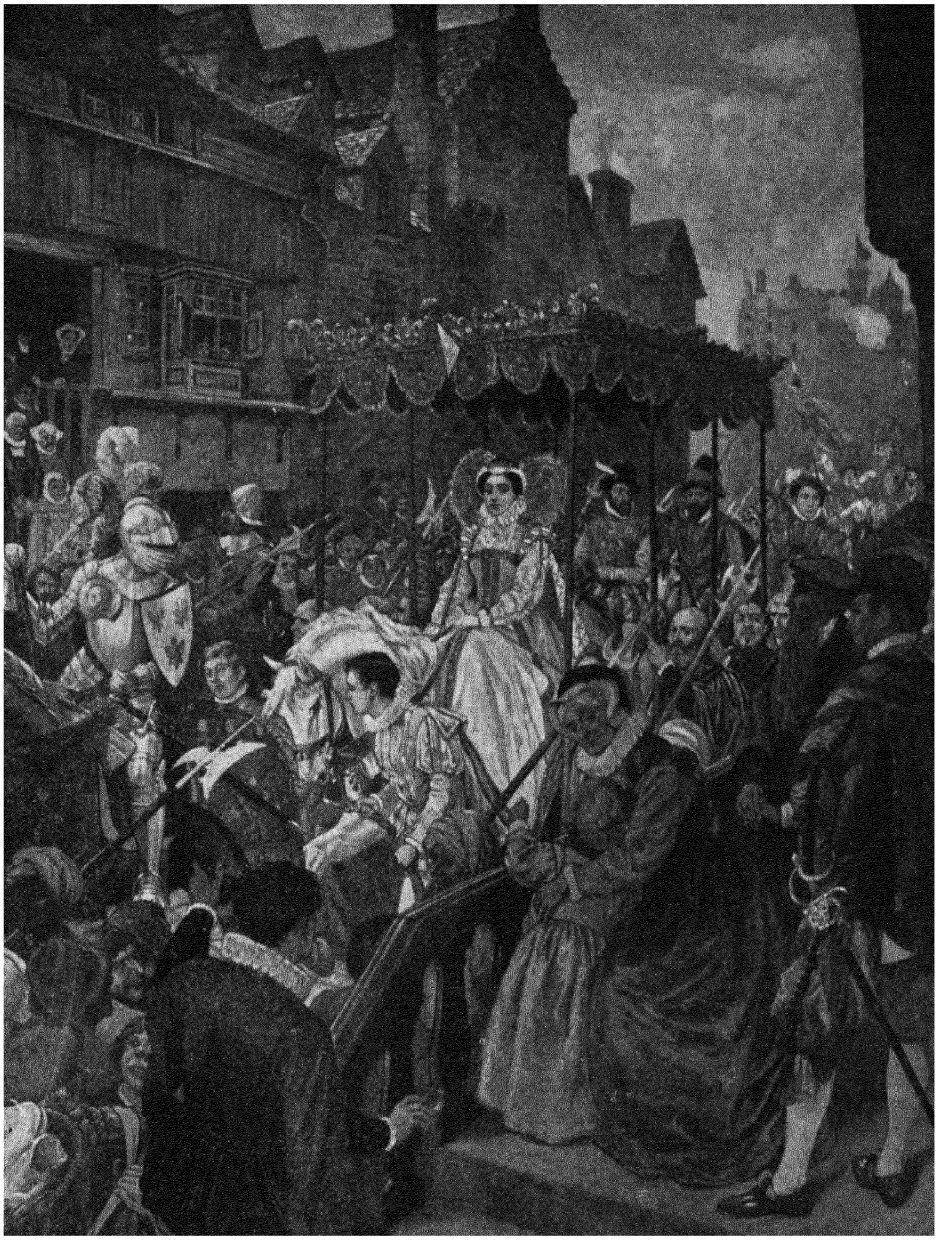
JOHN KNOX AND LORD DARNLEY

The leader of the reform party in Scotland, John Knox, who was born about 1505, did more for Protestantism and education in his native land than any other man before or since. His life came to an end in 1572. Lord Darnley married Queen Mary who conferred on him the title of King of Scotland. He lost his life in 1567 as the result of a plot.

Mary ignored Elizabeth's advice and married her cousin, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, a grandson of Margaret Tudor by her second marriage, who stood near the English succession through his mother, and near the Scottish through his father. He was a Catholic, and had he been a man of tolerable intelligence or character, the marriage might have proved a brilliant stroke of policy. As he proved to be both fool and knave, its result was disastrous, while its immediate effect was to drive Moray into unsuccessful rebellion.

Mary left practically friendless, felt confidence in no one but her Italian secretary, Rizzio, who was consequently assassinated almost before her eyes, Darnley participating in the murder. Before a twelvemonth had passed, Darnley himself perished, the victim of another plot, in 1567. When Mary, almost immediately afterwards, allowed herself to be abducted and married by James Hepburn of Bothwell, whom everyone knew to have taken the leading part in Darnley's murder, the world believed that she had been steeped in the guilt of the crime from its beginning. A rebellion followed, Bothwell was put to flight at Carberry Hill, and the queen was compelled to surrender. She was imprisoned at Loch Leven, and forced to sign an act of abdication in favour of her infant son James VI., the government of the country passing in effect into the hands of Moray — who had been in France when Darnley was murdered — with other lords, some of whom had certainly been implicated in the murder. In the following year Mary effected an escape from Loch Leven, but the forces which gathered to her standard were routed at Langside, she herself fled south, crossed the Solway, and threw herself on the hospitality of the Queen of England. Elizabeth made characteristic use of the situation. To hand Mary back to the subjects who had driven her from the throne would be a dangerous admission of the right of subjects to rebel. To restore her to her throne by force of arms would upset the loyalty of English Protestants.

To give her passage to France and permit her restoration by French assistance would revive the French ascendancy in Scotland. To put her to death on her own responsibility would at the best give a very dangerous handle to her own enemies. So Elizabeth contented herself with holding a commission of inquiry, which received and published the evidence



THE STATE ENTRY OF QUEEN MARY INTO EDINBURGH IN THE YEAR 1561

From the painting by Wm Hole, R S A, in the National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, by the artist's permission

against Mary in the Darnley affair, and then stopped its proceedings. But she kept Mary a prisoner in her own hands, for eighteen years threatening now to release her, now to replace her on the throne, now to hand her over to the Lords of the Con- [illegible] and now to bring her to trial—and execution—for complicity in one or another of the various Catholic conspiracies which aimed at placing her on the throne of England. Only when Elizabeth had at last made up her mind no longer to evade the life-and-death struggle with Spain did she give Walsingham the chance of carrying the last alternative into execution. Mary was found guilty of complicity in Anthony Babington's conspiracy, and was beheaded. Both now and in the previous inquiry of

1568 the damning evidence lay in letters whose complete authenticity has never been conclusively either proved or disproved. The dramatic and psychological interest of the tragedy of Mary Stuart has impressed the world so deeply that it cannot be passed over, but it is entirely out of proportion to her political importance. She had a losing battle to fight from the beginning. She neither hastened nor retarded the union of the English and Scottish crowns, or the development of the peculiarly Scottish type of Protestantism. The former followed naturally and inevitably on the death of Elizabeth, seeing that there was then no other candidate for the English throne to whose support any party in the nation could rally solidly. The latter was the work primarily of John Knox and his successor, Andrew Melville. From 1559 to 1572, Knox was the [illegible] religious leader of the "reformed" party in Scotland as distinct from the lay nobles whose zeal for religion grew from a political root, and did not in most cases temper their morals, which were latitudinarian.

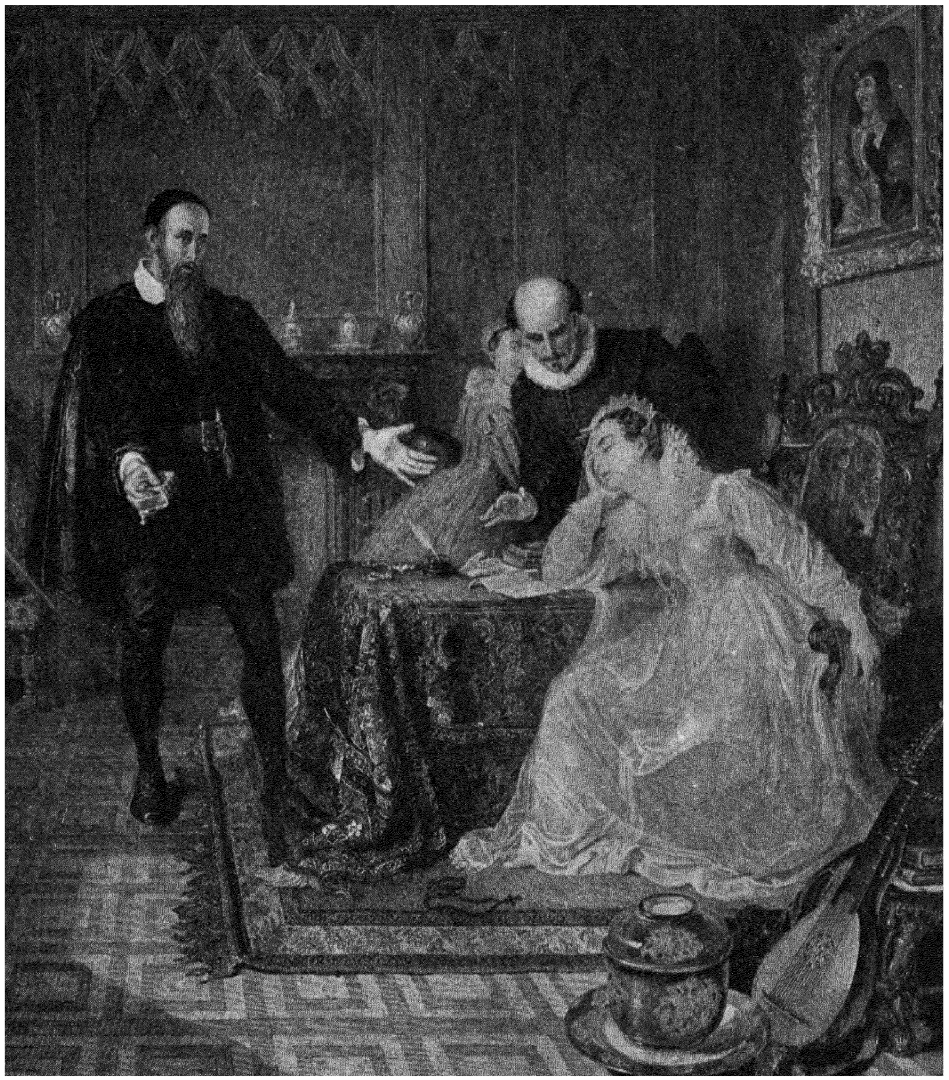
The essentially theocratic conceptions of Knox gripped the Scottish people, by whom the "ministry" was looked upon as discharging the functions not so much of a priesthood as of the prophets of Israel, the channel, not of Divine grace, but of Divine instruction. The governing classes, on the other hand, tended to take the extreme Erastian view that the clerical organisation should be an instrument in the hands of the temporal rulers. But the temporal rulers were far too much at variance among themselves to let continuous power remain for any long time in any one set of hands. Moray was assassinated in 1570. Two more regents arose and disappeared before Knox died, in 1572, the vigorous Morton, who held the reins from 1527 to 1578, ended his life on the block in 1580. The boy king, tossed from pillar to post, very early acquired the conviction that statesmanship consists in cunning. The years did not diminish the intensity of his hate for the clerical domination, which did not hesitate to impress upon him that he was but



AN HISTORIC SERMON JOHN KNOX PREACHING AT ST ANDREWS

It was truly said of John Knox that he never feared the face of man, and here we have a striking illustration of the Reformer's courage. The incident depicted occurred in the parish church of St Andrews, in June, 1559, when Knox, who had just returned to Scotland after an exile of thirteen years, appeared in the pulpit in defiance of a threat of assassination, and preac[illegible] such effect that the people of the town decided to adopt the reformed worship. A[illegible] g stripped of all images and the monasteries pulled down

From the picture by Sir David Wilkie, R.A., in the National Gallery



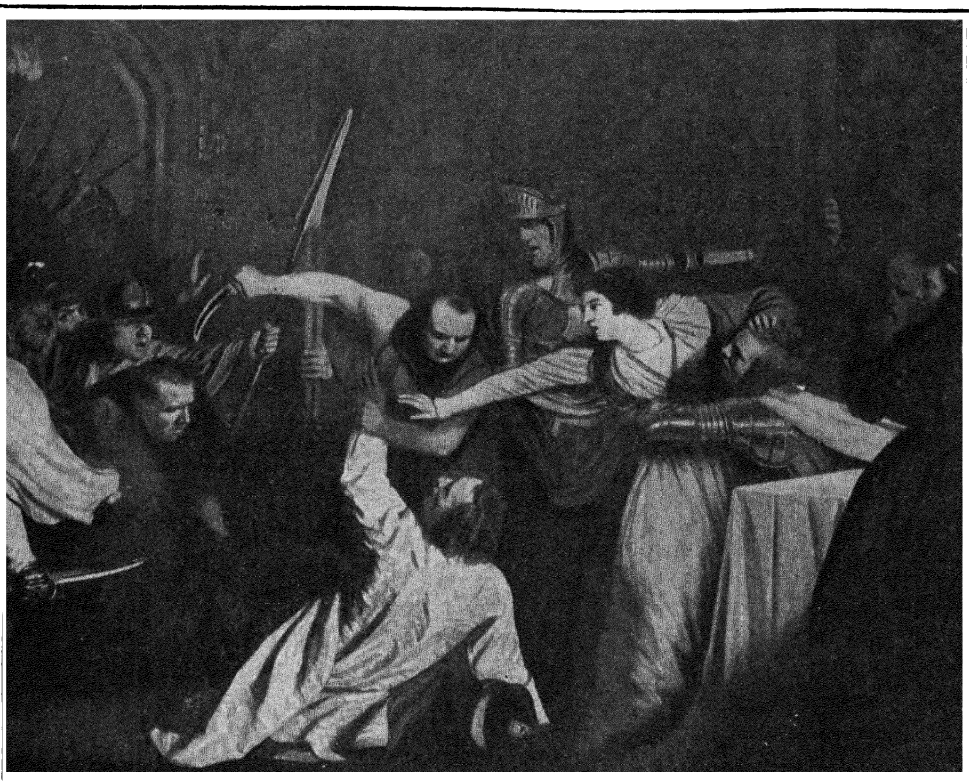
JOHN KNOX ADMONISHING MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Carlyle has said that John Knox could not have been true to his country and tender with his queen The fact that Mary was a Roman Catholic led to prayers being offered up in the churches that God would turn her heart, and the Reformer made public references to the queen's religious beliefs, which stirred her indignation and led her to summon him to her presence. The interview was stormy, as Knox's outspoken words brought tears to the eyes of the queen.

From the picture by J Burnet

"God's silly vassal." A turn of the wheel made it possible in 1584 to establish the episcopal system; but in 1592 the positions were reversed, and the Presbyterian Church polity—essentially democratic—was formally instituted, with powers of enforcing "discipline," which made the Church of the future a decisive force in moulding the character of the Scottish people. The energy which Knox had at an earlier stage devoted to laying the foundations of educational organisation provided the machinery for developing the popular intelligence under a powerful theological influence The ecclesiastical constitution was, however, again modified in 1600 by the appointment of a few bishops. James intended to turn the hybrid thus created into a revived episcopal system.

On the death of Elizabeth, James VI. of Scotland ascended the throne of England as the heir of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York through their eldest daughter Margaret their son's issue being now exhausted.



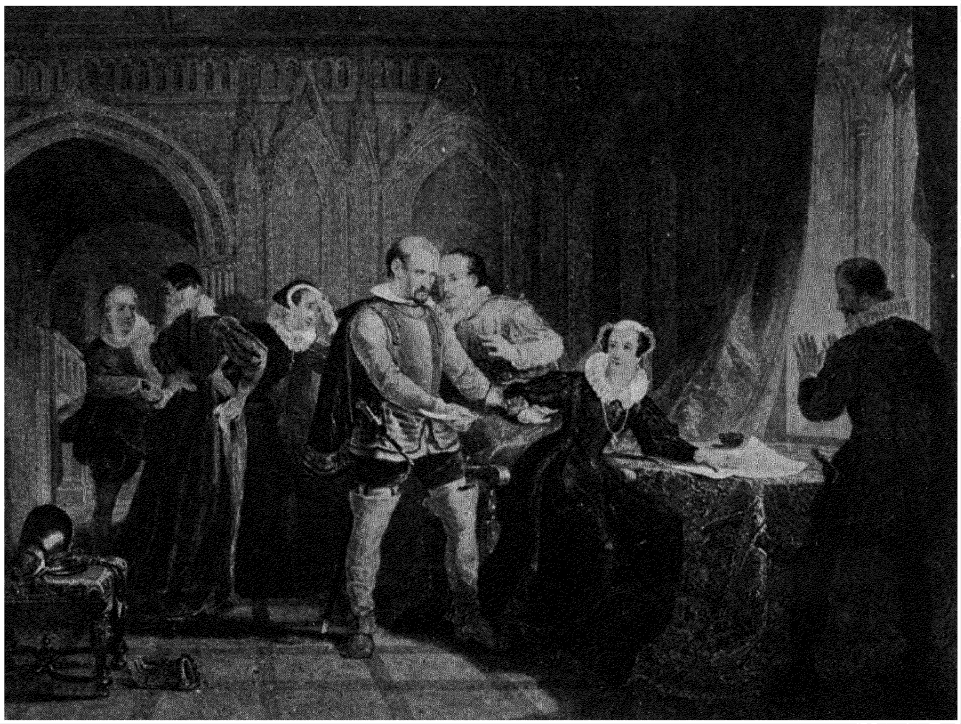
THE MURDER OF RIZZIO, THE QUEEN'S FAVOURITE

The favours showered upon the Italian musician by the queen roused the envy and the jealousy of Darnley and the nobles, and they concerted a plot for the murder of Rizzio On the night of March 9th, 1566, utterly ignorant of the fate awaiting him, he was sitting at supper with the queen and the Countess of Argyle in a room at Holyrood Palace when the assassins rushed in, and in spite of Mary's efforts to save him, dragged the unhappy Rizzio off to his death



THE COVENANTERS' COMMUNION AN EPISODE IN THE FIGHT FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

In this picture, from the painting by Sir J. Harvey, P R S A , we have depicted a scene that was common in the days when the people of Scotland made their brave stand for religious liberty Denied the privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience, men and women sought out the secluded corners of the mountains, and there engaged in the holy acts of praise and prayer, their religious fervour only heightened by the hardships endured.



THE IMPRISONED QUEEN ABDICATING THE THRONE

The popular suspicion that the queen had been privy to the murder of her husband, Lord Darnley, seemed justified when, after the acquittal of the Earl of Bothwell on a charge of complicity in Darnley's murder, Mary married that profligate nobleman The nobles rose against her, and she was imprisoned in the castle of Loch Leven, where, on July 24th, 1567, she was compel'ed to sign an act of abdication in favour of her son, then scarcely twelve months old.



THE ESCAPE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS FROM LOCH LEVEN CASTLE

During her imprisonment in Loch Leven Castle, the queen's active brain was busy at work devising methods of escape At last by the exercise of wiles and charms she succeeded in inducing the young Laird of Loch Leven, George Douglas, to assist her, and in this picture we see how the escape was effected. When it was known that the queen was at liberty, many of the nobles hastened to her standard, and within a few days she had an army of 6,000 men.

From the painting by Thomas Danby, R A

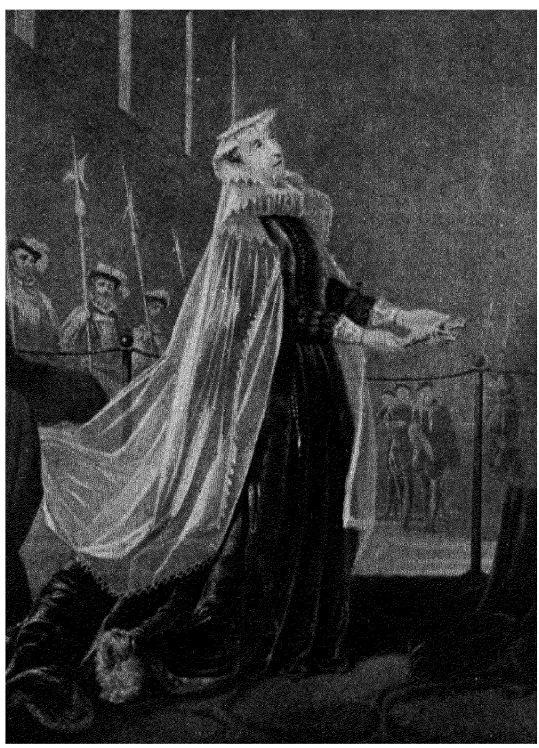


SCOTLAND S TROUBLED DAYS THE ASSASSINATION OF THE GOOD REGENT MORAY

About a fortnight after her escape from Loch Leven Castle, a battle was fought in 1568, at Langside, near Glasgow, between the forces of Mary and the army of the Regent Moray The queen was utterly defeated and sought shelter in England During her detention there by Elizabeth, the Regent Moray was assassinated in the streets of Linlithgow, by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who was instigated by Mary's adherents, and by this dastardly act Scotland lost an able and patriotic leader

There was no serious opposition, and thus the crowns, but not the governments, of the two countries were united. The way was paved for a closer union in the future; the perpetual menace of actual hostilities was ended, and it was rendered impossible for the two nations to follow antagonistic foreign policies. But in domestic affairs they remained separate, though the king's accession to the English throne greatly strengthened his hands in his dealings with his northern kingdom. Within a decade he had re-established an episcopal system, which, without destroying the Presbyterian organisation, transferred the controlling power to the Crown.

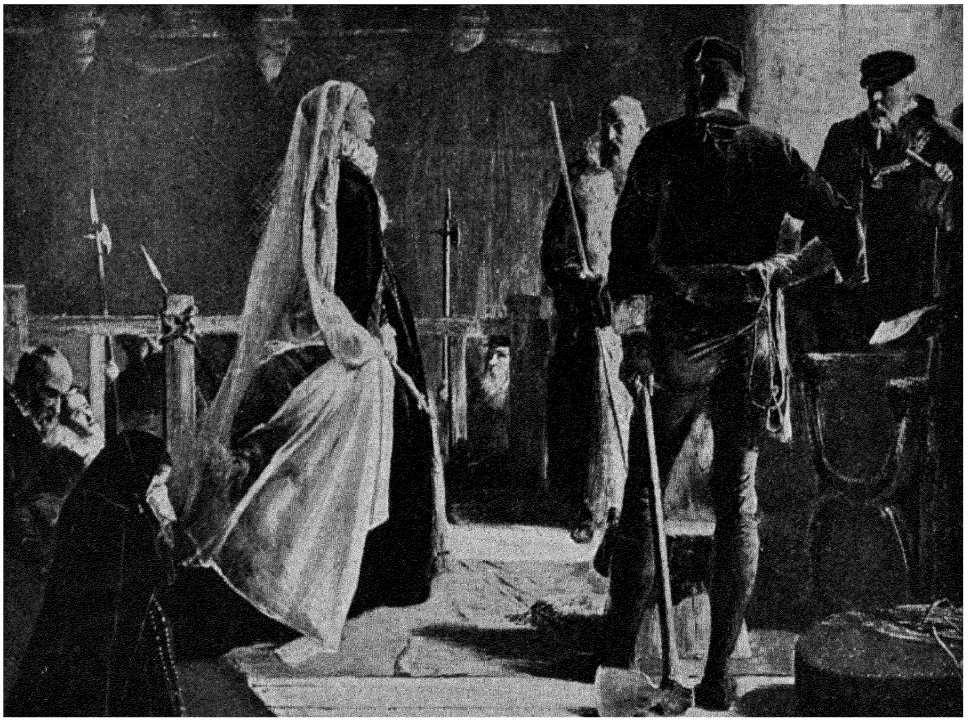
This success on the part of the king was largely due to the fact that the lay magnates supported him in the desire to check the domination of the Presbyterian ministers. His son, however, succeeded in alienating the magnates, and when he attempted to impose high Anglican forms on the composite Scottish Church, opposition assumed the proportions of rebellion. The great mass of Scots made haste enthusiastically to sign the National League and Covenant. In the "Bishops' War," in 1639, Charles found himself faced by a united nation, which he had no chance of coercing except by the aid of the English Parliament. Thus the attitude of Scotland forced him to bring to an end the period of absolute rule in England; and when the English Parliament met, it at once attacked the king and his Minister, Strafford, and manifested complete sympathy with the Scots. Charles found himself involved in a quarrel simultaneously with the people of each of his kingdoms.



THE LAST MOMENTS OF QUEEN MARY
From the painting by H Barraud

In both, the extreme attitude of the opposition tended to detach and drive over to the king's party men who had at first figured as leaders in the resistance to his arbitrary proceedings. Of these the most prominent in Scotland was James Graham, Marquess of Montrose. The outbreak of the civil war brought about an alliance between the Scottish Covenanters and the English Parliament, ratified in the Solemn League and Covenant at the close of 1643; the invasion of the North of England by the Scots next year paralysed the Royalist plan of campaign, and their junction with the Parliamentary troops gave decisive effect to the battle of Marston Moor. Meanwhile, however, Montrose had risen on the king's behalf against the Covenant Government, but his brilliant series of victories was closed by his defeat at Philiphaugh, three months after the battle of Naseby.

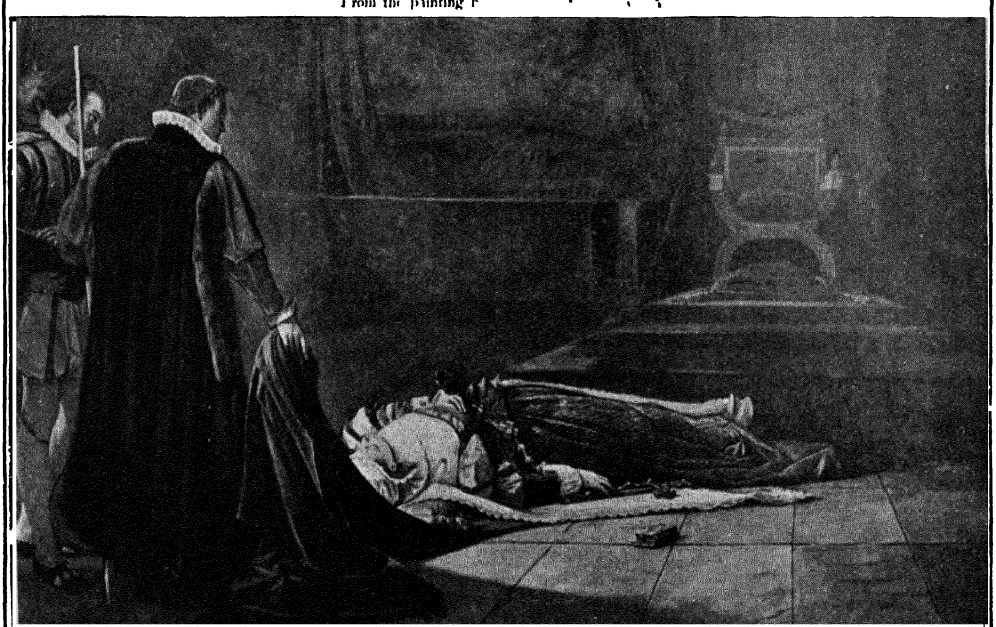
The Scots, however, dissatisfied with the ascendancy of Independency in the army of Cromwell, became lukewarm. The king elected to surrender himself to them, but when they found that there was no prospect of binding him securely by the Covenant, they handed him over to the Parliament and retired from England on receipt of the pay promised. In the subsequent fate of the king a distinct violation of the Solemn League and Covenant—the Scots had no part or lot. In a last attempt to rally Royalism to a restoration independent of the Covenant, Montrose was captured and hanged. The



THE EXECUTION OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AT FOTHERINGAY

After suffering [illegible] for [illegible] years Mary Queen of Scots was executed at Fotheringay, on February 8th, 1587, her fate being [illegible] consequence of her alleged endeavour to bring about her own freedom by the assassination of Elizabeth. Dressed as for a festival, Mary walked to the scaffold with a firm step and bravely met her fate

From the painting by [illegible]

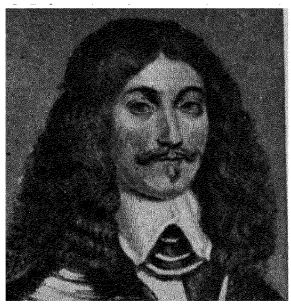


AFTER THE EXECUTION THE LAST OF THE UNHAPPY QUEEN

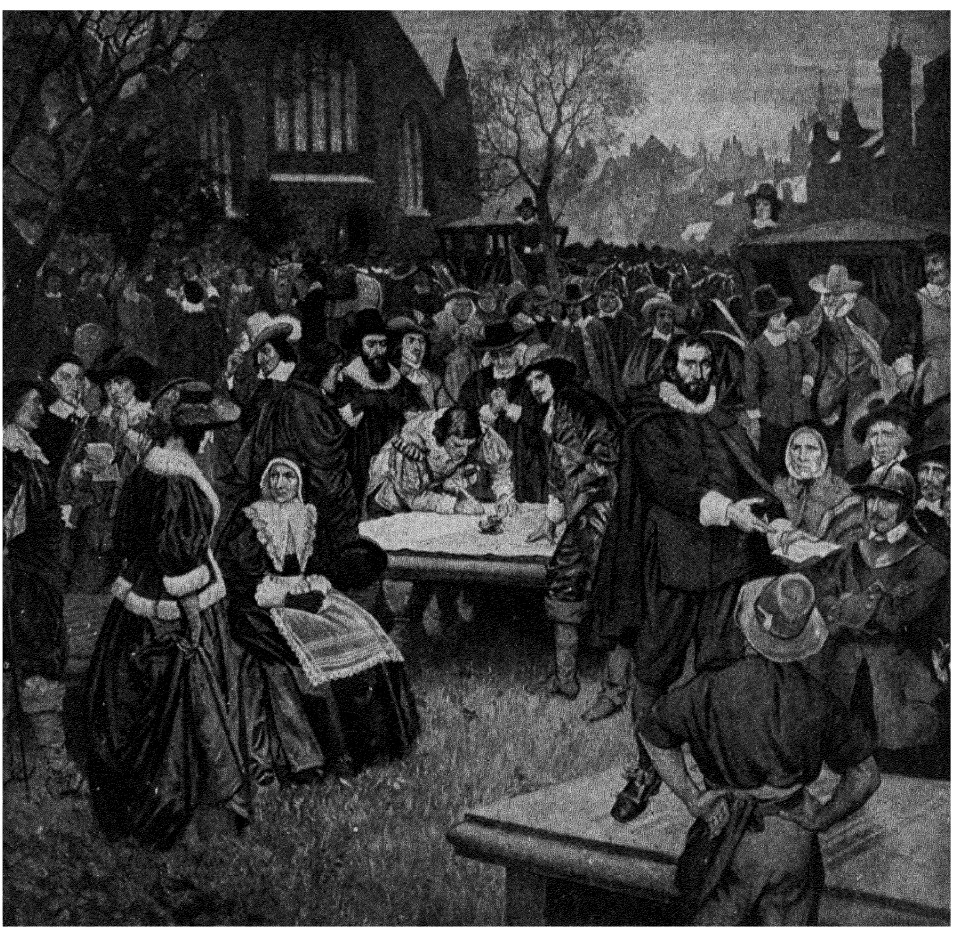
The indignation of the Scottish nation was aroused by the execution of Mary, and when Elizabeth sent an envoy to express her sorrow for the "miserable accident" King James refused to receive it. After the execution, the queen's body was covered with an old cloth as shown in the picture, and carried to an upper chamber to await the process of embalming Six months later, the remains were interred in Pe[illegible]a century afterwards, by order of James I. of England, were exhumed, taken to "[illegible]'s Chape'

From the painting by Eyre Crowe, A R A

young Charles thereupon accepted the Covenant, and was recalled to the throne of Scotland. Such a situation could not be accepted by the English Commonwealth, though there was no technical standpoint for its intervention. Cromwell marched into Scotland the ignorant zealotry of the Scottish preachers delivered David Leslie into his hands at Dunbar on September 3rd, 1650, but did not overthrow the Royalist cause. In the next year, Cromwell captured Perth, but left the route open to England. The Scots marched south with Cromwell in pursuit, and were crushed at Worcester on September 3rd, 1651. In Scotland itself parties had so broken up that Cromwell had no difficulty in imposing his own system on the country. In effect a military government was established under Monk; under the Instrument of Government, Scotland was formally incorporated with England sent her representatives to Westminster, and received equality of trading rights. This first brief incorporating union was terminated by the Restoration. But from this time it becomes unnecessary to devote separate treatment to the affairs of the northern kingdom.



MARQUESS OF MONTROSE
A leader in the Civil War, he fought against the Covenanters, gaining brilliant victories, but was defeated at Philiphaugh [illegible] Edinburgh, on [illegible]



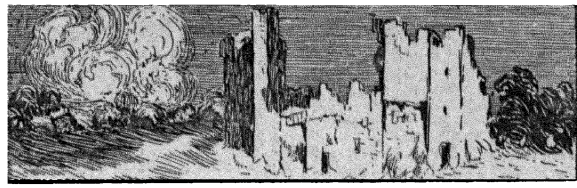
THE SIGNING OF THE NATIONAL COVENANT AT GREYFRIARS, EDINBURGH, IN 1638
From the painting by William Hole, R.S.A., in the National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, by the artist's permission



FAMILY FEUDS IN IRELAND: AN INCIDENT IN THE BATTLES BETWEEN THE FITZGERALDS AND THE BUTLERS

Adjoining each other in Ireland were the estates of the Earls of Desmond and Ormond, the heads of the Fitzgeralds and Butlers respectively, and when disputes arose between the families they were settled at the point of the sword. An incident in one of these encounters is here represented. Wounded and taken prisoner, the Earl of Desmond was being borne from the field by a body of Ormond's men when someone cried, "Where now is the great Earl of Desmond?" "In his rightful place," he fiercely replied—"on the necks of the Butlers."

From the picture by Daniel Maclise, R A.



IRELAND BEFORE THE RESTORATION

STRUGGLES AGAINST ENGLISH GOVERNMENT

ALTHOUGH Ireland formed a part of the dominions of the King of England, her history is to a considerable extent separate, only at intervals breaking in on the main current of the politics of her more powerful neighbour, which made intermittent efforts to bring her under subjection, but practically none to establish orderly rule. To Henry VII. is due the credit for attempting to improve upon the past record, by . . . . , the system of English control under Poynings' Law, and trying, by conciliatory methods, to enlist the great chiefs on the side of the government.

At the close of Henry's reign, the great Earl of Kildare was virtually the ruler of Ireland. But on his death, his son, who succeeded him in the office of deputy, lacked the capacity his father had shown, and disorder soon broke out again. The theory that every chief might do what was right in his own eyes was too deeply ingrained to be held in check except by a very vigorous personality. The Earl of Surrey, heir and successor to the title of Norfolk, was sent over by Henry VIII. and Wolsey to report, and pronounced that the only way to establish order was to provide a competent force of not less than 6,000 men, and enforce English law. The king and his Minister were disinclined to this course, while a continued policy of conciliation appeared only to convince the chiefs that they could go their own way.

Rebellion of "Silken Thomas"

However, when Kildare was summoned to England and sent to the Tower, his son, known as Silken Thomas, raised a rebellion. Henry was occupied with his ecclesiastical reconstruction. The revolt was dealt with at first feebly, but was finally suppressed by Lord Leonard Grey. He, however, being appointed deputy, returned to the policy of governing through the Irish chiefs; but in doing so, he displayed a partisanship for particular families which made the effect the reverse of conciliatory. He was recalled and, incidentally, executed. His successor, Anthony St. Leger, was more successful, because more tactful. But since, after some years of comparative tranquillity, the chiefs showed signs of being tired of good behaviour, he was recalled by Protector Somerset, and Sir Edward Bellingham tried resolute government again. His severities restored order but intensified the native aversion to English rule, which was never continuously effective outside the English Pale. Yet, although after Bellingham, the distracted state of England would have made organised defiance of her rule comparatively easy, the capacity for organised co-operation was what the Irish chiefs lacked.

The Severe Measures of Bellingham

The reign of Elizabeth twice saw the English domination seriously threatened as it never had been in the past, each time by the head of the O'Neills of Ulster. During Elizabeth's early years, Shan O'Neill was recognised by the Irish as "The O'Neill," the head of the clan, though another scion of the family was recognised by the government as Earl of Tyrone. Shan made himself practically master of Ulster; the efforts of the deputy, Sussex, to coerce him were entirely unsuccessful. Shan ruled with an unscrupulous rigour which crushed rivalry, but with an administrative capacity which gave the farming population a greater sense of security than they enjoyed within the Pale itself. He even began intrigues which point to a serious design of challenging the English dominion and posing as a Catholic champion, but his career was cut short in a brawl. There was no one to take his place, no one capable of making himself the recognised chief of the Irish people, though he had brought the idea of throwing off the English yoke altogether into the range of national ambitions. And soon both Philip of Spain and the Pope began to awaken to the idea that Ireland might be

The National Champion Dies in a Brawl

worked as a basis for operations against the heretic Queen of England, while native hostility to the English was greatly increased by experiments in planting English settlers both in the south and in the north on lands whose native owners held them by titles in which English lawyers found a flaw. The gentlemen of Devon were about as little disposed to recognise the Irish as men and brothers as were the Spaniards to view the "Indians" in that light. Treated as savages, the Irish, not unnaturally, accepted the rôle, and in 1580 the ugly rebellion known as Desmond's broke out in the south, in which English and Irish vied with each other in what the English themselves would have accounted atrocities anywhere else. The rebellion was finally stamped out with merciless severity, and "order reigned in Warsaw."

The Irish Treated as Savages

By this time, English dominion and English garrisons had extended into every quarter of Ireland; but Elizabeth's policy of parsimony was nowhere so disastrous, because it kept the troops insufficient in quantity and vile in quality. Still, even the coming of the Armada found Ireland incapable of creating a diversion. It remained for Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone in the last years of Elizabeth, to organise rebellion with a skill exceeding that of Shan. Ireland was thoroughly establishing itself as the grave of English reputations. Tyrone drew rivals to his side, and was consistently able to justify his own proceedings, and to prove breaches of faith on the part of the English authorities until the time came for open rebellion. Success attended his arms; Essex, sent to suppress him with a force enormously superior to any which had been previously employed, fared no better than his predecessors. But no efficient foreign aid was forthcoming; even Tyrone had failed to accomplish a real union of the Irish chiefs, and the rebellion was at last broken by Mountjoy. Tyrone was admitted to the Queen's grace, but early in the next reign he withdrew from Ireland, and active resistance to the English rule was terminated for a long period. It fell to King James I. to complete the Elizabethan process of extending the direct control of England and the English system throughout the country, still largely by the same method of planting colonists. To this period belongs the introduction of the strong Scottish element in Ulster.

Submission to the English Rule

When Wentworth appeared in Ireland in the next reign, it was his primary aim to establish the royal power there in a form which would be a menace to any popular opposition to arbitrary government in England. Wentworth made his Irish parliaments as subservient as those of Thomas Cromwell had been in England a hundred years before. But he also enforced his law with a complete disregard for personal interests; and his justice, however arbitrary in method, was even-handed. Also he was vigorous in his encouragement of native industries, and material prosperity made manifest progress under his rule.

But Wentworth was summoned to try and save his master in England, and to meet his own doom. When the iron hand was withdrawn, there was first a sudden and appalling uprising of the dispossessed Irish against the English settlers in the north, then a rising of the Englishry in the Pale, who were for the most part Catholics—explained by the attitude of the Puritan parliament at Westminster. Civil war broke out in England, and the combinations of parties in Ireland became chaotic, with the insurgent groups claiming to be Royalist, and the Puritan element finding itself friendless. Hence the first measure of the Commonwealth, when the King's head had been cut off, was to despatch Cromwell to subjugate Ireland. The work was accomplished with swift and ruthless severity. Ireton was left to give the finishing touches, and a fresh plantation of Puritan soldiery intensified the Puritan characteristics of the northern province.

Cromwell's Iron Hand in Ireland

As with Scotland, so with Ireland, Cromwell established a temporary legislative union, though the Irish "representatives" represented only the fraction of the population which the Cromwellian conquest recognised as loyal. And as with Scotland so again with Ireland, the Restoration brought a return to the old order.



THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES

THE REFORMATION IN DENMARK AND NORWAY

THE temporary union of the three Scandinavian kingdoms under one crown was brought to an end, as we have seen, by the Swedish revolt which followed the Stockholm massacre of 1520, perpetrated by Christian II. of the Oldenburg house. Sweden broke away from the union to follow its own course. Norway remained under the Danish monarchy, and claims no separate treatment before the end of the eighteenth century. Thus, for the present, we have to trace Scandinavian history while it flows in two channels—those of the Danish and Swedish kingdoms. In the present chapter we shall follow the fortunes, first of Denmark, and then of Sweden, down to the middle of the seventeenth century.

During the rule of the three first Oldenburg kings the power of the Danish crown, which had been consolidated by Waldemar IV. and Margaret, was growing weaker, though its dominion had been extended by the attachment to it of the duchy of Schleswig and the county of Holstein, which had fallen to Christian I. by election.

The Weakening Power of the Danish Crown

The Danehof ceased to exist, and its place was taken by the Rigsraad, or council of state, an independent body whose consent the king was forced to obtain in important matters. Through the medium of the Rigsraad which had developed out of the royal council, and whose most important members were the Drost—later the Lord High Steward—the Marsk, the Chancellor, and the Bishops, the nobles increased their power by making use of the conditions imposed on the kings at each election to increase their privileges. None but nobles were allowed to administer the fiefs, or the administrative districts, the revenues of which most of them enjoyed in return for military service and money payments to the crown. They were exempt from taxation and had considerable power over the peasantry, while their only duty was the defence of the country. At the same time, the position of the peasantry deteriorated, and the number of peasant owners of "odal" (allodial) land steadily decreased. The majority of the peasantry were tenants who were in some districts, such as Zealand, Lolland, and Falster, tied to the soil; they were bound to pay to their overlords various dues—fines on succession and land tax—and in addition to render labour service. The towns fared better, for the kings recognised that the privileges enjoyed by the Hanseatic League were injurious to the Danish merchants, and therefore, without exception, did all in their power to put an end to the supremacy of the League; they curtailed its privileges, concluded commercial alliances with the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and France, and created a navy with which they hoped to secure the mastery of the North Sea and the Baltic.

The Naval Ambitions of the Kings

The last Union king, Christian II., was especially solicitous for the welfare of the townsfolk and the peasantry. He was a gifted, enlightened, and energetic ruler, but at the same time passionate, inconsiderate, and suspicious, and frequently revengeful and cruel. From his youth onwards he hated the nobility and the higher clergy, whose power he constantly endeavoured to diminish. To the conditions on which he was elected king he paid no heed, for he aimed, like the other European sovereigns of his time, at making his own power absolute. In his struggle with the ruling classes he relied on the support of the commonalty, for whom he always entertained a special preference, and whose position he improved by numerous laws. In consequence he was

Christian II. Aims at Absolute Power



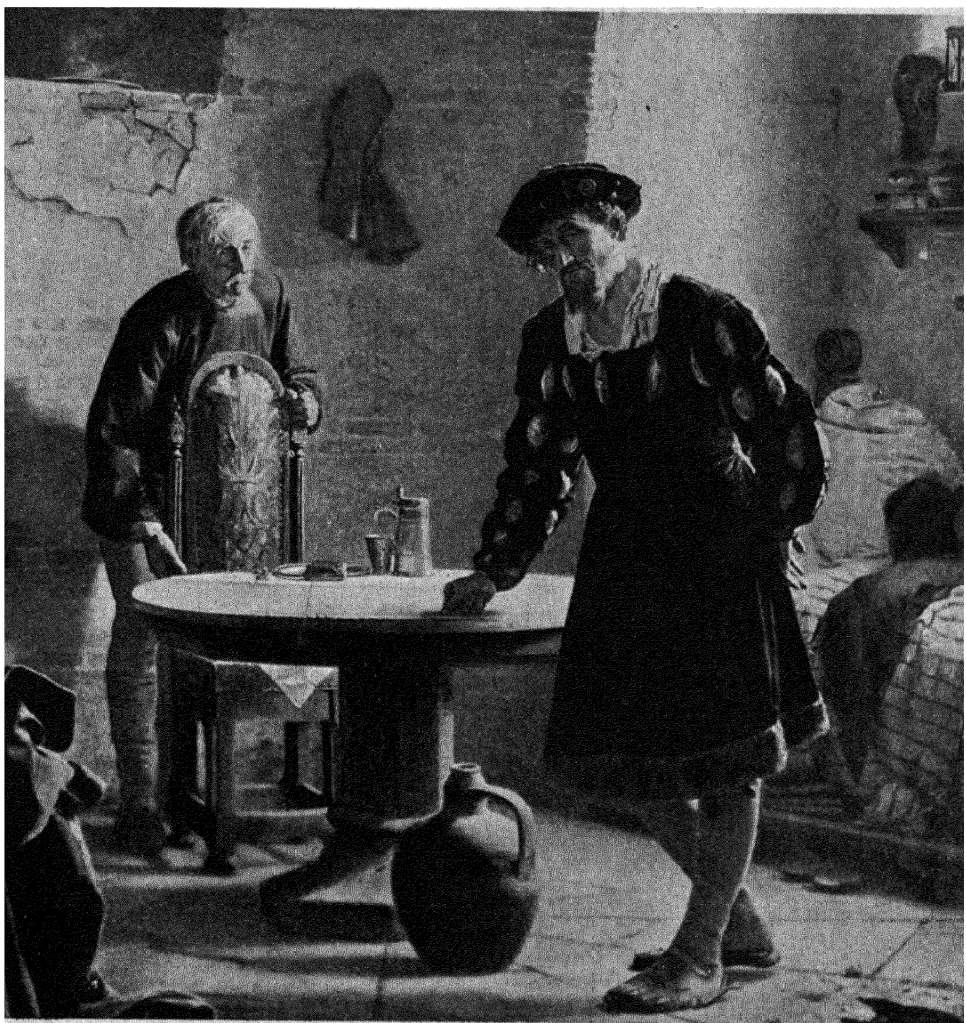
SIX KINGS OF DENMARK AND NORWAY

loved by them, while the nobles, on the contrary, feared and hated him to such an extent that they at last renounced their allegiance and offered the crown to his uncle, Frederic of Holstein-Gottorp. Losing heart, Christian took ship to the Netherlands in April, 1523, to claim the assistance of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Charles V. Eight years later, towards the end of 1531, he made an attempt, with Norway as his base, to recover his throne, but without success, and died a prisoner in the castle of Kollundborg on January 25th, 1559.

On Christian's deposition his laws were repealed; the nobility regained their ancient rights, and the new king was forced to give his promise to the clergy to protect the Church from heresy, for even in Christian's reign the Reformation had penetrated into Denmark, and he himself, whose mother was the sister of Frederic the Wise of Saxony, had for a time been favourably disposed towards the new doctrine. It continually gained new adherents, especially in the towns, for in Denmark, as elsewhere, the papal authority was on the wane, and the clergy were despised for their ignorance and immorality. Frederic I. did not fail to perceive the progress made by the new teaching; but, contrary to his promises, he did nothing to arrest it, while many of the nobility regarded it with favour, in the hope of enriching themselves at the expense of the clergy. Thus, as the Catholic Church was at that time almost without capable defenders, the resistance attempted by the prelates was in vain.

Such was the condition of affairs when Frederic I. died, in 1533. When the magnates met together to elect the new king, a unanimous choice proved to be impossible. The nobility were in favour of Frederic's eldest son Christian, but as he was known to be a zealous Lutheran the bishops opposed his election. In the meantime the burgesses and peasantry had taken up arms for the purpose of restoring their old king, Christian II., and they were supported by the city of Lubeck, whose burgomaster Jurgen Wullenweber, hoped to re-establish his city's former power. In the struggle that ensued victory was at first inclined to the side of Christian's supporters and their allies

from Lubeck, after whose general, Count Christopher of Oldenburg, this war has been named the "Count's War." Almost the whole of Denmark submitted to Count Christopher, who accepted homage in all directions in the name of Christian II. In this extremity the bishops were forced to give way, and Christian III. was chosen as king. Soon after the fortune of war turned; the forces of Lubeck were defeated both on land and on sea, and within a short time Christian III. was master of all Denmark in 1536. Norway, too, which had supported the party of Christian II, was compelled to submit, and remained united to Denmark from that time till 1814. In this war the burgesses and the peasantry suffered a defeat from which the latter especially took long to recover. It ended Lubeck's rôle as the chief power in the north and another result of it was that the Reformation won the day in Denmark and Norway. At a meeting of the Rigsraad or parliament, to which representatives of the nobles the burgesses, and the peasantry were summoned, the Catholic Church was abolished in 1536, Lutheranism and the Protestant form of Church government were introduced, the king was made supreme head of the Church,



KING CHRISTIAN II. A PRISONER IN THE CASTLE OF KOLLUNDBORG

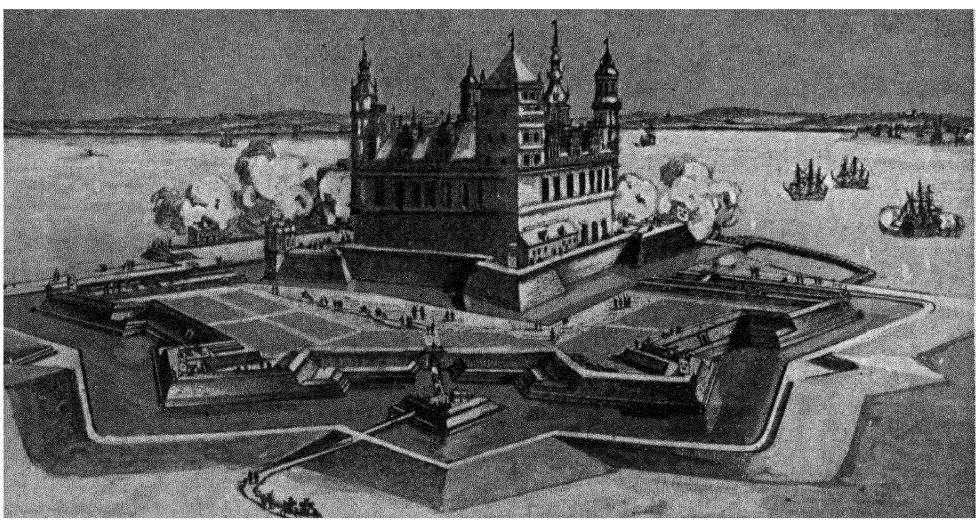
Christian II., the last Union king, was a gifted and enlightened ruler, and showed much solicitude for the townsfolk and the peasantry. Hating the nobles and the higher clergy, he was in constant conflict with them, and at last they renounced their allegiance and offered the crown to the king's uncle, Frederic of Holstein-Gottorp. In 1531, Christian attempted to recover his throne, but was unsuccessful, and died a prisoner in the castle of Kollundborg in 1559.

From the painting by Carl Bloch

and the possessions of the bishops and monasteries were confiscated, thus enormously increasing the crown revenues The position of the Church and the clergy thus underwent a complete change. The bishops lost their seats in the Rigsraad, and as a consequence, their political influence, besides being deprived of their estates. The episcopal office, having lost many of its previous attractions, was no longer an object of desire to the nobility, and came to be filled by men of lower birth. The bishops were chosen by the priests, and the priests by their parishioners, though some livings remained in the gift of the crown or of the nobles, to whom the churches belonged. The nobles, like the king, though to a less degree, profited by the confiscation of the monastic estates. They now strove to consolidate their scattered possessions, and, their importance as a military class having ended with the introduction of the new methods of warfare, settled on their estates as landed proprietors. Many of them entered the service of the state, and some engaged, not without success, in the pursuit of science.

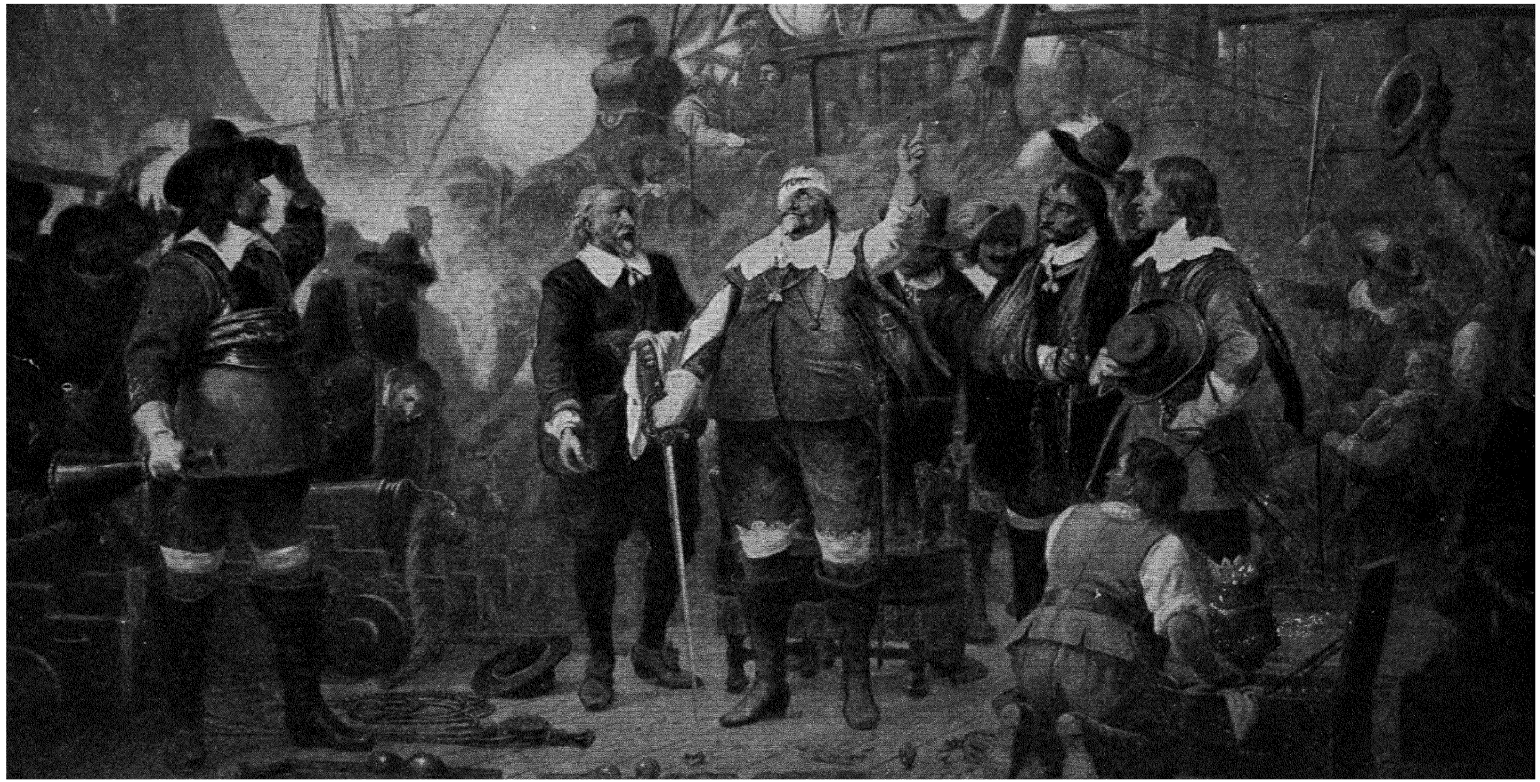
In Denmark, as elsewhere, the Reformation supplied the first impulse to the rapid growth of a vernacular literature. Except during the reigns of the Waldemars, there had been but little literary activity throughout the Middle Ages, and the majority of the works produced were written in Latin. Old legends and poems, it is true, were handed down by means of oral tradition, and a vigorous popular poetry grew up; but it, too, lived only orally among the common people. There was, in fact, no national literature until the foundations for one had been laid during the Reformation period.

The father of Danish literature was Christian Pedersen, who raised his mother tongue to the level of a literary language by his translation of the Bible and other works. He died in 1554. The literature of this period is, in the main, of a religious character; the poems are hymns, for the most part translated from German or Latin originals. The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which Christian III. had inherited from his father, he shared with his brothers, one of whom, Adolphus, was the founder of the Gottorp line of dukes, who later endeavoured to make themselves independent sovereigns, and frequently allied themselves to that end with Denmark's enemies, more especially with Sweden. Frederic I. and Christian III. had peaceful relations with the Swedes; but after the latter's death, in 1559, disputes soon arose, and resulted in the Scandinavian Seven Years War (1563-1570). Christian's son, Frederic II., wished to renew the Union of Kalmar, and had, moreover, come into conflict with the Swedish king. Eric XIV., over the Baltic provinces; for the Order of the Sword was in process of dissolution—a fact of which Sweden, Russia, Poland,



THE CASTLE OF KRONBERG AFTER ITS RESTORATION IN 1659

Built between 1574 and 1585 by the Danish King Frederic II., the castle of Kronberg in Seeland was besieged in 1658 by the Swedes under Karl Gustav Wrangel, and conquered after an attack lasting for two weeks. The above illustration shows the castle with its fortifications, after its restoration, in 1659, by the Swede, Erich Dahlberg



DENMARK'S HEROIC KING, CHRISTIAN IV, FIGHTING AGAINST THE SWEDES ON HIS SHIP, "THE TRINITY"

Against the Swedish attacks upon Denmark, the Danish King Christian IV. fought with wonderful courage, and though sixty-seven years of age at the time when the incident pictured above took place, he was ceaseless in his efforts against the foe On July 1st, 1644, Christian with thirty ships was opposed by the Swedish fleet consisting of forty-six vessels. In the course of the fight the king, already wounded, was struck by flying splinters, losing his right eye and several teeth He fell unconscious to the deck of his ship, "The Trinity," and the crew, thinking him to be dead, uttered lamentable cries, but the brave old king, with the blood flowing from his wounds, suddenly raised himself and cried "No! God has still spared me life and strength to fight for my country, while each of you does his duty" Then, with bandaged head, he resumed the fight till the enemy retired at nightfall.

From the painting by W Marstrand

and Denmark wished to avail themselves in order to seize the possessions of the order for themselves. But Frederic failed to achieve his purpose, and at the Peace of Stettin had to be content with a money indemnity. This war, carried on with great inhumanity by both sides, had, however, a lasting and unfortunate result; it aroused once more among the Scandinavian peoples a mutual hatred that was constantly kept alive by new feuds.

Denmark Respected by all Europe

After the war Frederic gave up his schemes of conquest and devoted himself to works of peace. In these he was successful, and during the later years of his reign Denmark enjoyed the respect of all Europe. The fortress of Kronberg was built during the years 1574 to 1585, to command the entrance to the Sound, and the Danish king was looked on as the ruler of the northern seas. But Denmark was not able to maintain this supremacy for long, since even under Frederic's son, Christian IV. (1588–1648), it began to decline.

Christian had the advantage of a careful education, and was especially well versed in mathematics and technical sciences; he was, moreover, intelligent and an untiring worker, taking a personal interest in affairs of all kinds, and incessantly striving to promote the weal and increase the power of his two kingdoms. He improved the administration of justice, assisted the schools, kept the fleet in a thoroughly effective condition, raised, in addition, a standing army, and in various ways fostered commerce and shipping, manufacture and mining. He founded towns in both Denmark and Norway, and improved Copenhagen by the erection of a number of public buildings in the style of the Dutch renaissance. He built factories, founded trade societies, acquired colonies, patronised voyages of discovery, and interested himself in Norway to a greater extent than any other sovereign of the Oldenburg line. Thus the first half of his reign was a time of prosperity for both Denmark and Norway.

An Era of National Prosperity

But Christian IV. endeavoured also to increase his own and Denmark's power by interfering in the politics of Central Europe, and in this domain he was unsuccessful. He was not himself a brilliant statesman, nor was he surrounded by capable advisers. Moreover, Denmark lacked the necessary strength to play a leading part, with the result that the wars in which he became involved, with the exception of the first, ended in disaster, in spite of his personal bravery and courage. At his death he left his kingdoms reduced in extent and devastated.

Christian's first struggle was with Sweden in 1611. Like his father, he intended to unite the three kingdoms, but though he did, indeed, succeed in occupying some portions of Sweden, he was unable to carry out his plans, and was forced to give back his conquests in return for a money indemnity in 1613. Then followed several years of peace, but in the meanwhile the Thirty Years War had broken out in Germany. When it spread to North Germany the North German Protestants sought Christian's help, and he was elected chief of the circle of Lower Saxony. He had been waiting for an opportunity to make his influence felt in Germany and took the field in 1625; but being completely defeated by Tilly at Lutter, near the Barenberg, on August 27th, 1626, he was forced to withdraw into Denmark. The imperial troops followed in pursuit and overran the peninsula of Jutland, which they laid waste without mercy, but were prevented by the Danish fleet from gaining a footing on the islands.

The Swedes as Defenders of Protestantism

Disappointed in his expectations of help from England and the Netherlands, Christian decided to make peace with the invaders, the more readily as the emperor, being anxious to keep him from an alliance with Sweden, offered favourable terms. The conquered provinces were restored to him at Lübeck on May 12th, 1629; but he was forced to promise that he would not further interfere.

When, later on, the Swedes gained their brilliant successes as defenders of German Protestantism, Christian was roused by jealousy to hamper them by every means in his power. The Swedish government determined to retaliate by attacking Denmark, and in 1643 one Swedish army entered Holstein, though war had not been declared, while another invaded Scania. At the same time the Netherlands, exasperated by the raising of the tolls levied in the Sound and by Christian's claim to supremacy in the North Atlantic, despatched a fleet to the help of the Swedes. Christian's courage and resolution did, indeed, save Denmark from complete humiliation, but

at the Peace of Brömsebro on August 23rd, 1645, he had to surrend 1 Halland, Oesel, Gothland, Herjedalen, and Jemtland to Sweden. In addition tolls were no longer to be levied on Swedish vessels passing through the Sound, and the toll to be paid by Dutch vessels was reduced — a serious loss of revenue. Three years later, on February 28th, 1648, Christian died. His want of success was no doubt chiefly due to himself; but much of the blame must be laid upon the nobles. Their selfish conduct embittered the other classes of the population and was destined before long to bring about their fall. During the later years of Christian IV.'s reign his sons-in-law, especially the Lord High Steward, Korsitz Ulfeldt, exercised the greatest influence on the government. On the death of the good king he aimed at securing the chief power for himself and the Rigsraad, and Christian's son, Frederic III. (1648-1670), was compelled, before being elected, to accept conditions which deprived him of all power. He was determined, however, to break the bonds that held him, and, first of all, to rid himself of Ulfeldt. By his arrogant behaviour the latter had aroused the enmity of the nobles; complaints were brought against him, and inquiries into his administration were instituted. Deeply offended, he did not await the result, but left Denmark in 1651 and betook himself first to Holland and then to Sweden, whose government he attempted to incite against Denmark. In this he was not successful; but he had not long to wait for a rupture between the two states, and with it his opportunity to revenge himself on his country and Frederic. Charles X. Gustavus of Sweden was at this time campaigning in Poland, where his position was critical. Frederic thought that he could take advantage of these circumstances to regain the lost provinces, and was foolish enough to fling down the gauntlet to Sweden. On receiving the declaration of war Charles immediately left Poland in the summer of 1657, hastened by forced marches to Denmark, and occupied, almost unopposed, the whole peninsula, where he was joined by his father-in-law, the Duke of Gottorp. Then followed a severe winter. The Great and Little Belts froze, and in February, 1658, he was able to march across the ice with his troops into Zealand. No provision had been made for the defence of the island, and the Swedes advanced on Copenhagen. Frederic had thus no alternative but to sue for peace, which was concluded at Roskilde on March 8th, 1658. Denmark lost all her possessions east of the Sound—Scania, Halland, Blekinge—as well as the island of Bornholm. Norway had to give up Trondhjems Len district and Bohuslen, and the Duke of Gottorp was released from vassalage to the Danish crown. Before long Charles regretted that he had not acquired the whole of Denmark. He soon found a pretext for renewing the war, and again advanced on Copenhagen in the summer of the same year. But meanwhile the citizens had made use of the time to place the capital in a state of defence. Encouraged by the example of the king and the queen, the high-spirited Sophia Amalia of Brunswick they defended themselves heroically against the Swedish attacks. After an ineffectual attempt to storm the city Charles was obliged to raise the siege in 1659. He was also unfortunate in other directions; the people of Trondhjem and Bornholm drove out the Swedes, while they were expelled from Jutland by an army sent to the help of the Danes by Poland and Brandenburg. Charles proposed to recompense himself for his losses by the conquest of Norway, but died suddenly on February 23rd, 1660.



QUEEN SOPHIA AMALIA
She was the queen of King Frederic, who reigned from 1648 till 1670, and set a splendid example during the Swedish attacks, encouraging the people to a successful defence.

Denmark's Challenge to Sweden

The Lost Possessions of Denmark

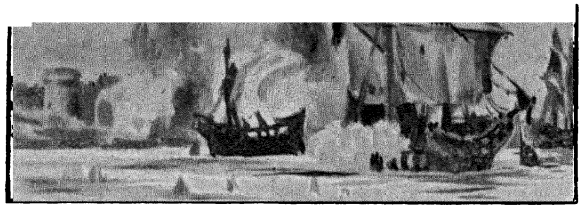
Peace was then concluded at Copenhagen on May 27th through the good offices of England and Holland, Trondhjems Len and Bornholm being restored to Denmark. In all other essential respects the terms of the Peace of Roskilde were retained, the two maritime powers being unwilling that both sides of the Sound should be in the possession of one and the same state.



THE SWEDISH KING GUSTAVUS ERIKSSON REBUKING HIS PEOPLE FOR THEIR DRUNKENNESS

Gustavus Eriksson, the deliverer of the Swedes, was crowned king in 1523, and immediately began to elevate his country. Displeased at the intemperate habits of the people, he made a bold stand for better living, the above picture illustrating an incident in this crusade, when the king with his sword burst a barrel of liquor and allowed its contents to be destroyed.

From the painting by Geskel Saloman



SWEDEN UNDER THE VASAS

THE GREAT REIGN OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

IN Sweden, the Stockholm massacre of 1520 had produced a result precisely the opposite to that at which King Christian II. had aimed, for, at the instigation of the youthful Gustavus Eriksson Vasa, a nobleman who had escaped from the massacre, the Dalkarlar—the inhabitants of the province of Dalarna—revolted in 1521. The Danes were driven out and the Swedes elected their deliverer, Gustavus, as their king, on June 6th, 1523. In this way Sweden was freed from Danish domination.

From without there was no immediate cause for fear, a fact which emphasises the painful contrast afforded by the internal condition of the country. Continuous warfare and strife had put an end to order and undermined all respect for the laws, so that every man did as he pleased. The administration was in confusion, the Church in a state of decay, and the country impoverished; commerce and manufactures languished. Since the demesnes of the crown had been given away as fiefs, there was hardly any revenue, and at the same time the crown was heavily in debt to the Hanseatic towns, to which it accordingly was obliged to grant important commercial privileges. Strength and ability were necessary to restore the country to its former position.

Sweden in a State of Decay

Gustavus' first and most important task was the adjustment of finance. In order to increase both the public revenue and his own power he attached himself to the Lutheran Reformation; the new doctrine was introduced at two successive R[illegible] at Westeras, in 1527 and 1544. The king was made supreme head of the Church, and had the disposal of the confiscated revenues of the bishops, the churches, and the monasteries. The bishops were compelled to deliver up their castles to him, and were excluded from the Council of State; the clergy were no longer equal in rank to the nobility, but were placed on a level with the burghers and peasants. Gustavus was enabled by the large funds which were at his disposal through the confiscation of Church lands to maintain a standing army and to build a strong fleet with which the Swedes were able not only to defend their coasts, but also to become masters of the Baltic. The king worked indefatigably for the welfare of the lower classes, so that old branches of industry were revived. In this, as in everything else, the king took the lead, and thus set the people a good example. He busied himself with agriculture, mining and commerce, and in order to promote industrial pursuits, invited mechanics and artisans of other nationalities into the country. The first thing necessary for the furtherance of trade was the overthrow of the power of Lubeck. The commercial privileges of this city had been greatly restricted by the "War of the Counts," in which Gustavus allied himself with the party of Christian III.

The Swedes Masters of the Baltic

The Swedes began to transact business with other countries, including England, France, Spain, and the trade with Lubeck gradually ceased. Thus, on every side Sweden was [illegible] her former prosperity. Although Gustavus often acted with severity and arbitrariness, and the people were burdened with heavy taxes, his work was still appreciated. In the imperial diet of 1544 it was decided by the Estates that the crown should descend to his male heirs according to the law of primogeniture, while the younger sons should receive appanages. Gustavus was very cautious in his foreign policy; he took little part in the complications in which Central Europe was then involved, and his constant aim was to preserve peace in the north. This cautious policy was not followed by his son Erik XIV., who succeeded him in 1560; he wished to make conquests.

Erik XIV. Succeeds Gustavus

When the Order of the Knights of the Sword was abolished, Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark contended for the land of the order—Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland. In consequence of this there was war for almost a hundred years; by this war Sweden gained the supremacy of the Baltic provinces with the exception of Courland. War broke out in the year 1561, when Reval, together with the knights of North Esthonia submitted to King Erik; Swedish troops took possession of the castle of Reval, and the Poles, who wished to strengthen their power in the Baltic provinces, attempted in vain to drive out the Swedes. At the same time war broke out with Denmark. This war lasted from 1563 to 1570, and is called "The Northern Seven Years War."

The King Deposed by his Brothers

While this war was raging Erik was deposed by his brothers John and Charles, who both hated and feared him, and John III. ascended the throne (1568-1592). John, who was weak and irresolute, but at the same time violent and despotic, married the Catholic princess Katharina Jagellon of Poland. By her influence he became favourably disposed to Catholicism. He completed a new liturgy, "The Red Book," in 1576, in which several Catholic ecclesiastical rites and a portion of the Latin Mass were introduced. In 1578 he seriously considered the question of embracing the Roman Catholic religion.

However, as his wife died in 1583, and he could not agree with the Curia about the church service, his zeal for Catholicism abated, although during his lifetime he adhered to his liturgy. His son Sigismund, who was educated as a Catholic, became king of Poland in 1587 as Sigismund III., and he was in Poland when his father died in 1592. During his absence the country was governed by his father's brother Charles, Duke of Södermanland, and the royal council. Charles was a zealous Protestant, and had opposed the introduction of the liturgy into his duchy. An assembly of the Estates was summoned to Upsala, where the Protestant confession of faith was adopted and the liturgy abolished in 1593. At the end of this year Sigismund came to Stockholm. Before being crowned he was compelled to confirm the decree of Upsala with an oath, on February 19th, 1594, which, however, he did not keep. He appointed Catholic priests and officials, and then returned to Poland. The people refused to obey those who had been set in authority by Sigismund, and elected Duke Charles as vice-regent in 1595.

Sigismund Breaks His Oath

Sigismund landed with a Polish army in Sweden, and several councillors and other nobles attached themselves to him; he was, however, defeated by Charles at Stangebro, September 25th, and left the country, which he was destined never to see again. The National Assembly pronounced his deposition, in 1599, and appointed Charles as ruling hereditary prince. Some years later Charles was made king, and the right of succession was agreed to.

Charles IX. (1604–1611) took strong measures against Sigismund's friends, many of whom were beheaded and still more outlawed. Through this severity, however, he secured peace in the kingdom, and was thus enabled to devote himself to the improvement of the state of the nation, which had been becoming worse and worse under the bad government of his brothers and his nephew. Charles followed in the footsteps of his father. His brothers had shown marked favour to the nobles, Erik had laid the foundation of a superior nobility by creating the titles of count and baron, while John had presented the counts and barons with large, heritable fiefs, and had favoured the rest of the nobles by granting them various privileges. Charles, on the contrary, was not so favourably disposed to the nobility, but relied more on the lower classes. On this account he was nicknamed "the peasants' king" by the nobles.

Charles "the Peasants' King"

The Estates were summoned for the first time by Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson, and obtained greater influence in the administration, which was better regulated than previously, while the power of the council decreased. Reforms were instituted in the law-courts and in the army, finance was regulated, education was improved, and the University of Upsala, which had been founded by Sten Sture the Elder, and which, up till then, had dragged on a miserable existence, was restored. Trade revived and new towns, among them Gödeborg, were founded. During the whole of his reign Charles was at war with his neighbours. The dethronement of Sigismund occasioned war with Poland in 1600, which was carried

on with varying fortune in Esthonia and Livonia. At the same time Charles was implicated in the civil war in Russia in 1609 with tolerable success. Finally, war broke out also with Denmark in 1611 —the Kalmar war. Charles died on November 9th.

Gustavus II. Adolphus (1611–1632), who was born on December 19th, 1594, was richly endowed both bodily and mentally. He was by nature noble and upright, and possessed the power of self-control and of leading others; he had a keen intellect, and could express himself briefly and



SIX KINGS OF SWEDEN FROM THE YEAR 1523 TILL 1660

forcibly both in speech and writing. He had received a thorough education in ancient and modern languages in history, military science, and in all knightly accomplishments. At an early age his father confided state affairs to him. Whenever Charles could not complete an undertaking and had to rest satisfied with the preparations, he was accustomed to say: "Ille faciet" (He will do it). Gustavus did not disappoint his father's confidence, but became equally great as a man, a statesman, and a general. The Swedes are fully justified in ranking him among the greatest sovereigns of Europe. He exercised clemency towards his father's enemies —by this, and by the favour which he showed to the nobles, he won their respect. He was also honoured by the rest of the people. Although he was restricted in the exercise of his power by the council and the Estates, his wishes were unanimously followed. Perfect harmony existed between king and people, and it was this harmony in the nation which enabled Gustavus to accomplish his great undertakings. Still, he would hardly have been able to achieve so much if he had not been surrounded by distinguished men whose merit he thoroughly appreciated. Chief among these was his chancellor and friend, the prudent, clever, and loyal Axel Oxenstierna, who helped him in all his enterprises with faithful and unwearied zeal. Next to him should be mentioned Gustavus' teacher, John Skytte, his brother-in-law, the Count Palatine John Casimir, the generals Jacob de la Gardie, Gustavus Horn, Wrangel, Banér, Torstenson, and many others. Gustavus had inherited three wars—namely, those with Poland, Russia, and

Denmark. As early as January 28th, 1613, he put an end to the war with Denmark. Peace was also soon concluded with Russia on March 9th, 1617. Sweden retained East Carelia, with Kexholm, and Ingermanland, and thus secured a safe boundary against Russia, which was cut off from the Baltic. Thus the only country with which he was still unreconciled was Poland. Since King Sigismund would not listen to overtures of peace, the war was continued till 1626, and the Swedes showed their superiority over the Poles by conquering Riga and Livonia and establishing themselves in West Prussia.

Beginning of the Thirty Years War

In the meantime the Thirty Years War had broken out. Gustavus, who had entered into friendly relations with England, Holland, and the Protestant states of Germany, conceived the plan of uniting all the Protestant powers of Europe in a great alliance against the emperor and Spain, as a means of protecting the oppressed German Protestants. He was forestalled by Christian IV., who placed himself at the head of the Protestant party and declared war against the emperor and the League. Christian's enterprises, however, were not favoured by fortune.

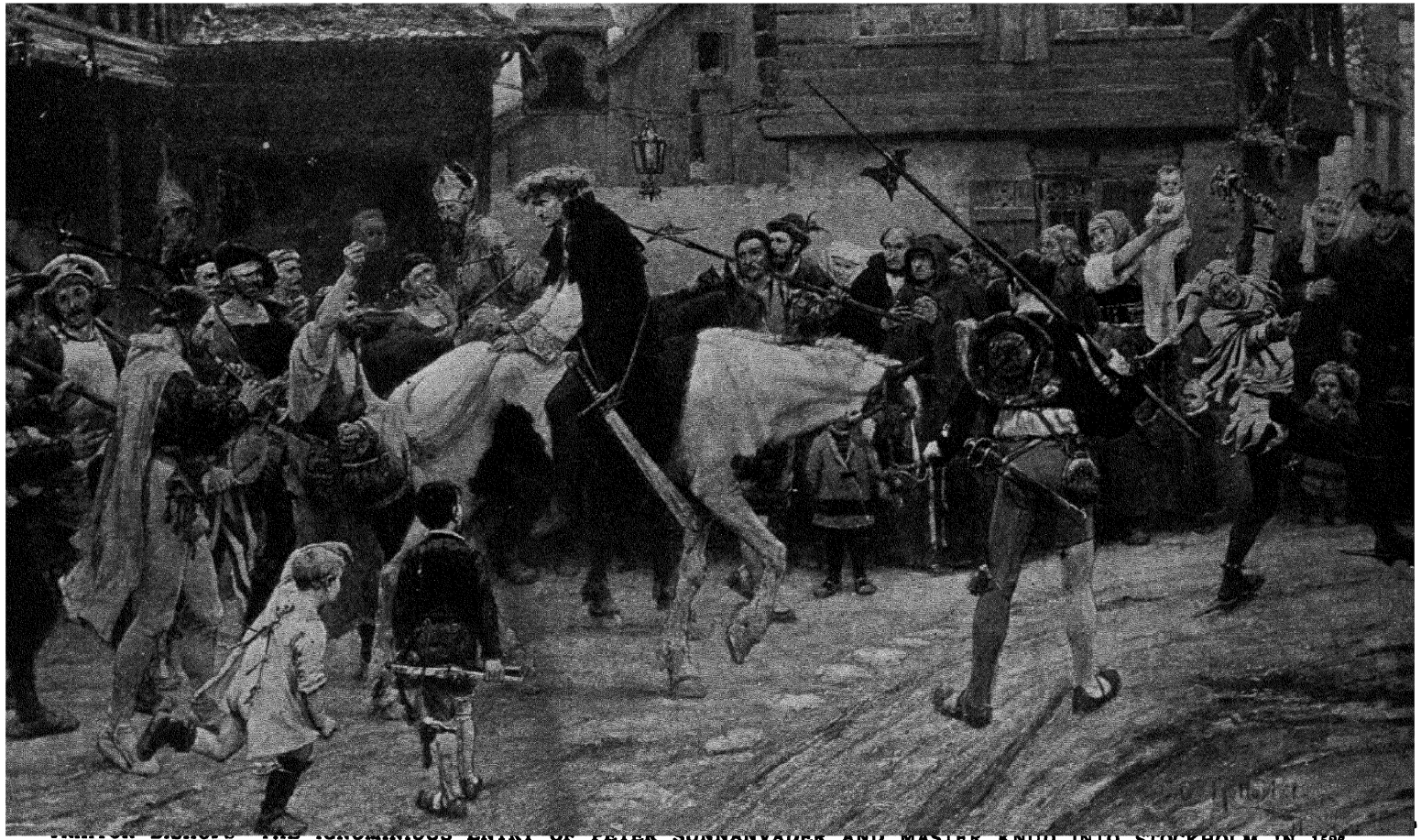
Gustavus, who recognised the danger which threatened not only Protestants but also Sweden if the emperor acquired the supremacy on the Baltic, offered his alliance to the Danish king, and declared that he was prepared to advance from Poland into Germany. The emperor, however, who wished to prevent such an alliance at all costs, promised favourable conditions to Denmark, and persuaded Christian to conclude peace in 1629. Gustavus then decided to declare war against the emperor, although he was entirely dependent on his own resources. It was first of all necessary to make terms with Poland. By the mediation of Richelieu a truce for six years was arranged on September 26th, 1629, by which Sweden retained Livonia, together with Riga and several Prussian towns. When his preparations were completed he bade a touching farewell to the Estates, to whose care he commended his daughter and heiress, as if he felt a foreboding of his death. He took ship in June, 1630, for Pomerania, where he published a manifesto in justification of his proceedings and invited the co-operation of the North German princes. He was, however, received with suspicion by them, and was compelled to force his way through the country, and therefore arrived too late to save Magdeburg, which was besieged by Tilly, in May, 1631. A few months later he gained a victory over Tilly at Breitenfeld, by which the cause of the Reformation was saved and Sweden became one of the great powers of Europe. After this battle Gustavus marched towards the Rhineland, where he allowed his army to rest for a few weeks.

Sweden's Peace with Poland

In the spring of 1632 he pressed forward to Bavaria and marched to the Lech, behind which Tilly had taken up a strong position. Gustavus forced a crossing, Tilly was mortally wounded, and the Swedish king entered Munich as a conqueror. In the meantime the emperor had appointed Wallenstein his commander-in-chief. Wallenstein collected a large army in a short space of time, and pitched his camp not far from Nuremberg, where Gustavus had taken up his position. Gustavus, who wished to free the country from the burden of war, attempted in vain to force a battle; equally fruitless were his attempts to take Wallenstein's camp by storm. At last hunger and sickness compelled both generals to break up their camps. Wallenstein went to Saxony; Gustavus, who had first advanced towards Bavaria, altered his plan and proceeded northwards by forced marches. The two armies met at Lützen on November 16th, 1632. The Swedes were victorious, but their king fell in the battle. The death of Gustavus threw the whole of Protestant Germany into deep mourning. The Emperor Ferdinand II., however, ordered a Te Deum to be sung, since with Gustavus' death the greatest danger for the Catholics had disappeared.

Catholic Joy at the Death of Gustavus

Since the accession of Gustavus, Sweden had enjoyed hardly a single year of peace, and the king himself had spent most of his time on the battlefield. He still found time, however, to continue his father's work in improving the internal condition of his country. He showed himself just as capable in this as on the battlefield, and neglected nothing which affected either the state or the people. The powers and the privileges of the National Assembly and of the council were more definitely determined, and the National Assembly, which had hitherto possessed no settled constitution, was regulated so that in



TWO SWEDISH BISHOPS: THE IGNOMINIOUS ENTRY OF PETER SUNNANVADER AND MASTER KNUD INTO STOCKHOLM IN 1526

These two Swedish bishops, unsuccessful in their rebellion against Gustavus I, sought refuge at Trondhjem. There they were betrayed to the king's servants, who, dressing them in rags and putting a crown of straw on Sunnanvader's head and a mitre of birch-bark on Knud's, mounted them on starving horses and brought them to Stockholm in a Shrovetide procession amid jeers and insults. At the market-place the unhappy bishops were compelled to drink the executioner's health and were then put to death on the wheel.

From the painting by C G Hellquist in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

future each of the four Estates of the realm should transact its own affairs. The most important class was the nobility, which also received a fixed constitution. The army, with which Gustavus, the creator of the new science of warfare, had occupied himself so much, was brought into such a state of proficiency that for a long time the Swedes enjoyed the reputation of being the best soldiers in Europe.

The Swedish Soldiers the Best in Europe

Gustavus busied himself also with the intellectual development and material welfare of his people. Schools were reformed and the University of Upsala was richly endowed. Commerce and industry were promoted, mining was improved and extended, joint-stock companies were formed, and merchants and labourers were attracted from Germany and Holland. The reign of Gustavus, however, was not entirely free from trouble, occasioned by the predominance of the nobles and the steadily increasing burden of taxation. Gustavus had always shown a marked partiality for the nobility. It is true he demanded a great deal from them, but at the same time he gave them many privileges. The highest offices in the state were reserved for nobles; they alone enjoyed [illegible] and exemption from tolls and customs. This favouritism shown to the nobles was disadvantageous to the other classes, particularly to the peasants, who groaned under an oppressive conscription and the many new taxes which the war had made necessary.



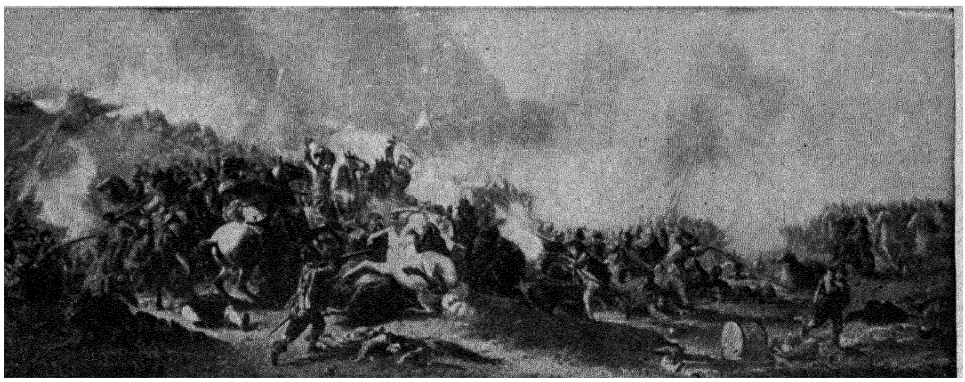
QUEEN CHRISTINA
A daughter of Gustavus Adolphus II., she ruled Sweden, at first under a regency, from 1632 until 1654, when she abdicated and went to Rome, where she died in 1689.

Gustavus bequeathed the crown to his daughter Christina (1632—1654), but as she was only six years old, a regency was appointed, at the head of which stood Axel Oxenstierna. Oxenstierna continued the work of Gustavus with vigour and sagacity, and completed the organisation of the government which had been begun by Charles IX. and Gustavus. The council, as the central point of the administration, was settled permanently at Stockholm. Executive functions were divided between five ministerial committees over which presided the five highest officers of the empire—Chancellor, "Drost" (High Steward), Treasurer, "Marsk" (Marshal), and Admiral. The country was divided up into districts, Lan, as at present, at the head of which were the "landshöfdingar"; the frontier provinces were ruled by governors-general and Stockholm by a lord-lieutenant. Every branch of industry was flourishing. Means of communication were improved and a postal service was introduced. Imports and exports increased considerably.

In order to extend facilities for international commerce the North American colony of "New Sweden"—the present state of Delaware — was founded on Delaware Bay, which was lost to the Dutch as early as 1655. The government was confronted by great difficulties on account of the scarcity of money. The public revenue was insufficient to cover the expenses, and in order to procure money various expedients, not always of a fortunate kind, were adopted; crown demesnes and crown dues were sold to the nobility, or subsidies were taken from foreign powers. A large sum of money became necessary when the regency decided on continuing the German war. An alliance was made with the Protestants in the south-west of Germany. The capable generals who had been trained by Gustavus Adolphus were able to uphold the reputation of the Swedish army. It is true they suffered a heavy defeat at Nordlingen on September 6th, 1634, and were deserted by their German allies, who concluded a separate peace with the emperor. From the critical situation in which they now found themselves they were rescued by the French, who offered their valuable assistance to the Swedes.

The Swedes now won several victories over the imperial troops, and carried on at the same time a successful war against Christian IV. of Denmark, who attempted to prevent them from advancing further into Germany, but was obliged by the Peace of Bromsebro in 1645 to cede Oesel Gotland, Halland, and the Norwegian provinces of Herjedalen and Jemtland. The war was finally concluded by the Peace of Westphalia, under the terms of which Sweden retained the whole

The Great War at an End



THE BATTLE OF NORDLINGEN IN 1634, IN WHICH THE SWEDES WERE DEFEATED

of Nearer Pomerania, with the island of Rugen, part of Further Pomerania, Wismar, and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, as temporal duchies under the suzerainty of the empire, and received a large sum of money.

Sweden had risen to the rank of a great power and had acquired considerable possessions on the Baltic. Her army had gained the reputation of being invincible; the dauntlessness and courage of the people were strengthened. At the same time, however, their morals and habits were becoming corrupt, inasmuch as peaceful occupations were despised and luxury and extravagance were increasing. The power and wealth of the upper nobility had become so great that the nobles became despotic and treated the people with arrogance and superciliousness.

During the war Christina had assumed personal control of the government in 1644. She possessed rare talents, was vivacious and witty, and her attainments, especially in history and in ancient and modern languages, were of a striking order. She had been trained in politics by Oxenstierna. She was a generous patron of literature and art; savants of other nationalities, such as Hugo Grotius and René Descartes, were always welcome at her court. On the other hand, she was capricious, vain, and fond of pleasure. She was extravagant in her use of public money, and bestowed landed property, patents of nobility, and other favours with a lavish hand on men who were not worthy of such honour. The lower classes, who were groaning under



WRANGEL SURPRISED WHILE HUNTING. AN INCIDENT IN THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

When General Lennart Torstenson relinquished his place at the head of the Swedish army, the command was given to the brave Karl Wrangel, who, in 1646, joined forces with the French General Turenne. Both armies then occupied Bavaria. While out hunting one day, as shown in the above picture, the Swedish general was surprised by Bavarian troops.

heavy taxation, complained in vain; they demanded the restitution of part of the crown lands in order to restrict the threatening power of the nobility. Extravagance increased rather than diminished; dissatisfaction spread, and a revolution was actually feared. Christina, who in the meantime had grown tired of governing, decided on June 16th, 1654, to resign the crown in favour of a distant relative, Charles Gustavus. She left her country, embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and went to live at Rome; here she died in 1689.

The Queen Resigns the Crown

Charles X. Gustavus, the son of the Count Palatine John Casimir and of Katharine, a half-sister of Gustavus Adolphus, was educated in Sweden, and was in language, ideas, and manners a Swede; he had a keen intellect and a powerful will, and was quick in decision and in action. In addition he possessed that higher education and culture which result from study and travel. He was specially distinguished as a general, for he had studied military tactics under Torstenson and had fought with distinction in the Thirty Years War. When he ascended the throne in 1654 he found the country in a most unsettled and deplorable condition. The finances were in confusion owing to Christina's extravagance, and the resources of the people had been drained by taxation. In order to increase the revenue, the Riksdag, or National Assembly, decided to confiscate the crown lands which had been given away by Christina, and in fact almost three thousand estates were seized.

These measures were, however, shortly discontinued, as the attention of the king was directed to foreign politics. His relations with Poland and Denmark were not of the most friendly kind. Since John II. Casimir of Poland, the son of Sigismund, refused to acknowledge Charles Gustavus as king of Sweden, the latter decided to declare war. He attacked Poland from Pomerania, conquered Warsaw and Cracow, received the homage of the Polish nobles, and compelled the Great Elector of Brandenburg to place the duchy of Prussia under the feudal supremacy of Sweden and to promise to furnish auxiliary troops. The idea of Charles was to divide Poland, to retain the coast provinces for himself, and thus to make the Baltic a Swedish lake. His great success had, however, raised up for him many enemies; Holland and Austria were inciting Denmark and Russia to war. The Poles rebelled; their king returned from exile, and although Charles Gustavus obtained a brilliant victory at Warsaw on July 28th–30th, 1656, he found himself in a critical position, and in order to ensure the fidelity of Brandenburg was obliged, on November 25th, at Labian, to acknowledge the independence of Prussia.

Sweden's New King at War

At the same time a commercial treaty was concluded with Holland. Then Denmark declared war against him, and the Austrians advanced into Poland. Upon this Charles Gustavus relinquished Poland, proceeded by forced marches through North Germany, and within a short time conquered the peninsula of Jutland. At the beginning of 1658 he crossed over the ice of the Belts to Zealand and compelled the king, Frederic III., by the Peace of Roskilde, to cede the Scanian provinces, together with the island of Bornholm, and from Norway Trondhjems Len and Bohuslen. This makes the zenith of Sweden's international power. At that time she had control over almost the whole coast line of the Baltic. But Charles Gustavus was not satisfied; he wished to destroy Denmark's independence. He therefore violated the peace, and in 1658 landed again in Zealand; but this time he did not meet with the same success. Copenhagen withstood his attacks, and was succoured by the Dutch, who, since they did not approve of his plans, had attached themselves to his other enemies, among whom was Brandenburg. An army of Brandenburgers, Poles, and Austrians under the Great Elector drove the Swedes out of Jutland; the inhabitants of the provinces which had been ceded rose in revolt.

Death of Charles Augustus

After an unsuccessful attack on Copenhagen, Charles Gustavus abandoned the siege of the capital in 1659, and returned to Sweden. He still hoped for assistance from England, but the English, in alliance with France and Holland, remained faithful to the Peace of Roskilde. Charles, however, intended to carry on the war, and aimed at the conquest of Norway. He accordingly marched with his army into Southern Norway, but died suddenly at Göteburg on February 23rd, 1660.

HANS SCHJÖTH



THE FOUNDING OF PRUSSIA

FREDERIC WILLIAM "THE GREAT ELECTOR"

AFTER the flaccid constitution of the Holy Roman Empire had destroyed all prospect of a great German state, the principalities inevitably became the centres of political development, for the reform of the empire, though constantly demanded and several times attempted, had been proved impossible owing to internal causes. Upon the course of that development depended the political fate of the German nation; and it could take a favourable turn only upon the condition that a body politic should arise in Germany comprising a considerable portion of the nation and capable of rousing the forces slumbering within them to independent energy. The idea of a vigorous living confederacy was in direct opposition to the dynastic interests, which were supported in many ways by religious differences, and coincided with the separatist tendencies of the population. A voluntary renunciation of individual rights in favour of the central power was not to be expected of the several states, whose existence was even yet extremely doubtful and insecure. To bring about a concentration of the national strength a great German power was needed capable of brushing away the influences which worked in opposition to every movement towards unity.

Austria's Need of German Aid

The interests of the House of Austria did not coincide with those of the German nation, and its possessions lay for the most part beyond the boundaries of the German nationality. Austria desired the imperial crown as a means of increasing her own dignity, and was obliged to rely upon German troops to secure her territories and to enable her to take advantage of such opportunities as came in her way. She had neither inclination nor capacity to found a German state.

The rise of a German great power was, however, not one of the pressing problems of the seventeenth century; that from one of those imperial provinces which were struggling for a share in the privilege of the electorate a state should arise which should one day vie with the great monarchies of the world was an idea which had never yet presented itself to the imagination of the boldest of political speculators. Yet in the course of that century the foundation of this state had been completed, though the contemporary world was very far from [illegible] the truth. From the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia to the outbreak of the French Revolution, Europe had seen no event of greater importance than the growth of that Prussian monarchy which was called to take over the inheritance of the German monarchy when it had been freed from the burden of international family interests, and was destined to apply its youthful strength to the task of restoring German influence to its high place in the councils of European states and peoples.

Foundation of the Prussian Monarchy

The foundation of this Prussian monarchy is the work of Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburg (1640–1688), who entered upon the government of the marches upon the Elbe, Havel, and Spree at a time when the economic value and the political importance of the whole territory had sunk to a lower depth than it had reached even upon its acquisition by the Zollerns. During the latter stages of the war the land had been cruelly devastated. Swedish and imperial governors had assumed the position of masters of the land, while the Elector George William had resided without the limits of the kingdom, in his duchy of Prussia, that he might be left free to pursue his own pleasure in his own way at Königsberg. Upon the death of the last Duke of Pomerania, George William had been called to succeed him by inheritance. He had thrown himself wholly into the emperor's arms in the hope of getting his rights, while Sweden had remained for a long period in possession

Sweden's Hold on Pomerania

of Pomerania, and had laughed the claims of the House of Brandenburg to scorn. The Catholic count, John of Schwarzenberg, governed the electoral district, and the garrisons sent out by the emperor robbed the barns and stables of the inhabitants of such poor property as yet remained to them. Frederic William's special talents had been highly developed by a stay of four years in Holland, and by intercourse with his relations of the House of Orange. He immediately perceived the dangers involved in a connection resting upon so inadequate a basis, and he attempted to take up a neutral position, which allowed him to fulfil the duties of a territorial prince without pledging himself to the fulfilment of earlier duties.

The Firm Hand of Frederic William

The very first steps of his varied career as a ruler show the clearness of his political insight and the strength of his will. The several orders of the duchy of Prussia, like all other feudal lords, found it expedient to limit the powers of their overlord as far as possible. They acted with the Polish malcontents, who wished for a republic with the intention of making the position of the Hohenzollern, who as Duke of Prussia was vassal of the King of Poland, one of entire dependency, and wholly powerless against themselves. Frederic William dealt vigorously with this confederation, which was united by a common spirit of hostility to orderly administration. In 1641 he held the enfeoffment in Warsaw, prescribing tolerably mild conditions, and met the nobility of his duchy in the character of a prince who was anxious for their welfare but was convinced of his own rights and determined to exercise them.

After the affairs of Prussia had been reduced to order and his position at home had been secured, he devoted himself to the care of the marches and to his possessions on the Rhine, which had come down to him from the Dukes of Juliers and Cleves. The conclusion of an armistice with Sweden brought nearly all the Brandenburg towns and fortresses into his power. By a compact with the States of Holland he was enabled to make a temporary arrangement of the financial relations of the House of Brandenburg with them, a measure rendered necessary by the involved state of those finances. So badly had they been managed by his predecessors that the accumulations of simple and compound interest upon a debt of 100,000 thalers incurred in 1614 had already led to the mortgage of all the Cleves district and to distraint upon the ducal chest.

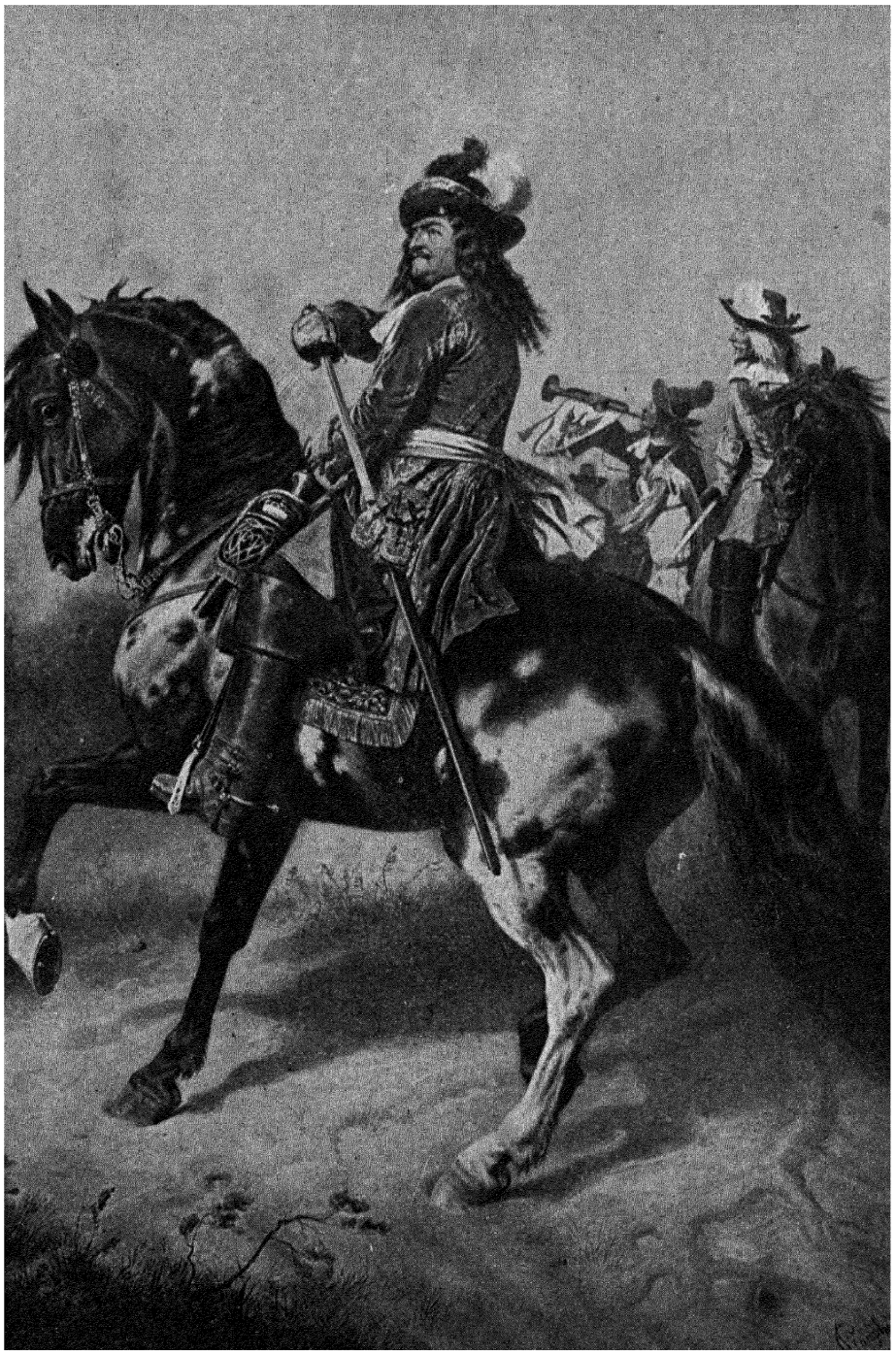
The Elector's Political Compacts

At the peace negotiations in Osnabruck the ambassadors of Brandenburg laid claim to every right which could be deduced from the elector's privileged position. They offered a most vigorous opposition to the Swedes and the imperial party, who considered that the Swedish claims should be compensated with Pomerania. The young elector was a zealous adherent of the reformed faith, and he could not reconcile his conscience to becoming the cat's-paw of the Catholic princes, who, as their enemies said, did not consider themselves bound " to keep faith with a heretic."

Thus he could find no place in the Swedish, imperial, or French parties, and therefore turned for support to the States-General, where the House of Orange was still at the head of the government. European diplomatists were long busied with the project of his marriage with Christina, the heiress to Sweden, but on December 7th, 1646, he married Louise Henrietta, the daughter of Prince Frederic Henry, and gained security for a part of Pomerania and for Juliers and Cleves.

Marriage of the Elector

After the death of the hereditary stadtholder on March 14th, 1647, and the rapidly following decease of his son William II. on November 6th, 1650, the government of Holland by the plutocracy began, and France then sought alliance with Brandenburg ; but the elector declined any union with a foreign power, and worked zealously to bring about an understanding between the reformed states of the empire and to unite them into a " third " party. Of this policy a partisan was found in the patriotic Elector of Mainz, John Philip of Schönborn. The self-seeking attitude adopted by Saxony, which had so often hindered the solution of religious differences in Germany, proved an obstacle to this undertaking. By the terms of peace Sweden gained all Further Pomerania, including Stettin, and after weary negotiations a strip of coast line was cut off for her from Higher Pomerania, so that Kolberg was the only available harbour remaining to the B territory. The compensation for Further Pomerania was the dioceses of Halberstadt, Minden,



FREDERIC WILLIAM "THE GREAT ELECTOR"

Known as the "Great Elector," Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburg, succeeded his father in 1640 He was a capable administrator, and introduced many reforms that contributed to the well-being of his people By the Treaties of Wehlau, in 1657, and Oliva, in 1660, he secured the independence of Prussia from Poland, and though he cleared Western Pomerania of the Swedes he was compelled to reinstate them by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1679 After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, over 20,000 Huguenots settled in Brandenburg.

From the painting by Camphausen, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

and Kammin, and the reversion of the archbishopric of Magdeburg upon the death of its administrator, Duke Augustus of Saxony, on June 4th, 1680. It became necessary to wage war with the Palatinate of Neuburg for the possession of Cleves in 1651. The several orders of that district desired to escape the electoral government, and threatened to become Dutch in preference to belonging to Brandenburg. They were deterred from open revolt only by the timely arrest of their spokesman, Herr Wylich of Winnenthal.

Opposition to the Electoral Government

Between the Memel and the Rhine there was a number of splendid districts, destined to form the basis of the elector's political power. But there was no interdependence among them, and an entire lack of the sense of political unity. There was not even the personal dependence of the self-seeking nobility upon their feudal overlord. To the Prussians imperial affairs were a matter of indifference. They were anxious to obtain the freedom and the privileges of the Polish magnates.

The margraves demanded additional rights over their vassals and serfs in return for the smallest additional impost. In Cleves the people insisted upon the terms of their contract with the late ruling house, and looked upon the Brandenburger as a usurper, of whom they would gladly be rid at the earliest possible opportunity. Never for a moment was the thought entertained that the union of the Hohenzollern possessions under an energetic prince was an event of importance to any nation of evangelical faith.

Frederic William created the bureaucracy, which for a long period was the only visible sign of the political unity of his dominions. He brought into order the financial chaos then prevailing, relieved the demesnes of their oppressive burdens, and stopped the squandering of their produce, while facilitating the lease of them. Wherever he could, he introduced monetary exchange in place of barter, and assured a revenue to himself with which he could free his household from the disgrace of debt and pay for some military force which might at any rate be able to repel a sudden attack on the part of one of his envious neighbours. The direction of the Brandenburg military powers was handed over to Count George Frederic of Waldeck, who was the elector's faithful and sagacious adviser in all diplomatic controversies and also throughout the Augean task which was the necessary prelude to any internal reform. He was, perhaps, the first man in Germany who had any suspicion that the Hohenzollern kingdom was capable of becoming a great power in Germany and in Europe.

The Reforms of Frederic William

At an early period Sweden had obtained a position upon the North Sea and the Baltic. It was eminently fitted for the foundation of a dominant power which would entirely overshadow the efforts of the neighbouring Germans. Sweden possessed the duchies of Bremen and Verden at the mouth of the Weser, and the coasts of Pomerania and Rugen with their admirable harbours; and thus this maritime and commercial nation had found means and opportunity to monopolise the entire carrying trade of the Baltic Sea, and the commerce with England and Holland on the one hand and North Germany on the other. It is only from this point of view that the acquisitions of Sweden under the Peace of Westphalia can be considered as important gains and a veritable extension of power. However, the Swedish nationality was not capable of carrying on trade or maritime pursuits upon any large scale; the Swedes are a peasant people, clinging closely to that soil which Nature has adorned and richly endowed, and desiring nothing more than to be left in possession of it in freedom and in moderate prosperity. There was no superfluity of national strength forcing them voluntarily or involuntarily to emigrate and throw out branches; nor is there now.

Sweden's Social System Shaken

The long war had shaken the social system of Sweden to its very foundations; but social status remained unchanged. No attempts at industrial enterprise upon a large scale were evoked; there was no formation of trade guilds; the sole results were increased friction between great and small landowners, a deterioration of morality, and a decrease in the power of the crown. The nobility had enriched themselves in the course of the war, for those of them who commanded regiments and fortresses had found occasion to enter into business relations with friend and foe alike; they had also gained possession of many of the crown lands which were given to them instead of pay when they presented their endless accounts of arrears, in the composition of which the regimental

clerks and quartermasters of the seventeenth century were extraordinarily clever. The retired infantry and cavalry leaders and officials wasted their Pomeranian estates in riotous living, or squandered such treasure as they had brought home in extravagant feasts and drinking bouts with their friends, while they regarded with coarse scorn the piety and self-restraint which King Gustavus Adolphus had successfully maintained among his warriors.

All that Sweden had taken from Germany disappeared in gluttony and drunkenness. As regards the increase of prosperity and national wealth, it was of no service to the northern kingdom. The ability and the experience of Sweden's diplomatists, the bravery of her officers and admirable soldiers were unable to spur the nation to reach a higher state of economic development, or to suggest new objects for the efforts of far-sighted individuals. Queen Christina (1632–1654), who died in 1689, was totally unfitted to exercise a beneficent influence in this direction. Government, in her opinion, was a crushing burden, and practical views of life had no attraction for her. The generosity of her caprices proved a serious detriment to the state exchequer, which was constantly in low water, and as constantly replenished by additional sacrifices of state property. This treatment of the state lands dealt a heavy blow to the freedom of the peasants, for they passed, with the lands which they had cultivated, into the possession of the noble families whose money had been poured into the royal exchequer.

Influence of Queen Christina

The whole population of the country was thoroughly aroused. The small landed nobility, the free peasantry and the clergy made common cause against the great families and the bishops, who had got possession of all the lands and were forcing the serfs to till them for their benefit. A manifesto to the people of Central Sweden of the year 1649 complains that the queen's mildness was abused, and that the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus would soon have nothing but the title to the crown and the kingdom to call her own.

"The grants of land upon feudal tenure were often fraudulently obtained, the recipients being undeserving of any such reward; subordinate officials distributed such grants in return for pecuniary considerations, and in the exercise of their rights would rob the poor widow of her calves and butter." In the Rigsdag of 1650 it was stated that the territories which the people had made the greatest sacrifices to acquire benefited a few individuals, and were of no advantage to the state; that, on the contrary, the crown and the kingdom had been weakened and diminished by these illegal grants.

The Queen's Weak Character

The queen had every sympathy with the oppressed who had lost their rights; she recognised that the state was in its decline; but she was of too weak a character to make a stand against the nobles, whom she herself had permitted to grow too powerful. However, her resolution to abdicate and to hand over the kingdom to her cousin, Charles Gustavus of the Palatinate Zweibrucken, who had in vain solicited her hand in marriage, brought no decisive change in the circumstances of the country.

Charles Gustavus X. (1654–1660) was a capable soldier. He was well aware of the forces which were at work among the European powers, and he was prepared to devote his entire knowledge and power to the welfare of the state. But the qualities of which Sweden stood in need were exactly those which the king did not possess. She yearned for peace and healing statesmanship—not for conquests and glory. But Charles Gustavus thought he could restore the power of the crown by fresh acquisitions of power and wealth. He turned his attention to that portion of the Baltic coast which was under Polish rule, seeing that its highly developed commerce afforded an opportunity for the imposition of those "licences," or harbour duties and import customs, which had already proved so productive in Pomerania.

The warlike intentions of Charles Gustavus X. placed the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia in the position of politically holding the casting vote, and no one knew better than he how to turn that advantage to account. A campaign against Poland was a practical impossibility for Sweden, if her troops were to be continually outflanked and her lines of communication broken from the marches or from the principality. If she could not ensure the co-operation of the elector, she must at least ensure his neutrality, and for this she had to offer him certain advantages in return. On the other hand, it was to be expected that when

Sweden's Relations with the Elector

Poland found herself hard pressed, she would attempt to bring over her neighbour to her side, and offer political concessions by way of remuneration. Therefore, the characteristic course of policy was for Prussia to join Sweden at the outset of the struggle, to inspire her Polish overlord with the fear of her power, and then to give him the opportunity of a reconciliation, in return for certain corresponding advantages. Frederic William now had the opportunity of showing his appreciation of these circumstances, whether right or wrong. To a man of his clear insight into the state of affairs there could be no doubt as to the proper course to pursue; given his personality, and the result was a foregone conclusion.

War Between Sweden and Poland

There have been too many statesmen whose powers of reasoning failed before even the simplest of problems. Brandenburg-Prussia had also this further advantage, that she was not bound by alliance in any direction, and in particular that she was entirely independent of imperial policy. Had the fate of Prussia been in the hands of George William or of a Schwarzenburg, the war between Poland and Sweden would have caused only loss to the north of Germany, and certainly would not have brought liberation from a crushing and degrading subjection or [illegible] to Brandenburg.

At the outset of the war between Sweden and Poland the elector's success was very unimportant, and hardly appreciable to contemporaries. In November, 1655, the Swedish troops occupied a large portion of the duchy of Prussia, meeting with little or no opposition from the elector. In the compact of Königsberg on January 17th, 1656, Charles Gustavus X. undertook to evacuate the duchy, which the Brandenburger now held as a fief from Sweden. Poland had surrendered her feudal territory and had consequently given up her right to it; the victor seized the position of the conquered. However, the military position soon underwent a change. Charles Gustavus began to find that he could remain in the Polish lands which he had conquered only under very dangerous conditions. He was more than ever dependent upon the support of his new vassal, who was not bound to furnish more than 1,000 infantry and 500 cavalry to serve as auxiliary troops.

Factors in the Struggle

A compact was arranged at Marienburg on June 25th, wherein the objects desired by the two parties were more clearly and distinctly specified. The elector promised to help the king during this summer with the whole of his military power, in return for which the king promised him full sovereignty over the Palatinate, Posen, Kalisch, Sjeradz, and Lentshiza.

The Brandenburg forces had never yet been employed for any great undertaking, and their value was now to be proved. In the battle of Warsaw, which lasted for three days (July 28th–30th, 1656), 9,000 Brandenburg troops and 9,000 Swedes defeated 80,000 to 90,000 Poles, Lithuanians, and Tartars, drove them across the Vistula in terrible confusion, and became masters of the imperial capital. And Prussia rose on the ruins of Poland.

The battle of Warsaw had proved that the warlike prowess and the military leadership of Brandenburg were fully equal to those of Sweden. The two powers were of equal numerical strength, and had severally carried through a task of equal magnitude and difficulty; the advance of the Brandenburg infantry brigade under the brigadier Otto Christof of Sparr on the last day's fighting was so irresistible, the charge of the cavalry, led by the elector in person, was so decisive, that Charles Gustavus stopped the pursuit out of Prussian astuteness, lest his allies should reap too rich a harvest of trophies. The compilers of the official Swedish reports have done their best to minimise Frederic William's services in gaining the victory, and the elector himself modestly refrained from proffering any correction of their misstatements, caring only for material gains. But, none the less, his allies could not shut their eyes to the facts, and the whole world was profoundly surprised to learn how quickly a German electorate of no previous reputation had acquired so admirable an army.

The Great Battle of Warsaw

This army is indissolubly bound up with the foundation of the State of Prussia; being the special creation of its general, it has henceforward nothing in common with the composite forces of feudal and knightly times. On the contrary, it is a state army; not a militia, but none the less a national power, in which were fully displayed the admirable capabilities of the North German for warfare, when incorporated in well trained and disciplined troops.

Frederic William had shown what he could do when he put out his full strength, but he had no inclination to place that strength [illegible] at Sweden's disposal. He was obliged to retire to protect his duchy against a possible invasion by Russia, and to guard his own territory against the attack of a Lithuanian-Polish army.

In his absence the Swedes were defeated by the Poles, and on November 15th, 1656, King John Casimir marched into Dantzig with 12,000 men. The elector received proposals from both parties; he accepted that which promised him the freedom of Prussia from feudal subjection, a concession which brought with it no increase of territory, but was of importance for his position in the political world. In the convention of Labiau on November 20th, 1656, Charles Gustavus recognised his ally as sovereign Duke of Prussia, with the sole limitation that as such he was to keep no ships of war.

Shortly afterwards relations with Sweden were broken off, because Charles Gustavus X. was devoting his entire power to the war with Denmark and had temporarily given up his designs upon Poland, a reconciliation with Poland was then brought about through the mediation of Holland. The price which Poland had to pay was the recognition of Prussian independence in the convention of Wehlau on September 29th, 1657, and the feudal relations which had subsisted between the countries since the unhappy day of Tannenberg were dissolved.

Poland's Payment for Peace

It now became necessary to break down the resistance of the Prussian orders and of the Konigsberg patriciate, which exercised an almost unlimited domination over the town in the so-called "Kneiphof." The opposition, which had almost broken out into open revolt against the elector, lost power as soon as Frederic William arrived in person in the duchy in the autumn of 1662, with the object of restoring order. "The mildness and clemency which marked his arrival, as impressive as the appearance of his dragoons, calmed the heated spirits of the citizen heroes, who had been vainly expecting the invasion of Prussia by their Polish confederates." Poland had observed with great satisfaction the difficulties which the unruliness of the Prussians had placed in the way of the elector, had supported the Prussians in their attitude of hostility to the electoral government, and had praised their fidelity to their old feudal lord. But neither the king nor the Reichstag had any thought of beginning war with Frederic William, who was more than their superior, even without the help of Sweden. In 1663 the dissolution of the Landtag was decided and the sovereignty of Prussia was recognised, the oath of allegiance being taken on October 18th, 1663; the Polish emissaries also took the oath, and contented themselves with the stipulation that the duchy should revert to the Polish crown in the event of the House of Hohenzollern becoming extinct.

The Growing Power of the Elector

After the elector had established his supremacy in the state, he was confronted with the more difficult task of reorganising the civil administration and the economic conditions of the duchy and also of the electorate and of Cleves. He was obliged to make numerous concessions in the matter of taxation before he could obtain the rights of enlistment and free passage for his troops, which were points of supreme importance to him, as may easily be conceived. His timely realisation of the royal demesnes brought an increasing annual income to the electoral exchequer, and enabled Brandenburg-Prussia to keep an army which commanded the respect of the powers at every European crisis in constant readiness. France was speedily obliged to recognise the existence of this force, Sweden in particular felt that her sphere of operations was largely contracted by the military power of the energetic Brandenburger.

Not only had Frederic William made peace with Poland; at the imperial election he had espoused the cause of Austria, and had thus freed himself from the difficulties of his isolated position. Charles Gustavus X. had already humiliated Denmark on March 8th, 1658, and had reduced her almost to total impotency by the Peace of Roskilde. He proposed to administer a second blow, with the intention of leaving her entirely defenceless and preventing any alliance between Brandenburg and Denmark, when the elector averted the blow by placing himself at the head of the "cavalcade to Holstein," for which undertaking he put into the field 16,000 men and forty-two guns, while Austria sent 10,000 to 12,000 men and twenty guns, and Poland 4,000 to 5,000

Denmark Reduced to Impotency

men. Frederic William penetrated as far as Alsen, and said he was ready to give battle to the Swedish troops blockading Copenhagen if the Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, who was entrusted with the defence of the Danish capital on the sea, had been able to place at his disposal the ships requested for the transport of his troops, which De Ruyter could not do. The connection of this entanglement upon the north with the struggle between France and Hapsburg is seen in the share taken by Louis XIV. in the attempt to free Charles Gustavus from his encircling toils. Sweden was still considered as the great opponent of Catholic imperialism, and as the chief support of Protestantism against Catholicism. Frederic William declined to join the "Concert of the Hague," which was set on foot by Mazarin, unless a universal peace was thereby to be assured; for he would have to expect a further attack from Sweden as soon as the intervention of France and England had freed her from her desperate position on the Danish islands and the Jutland mainland.

Sweden as the Bulwark of Protestantism

This danger, which had become the more imminent owing to the withdrawal of the Austrian troops from the Baltic coast after the conclusion of the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1649, was lessened by the sudden and unexpected death of Charles Gustavus on February 23rd, 1660. A deadly struggle between Sweden and Brandenburg would have been no unpleasing prospect to Austria; she would have merely looked quietly on until the opportunity arrived for her to give the casting vote to her own advantage. The Peace of Oliva, on May 3rd, 1660, marks an important point in the history of the development of the maritime powers upon and within the Baltic. Sweden's power had risen and fallen, leaving no permanent results; she was obliged to relinquish her idea of founding a great power based upon the possession of the most important of the Baltic coasts, and upon a naval force which should upon any occasion be more than the equal of all the other maritime states. In any appreciation of the value of a vigorous and ambitious prince to the development of the state, the fact that both Gustavus Adolphus II. and Charles Gustavus X were carried off in the midst of important political undertakings must not be considered as matters of importance in the struggle for Baltic supremacy.

Sweden's Unrealised Ambitions

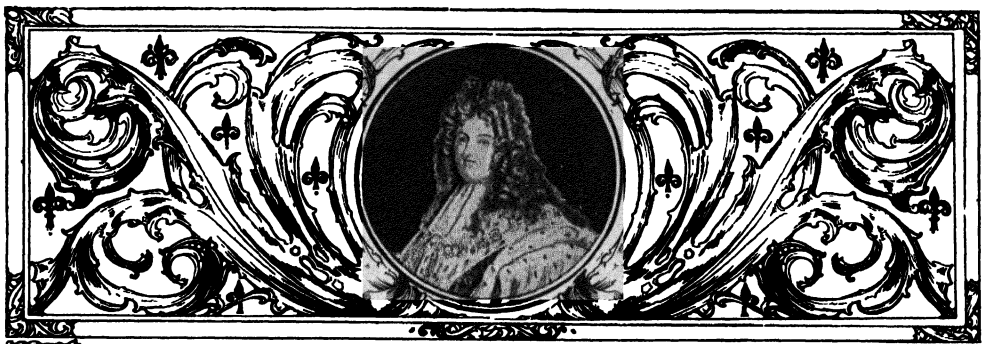
In the nature of things there was no sufficient reason for a Swedish hegemony in North Germany, which would not in any case have lasted beyond the reign of Gustavus Adolphus. Equally impossible was it, even by the strongest efforts of a dominating personality, to make Sweden a maritime power, because the Swedes have no inclination for maritime pursuits, and are never likely to be driven by lack of suitable land to get a living from the sea. Nor can it be affirmed with any certainty that German supremacy on the Baltic would have been established, or the rise of Brandenburg power have been accelerated, by the marriage of Frederic William with Christina, and the [illegible] desired, and dreaded union of Brandenburg and Sweden. Certainly the Poles would have been driven from the coast forthwith, and Dantzic would have been made a Brandenburg-Prussian harbour town in the seventeenth century; but we have no certain grounds upon which to base an answer to the question whether any constitutional form could have been devised for the equalisation of Swedish and North German interests, and the unification of the sources of strength possessed by the two parties.

Death of Charles Gustavus

The advance of Sweden under Charles Gustavus was a serious matter for Brandenburg, and the death of Charles can therefore be considered only as a fortunate occurrence in view of the task which lay before the Great Elector.

HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST





THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV

THE GRAND MONARQUE

AND HIS LONG DOMINATION OF EUROPE

THE conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia is an important point of departure in the political and economic development of Europe, it is marked both by the firm establishment of the monarchical principle, and also by the rising predominance of the mercantile system. Moreover, it marks the end of political feudalism, on which the powers and functions of the mediæval body politic had been founded Survivals of the feudal system may, no doubt, be noted even now, but its spirit ceased to be a moving force in European civilisation from that time, and the personal ties which held it together had lost their strength.

The struggles of individualism for recognition had been checked by the corporate character of mediæval life, but are of much earlier origin Individualism came to birth with the revival of learning and the Renaissance, and had wholly won its way in the departments of science and art even during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But it was not before its victory had been decisive there that the underlying principle, now sure of . . . could be developed in another direction, that of the individuality of the state. New forces were brought into being by this movement,

The Birth of Great Movements

essentially opposed to the forces which had produced the feudal system. The more the powers of the corporations were restricted, the wider became the field for individual activity, and rulers were encouraged to grapple with those duties and responsibilities which had been previously undertaken by numerous corporations working to a common end. The assault delivered by the Reformation upon the greatest and the most powerful of all international corporations, the papacy, had not been finally decisive during the sixteenth century This success was attained only in the Thirty Years War, where the efforts of Catholicism to secure universal supremacy were proved to be incapable of

Rise of the Protestant States

realisation. The recognition of the equality of all Christian creeds in the Romano-German Empire, the political rise of the Protestant states—England Sweden, and Holland—to the level of others which had remained Catholic, the sanction of the Pope given to "Christian," "Catholic," and "Apostolic" kingdoms—these were facts which nullified once and for all, that possibility of a universal Christian community upon which the greatest minds and the boldest politicians had once speculated. The results of these facts became manifest as well in Catholic as in Protestant states. Catholicism became a political force, but states were no longer founded with the object of realising the Catholic idea.

The House of Hapsburg gained great advantages from an alliance with the papacy, but it had, and has, no hesitation in renouncing the alliance, if by so doing it could further its political ends. Of this we have instances in the nineteenth century as well as in the eighteenth. In the policy of the French Bourbon and Napoleonic governments such instances are even more striking. The chief task of every government is to unify the powers under its control, and to turn them to account with a view to throwing off any external yoke and to consolidating the internal relations between the territories composing the state.

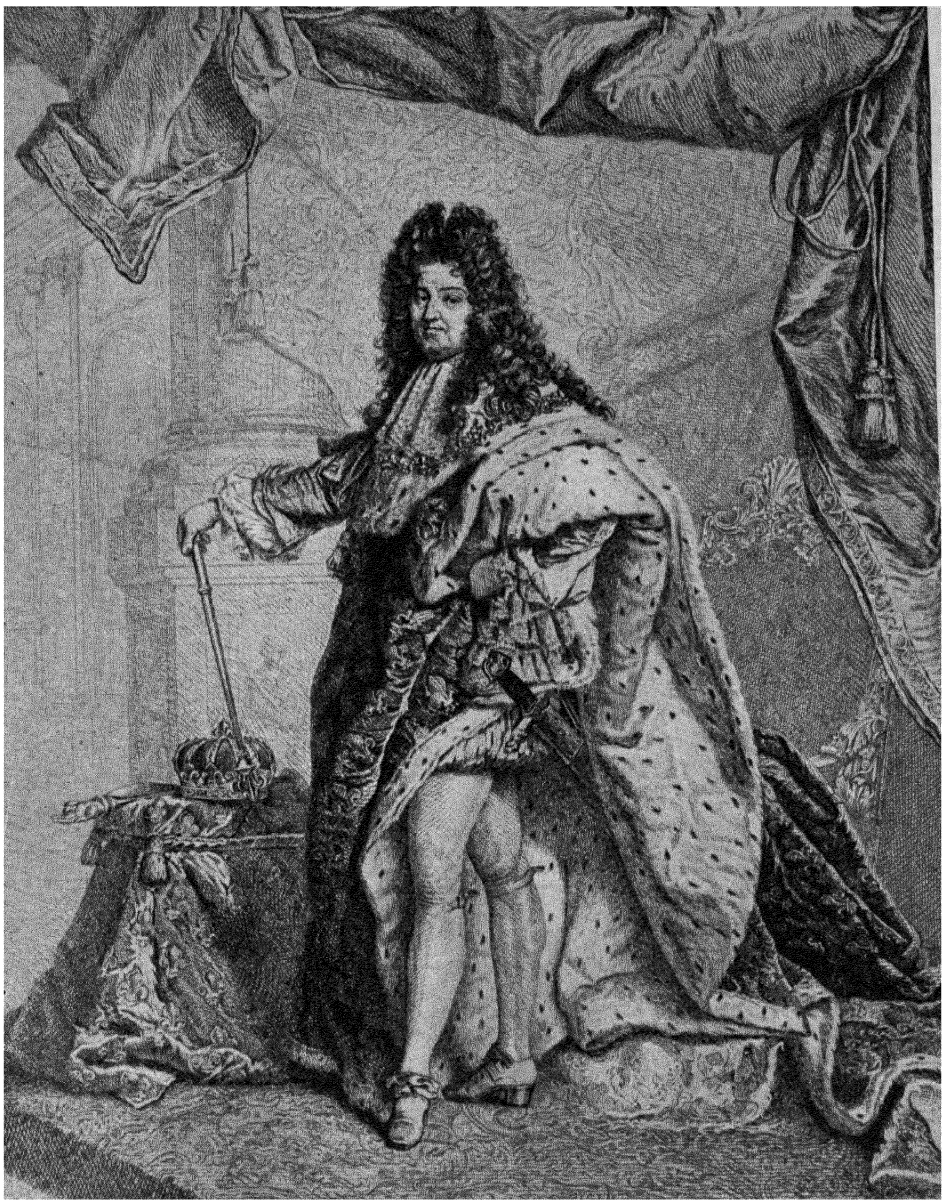
For the accomplishment of this purpose a change in the military system was imperatively demanded. During the fifteenth century the vassal's duties were by no means co-extensive with the mere defence of the country. Feudal armies were no longer equal to the demands made upon them by their overlords, who were anxious to increase their dominions, though the great city corporations of Italy were able to cope with the increasing difficulties of their policy, using only the military strength of their own citizens. Pay and recruiting became the sole methods of creating an army. Professional soldiers fought for dynasties and towns, overthrew and founded states. The German military orders were profoundly national in their rules and regulations; but they were of no service to the national welfare, as there existed no general authority nor political bond. War became a business, in which the man who invested his capital was most likely to succeed. During the sixteenth century dynasties and political parties, such as the League in France, were content with this military instrument, which was passed from hand to hand, and came into the service of hostile lords for so long a time as their operations should continue. But the great convulsion of the Thirty Years War opened the way for a new military organisation. It made possible the formation into standing armies of the yeomen who had been enlisted as occasion arose, and with these the state sought to advance its own political aims.



He was only four years of age when, in 1643, he became King of France. With Cardinal Mazarin as her Minister, Louis' mother, Anne of Austria, acted as regent, but in 1661 the great cardinal died, and the king becoming sole ruler, made himself an absolute monarch. He died in 1715.

It was only in the second half of the seventeenth century that the idea gained ground in Germany and in France that the several territorial districts, and not the feudal vassals, had to undertake the responsibility of providing material for the war power of the overlord. First of all, special districts became responsible for the enlistment of particular bodies of troops—regiments, in fact; then, if the numbers were too scanty, a further enlistment might be demanded; and, finally, the ruling power grew strong enough to grasp the right of calling out soldiers, or recruiting, an arrangement which would have been impossible before 1500, because it was incompatible with the conception of feudal sovereignty. This is a conception that has disappeared in modern states. The constitutional system of the nineteenth century would replace it with the conception of "personal freedom;" but this is an idea which has been greatly limited by the respect demanded for "state necessities" and "state welfare."

In domestic administration, bureaucratic influences constantly grew stronger. The ruling power gradually claimed for itself those rights which had hitherto been bound up with territorial possession, or had formed part of municipal privileges. Such rights were exercised by individuals exclusively dependent upon the ruler or his representatives. The arrangement and subordination of these executive powers were carried out wholly upon the basis of sovereignty, and the creation of this bureaucratic hierarchy occupied attention even during the eighteenth century, until it degenerated and was found incapable of completing the domestic organisation of the state, when it became obviously necessary to admit the co-operation of the people, who had been temporarily excluded from all share in administrative functions. However, standing armies and the bureaucracy are the distinguishing features of that political system which succeeded feudalism—a system of which we cannot even now observe the development in its totality, and the duration of which it is impossible to estimate.



A PORTRAIT OF LOUIS XIV, SHOWING THE KING IN HIS ROYAL ROBES
From an engraving of the painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud

It also became necessary to support the newly organised state by reconstituting its domestic economy, a process which was carried out upon the principle of separating districts and centralising the productive forces within them. In the second half of the seventeenth century the mercantile system spread in every direction. Its essential feature consists in the fact that the ruling power proposed to make the work of all the members of the state useful to the state itself, to put pressure upon them in order that as large a share as possible of their profits might become available for state purposes. Of state necessities, the chief were the army and the fleet, which implied vital power and the possibility of self-aggrandisement. The territorial community therefore now takes the place of the municipal. The aim of governments is now to increase the productive powers of their peoples, not

only because individual producers and civic corporations are thereby benefited, but also because the capacity for bearing taxation is thereby increased. Governments struggle for colonial possessions, and support the formation of great trading companies, which are not now independent corporations, but must submit to State control and accommodate themselves to the political relations of their rulers with other powers. There we have the real origin of the conception of the national strength as a uniform activity, directed by the sovereign in power. It is when domestic economy takes a commercial direction that the distinguishing features of political economy are plainly seen, and hence arises an entirely new set of ideas concerning the nature and extent of national power.

The Process of Political Development

This process did not come to fulfilment at the same time in every European nation, it was most quickly carried out in cases where political unity had already been attained, and where the central power had emerged victorious from the struggle with the independent corporations. It is the historian's task to explain those circumstances which exercised a retarding or an accelerating influence upon state formation. Economic life is wholly dependent upon external circumstances and the political situation, and therefore it is necessary first to examine the political history, and to expound the most important series of related facts, before entering upon an examination of national progress.



NICHOLAS FOUCQUET
Under Mazarin, Foucquet became Procureur-Général and Minister of Finance, and in these positions acquired much wealth. He hoped to succeed the great cardinal, but Louis ordered his apprehension, and he died in prison in 1680.

A history of civilisation, which would examine the immediate condition of peoples living under similar circumstances, and not confine itself merely to the intellectual side of development, to art and science, can be written only upon the basis of political history. Alone and unaided, it can gain no insight into the motive forces of civil and political life, for this is information which the science of political history alone can provide. Even at the present day we have no answer to the question: What form of political and economic constitution will have that permanent importance for mankind which the forms of feudalism had for a thousand years? We do not know whether any grade of development yet remains for our entry which is likely to last so long, whether the rapid change of productive conditions is likely to influence conceptions of rights, and thereby to produce more rapid changes in the social organism. But the firm conviction is borne in upon us that the rise of those marvellously complex political organisms which we call Great Powers has exercised the highest degree of influence upon the historical life, not only of Europe, but of the whole world. Nationalism is not sufficiently intellectual to give an impulse to the creation of fresh bodies politic differing in essentials from those now existing, and thus far has contributed merely to assure the position of the Great Powers; and it seems at the moment as if the great problems which mankind will have to solve in the near future could be taken in hand only with the help of the powerful machinery of the great states.

To offer further conjectures upon future developments is not the business of history, which should avoid political hypotheses to the utmost of its power; but it is the duty of the historian to examine into the rise of those great political organisms with which lies the ultimate decision of all questions now involving the exercise of force. It is from this point of view that we propose to follow the course of history and to pursue our investigations, giving special prominence to every point which may illustrate that remarkable and most important subject, the position of the Great Powers in the nineteenth century.

The Heritage of the Great Cardinals

When Louis XIV. began to extend and to build upon the foundations which the two cardinals had laid, his government attained in every department of public business a degree of independence and

influence of which none of his confidential advisers could ever have dreamed. How could anyone have expected that the means which might have been successfully employed to set up a tyranny in some humble little principality would be set in operation in a kingdom which was the home of the proudest nobility in Europe, and where the highest law courts could insist upon the enforcement of law and custom as against the crown?

Louis was convinced of the fact that a monarch who could make all the forces of the state subservient to himself, and could turn them to the state advantage at his will and pleasure, was in a position to undertake far heavier tasks than any Minister, however gifted. The effort to realise his theory was a real pleasure to him, and he had sufficient ambition and also intellectual power to enable him to devote his life to this great task. A royal task it was in very truth, and he brought it to completion, for his was a royal nature through and through, eminently chosen and adapted to show mankind to what height of power and of purely personal influence a strong character can attain when supported by great traditions, inspired with the spirit of a highly gifted people, and devoting for half a century its every effort and exertion to increase and to extend the possessions which belonged to the nation.



JEAN BAPTISTE COLBERT

The finances of France, and the country generally, were in a sad condition when Colbert became the chief Minister of Louis XIV. in 1661. He instituted many reforms, and in ten years the revenue was more than doubled.

The extraordinary political talent of the king became apparent at the outset of his reign in the security with which he proceeded to organise his government. He was himself his first and only Minister, assisted by several admirable intellects, for whom he, as master, appointed the several departments in which their activity was to be operative; these were Colbert, Le Tellier, Louvois, father and son, and Lionne. In cases of necessity others were called in from time to time to the state councils, which were invariably held under the king's presidency. At first Turenne was often one of these, as were Villeroi and several Secretaries of State at a later period. Special knowledge, capacity for some particular business, alone decided the king's choice: birth and wealth no longer constituted a right to a place in the royal council. The king was the sole representative of the royal family, the House of Bourbon with its different branches. In him were conjoined both the will of the nation and the interests of the dynasty. By the side of the young monarch the great Condé was but a poor figure; he never rose above the position of governor and general, and after him no other prince of the blood attempted to lay claim to a share in the government.

Ministers of Louis XIV.

The King's Firm Government

However, where there was the will to govern, it was also necessary that there should be a way. Louis XIV. directed his particular care to this end: he looked carefully into the business of the "Partisans," the tax-farmers and public creditors, for it was above all things necessary to protect the state from these vampires. He made a beginning with Nicholas Foucquet, the Procureur-Général and Minister of Finance, who had conducted this department of the state with great adroitness under Mazarin, but had also gained unbounded wealth for himself. Colbert had made the king acquainted with all the underhand dealings and falsifications of Foucquet, and the king had definitely decided upon his dismissal at the moment when Foucquet was under the impression that he could take Mazarin's place, and rule both king and country as Prime Minister. He based his calculations upon the young man's love of pleasure, which had already become obvious —so much so as to convince the court that the society of the Fronde, which had laid no restraint upon the freedom of intercourse between ladies and their cavaliers, would here also be thrown into the shade.

But a peculiar feature in Louis' character, a mark both of his royal and tyrannical nature, was the fact that he never allowed his personal desires to



THE FRENCH KING AND HIS ARMY A MILITARY TOURNAMENT UNDER LOUIS XIV. ON JUNE 6TH, 1662

Taking into his own hands in 1661 the full control of the government, Louis XIV, with the aid of his Minister Louvois, raised the status of the army. He made many conquests, the French infantry becoming during his reign the finest in the world, a distinction which it long retained. The above picture illustrates a grand military tournament under the king in 1662.

influence his political judgment, that his interests in official life and government were never thrust out of their place by conversation and love affairs, and that he always found time for everything which could busy a mind with so wide an outlook over human life as his. Foucquet was arrested on September 5th, 1661, a short time after he had enchanted the king with an extraordinarily brilliant and expensive entertainment in his castle of Vaux, at Melun, and thought that he had won him over entirely. The king placed him on his trial, and insisted upon a heavy punishment, although public opinion was in favour of the clever financier who had been adroit enough to circulate the guldens which he had extorted by his oppression among a wide circle of dependents and parasites, and also to reward therewith good and useful services. Colbert, as ministerial official, who had undertaken the business of working up the most varied "cases" with inexhaustible zeal, was very well acquainted with the methods by which the partisans had gained their great wealth, and supported the king in his resolve to demand restitution to the state of the gold that had been unjustly extorted. A special court of justice was entrusted with the examination of the defalcations, and ordered confiscations in the case of five hundred persons to the amount of 110 millions of livres, which were poured into the state chest.

By means of this influx, and also by lowering the rate of interest which the state paid to its creditors, Jean Baptiste Colbert was enabled to maintain the national credit without further impositions, although the revenues had been pledged from the beginning of his administration until 1663. He entirely removed the *taille*, or poll tax, which was a burden only upon peasants and citizens, for the clergy, the nobility, and the upper-class citizens, in fact everyone who bore a title, had been exempted. On the other hand, he raised the indirect taxes, especially the *gabelle*, or salt tax, which was remitted only in exceptional cases, and bore more heavily upon the large establishments than upon the small.



MARIA THERESA, THE QUEEN OF LOUIS XIV.
This portrait of the queen of Louis XIV. is reproduced from the painting by Velasquez. Maria Theresa was the eldest daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, and was married to the French king in 1660.

With the reform of taxation began that great economic centralisation of the mercantile system, which is of no less importance than the formation of the state. Colbert had no precedent for his guidance, but none the less he formed the successive economic developments of previous reigns into a firm and sound national system, even as his lord and king followed the steps of Henry IV. and Richelieu in his foreign policy. The regulations by which Louis XI. had opposed the entrance of foreign manufacturers into the kingdom, the institution of free trade in corn within the limits of the kingdom by the edict of 1539, the bestowal of special rights upon the commercial and manufacturing classes by the government after 1577 and 1581, the creation of a French fleet under Richelieu —these measures were first necessary before the policy of economic protection, the removal of the customs duties of the provinces, could enable the general interests of the state to gain a victory over the individual aspirations of separate

provinces and towns. The States-General could no longer be summoned, because such a measure would have renewed the struggle between the orders and the central power, and have taxed the entire strength of the government. It became necessary to place limits on the operation of the provincial assemblies, as no consideration for the general necessities could be expected from them. There was also the danger to be reckoned with, as the event proved, that these assemblies would use their privileges to secure their putative advantages within the narrow limits of their local administration, and would place every obstacle in the way of the government, which invaded the rights of the individual in its zeal to further the aims of the public economy.

France's Economic Progress

In the course of only six years (1667–1673) successive royal edicts had laid the foundations of a uniform administration th[illegible] France, without which the country could never have provided the government with the enormous amount of military material required for the war against neighbouring states, whereby the "natural" boundaries of France were to be reached. Before the state could exert its power as a whole, the national resources had to be centralised. Economic progress became the foundation of political power.

There was but one method of increasing the prosperity of the citizens, and so making it possible for them to bear the burden of national undertakings, and this method consisted in attracting them to the production of staple articles of consumption, in p[illegible] them to trade on their own account and so to reserve to themselves the profits which foreigners had previously appropriated, in putting all the available money in the country into circulation, and, by a steady reduction of the influx of foreigners, excluding foreign countries from all participation in the advantages gained through trade and manufactures. This change in industrial concerns had almost to be forced upon the citizens of France by the government; of themselves, they contributed but little to that result. Not only did Colbert exercise his influence to bring about the erection of new manufactories, not only did he procure foreign experts and place them as instructors in the workshops, but even the smallest technical details were carefully examined by the authorities. Directions upon the weaving and dyeing of hundreds of fabrics were issued by them, and disregard of their regulations was punished. In the department of manufactures the energy of the government was rewarded by brilliant success.

The Government's Encouragement of Commerce

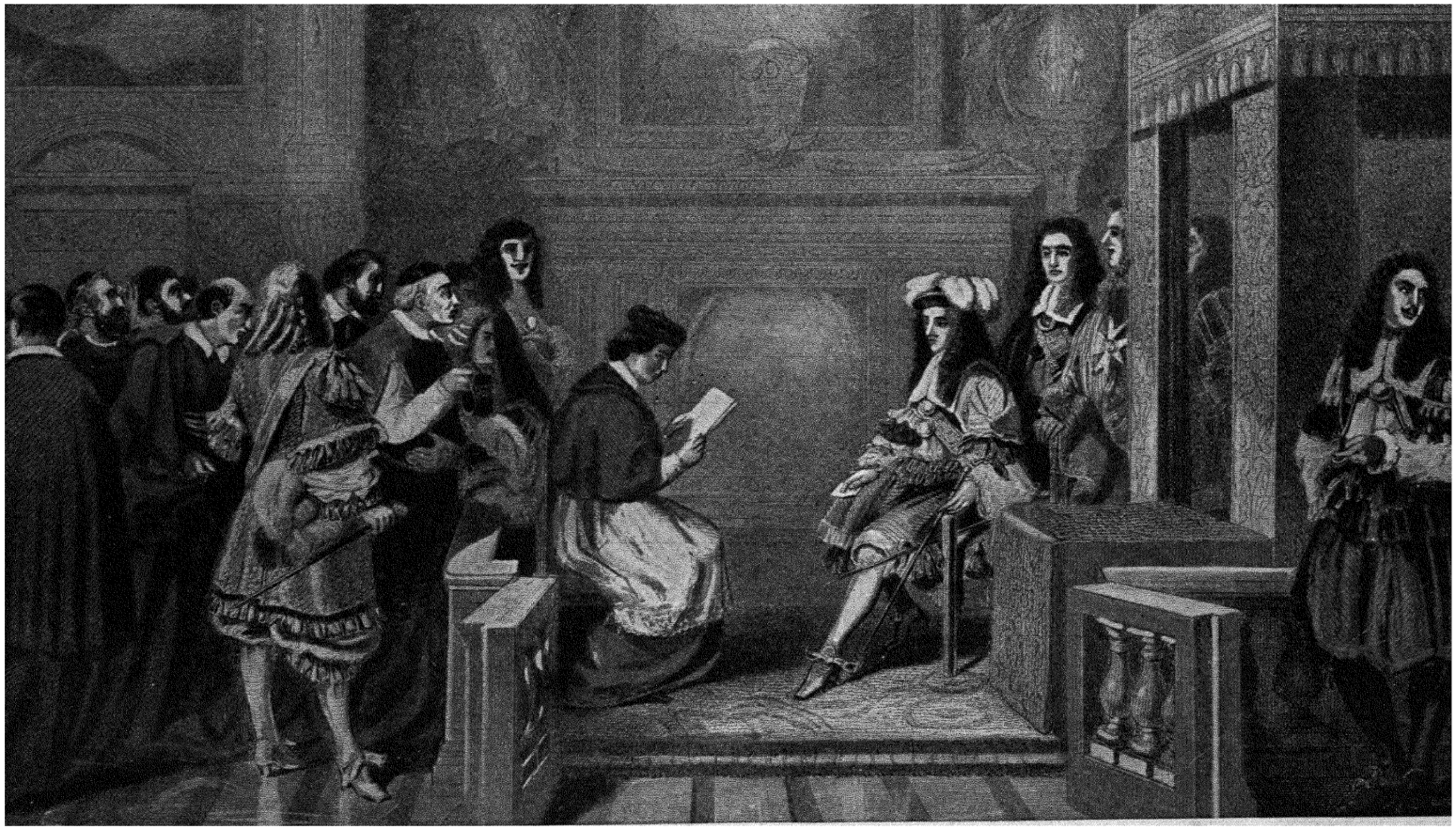
The dexterity and the good taste of the population displayed itself in their manufactures, which were, in part, new creations or were modified to meet an existing demand, as in the case of the lace manufacture.

The trade, however, which it was hoped that the West India, East Africa, East India, Northern, and Levant companies would establish by no means fulfilled the general expectations. The French were not capable of world-wide commercial undertakings. They rarely desired to push their influence in far distant countries; they were not fitted, as their king had supposed, to enter into commercial rivalry with Holland and England. Several times France gained a footing in North America, and each attempt proved her want of capacity for the task of colonisation. At the present day France has neither influence nor colonists in the northern continent of the New World; these have passed to the British race. The capital of these companies was provided by private subscription, in which the higher officials had to take a share "at the king's desire."

French Incapacity in Business

The best business of all was done by the Levantine company, which monopolised the trade between the western Mediterranean and ports of the Turkish kingdom, after numerous attempts at intervention by the Dutch merchants. Great hopes had rested upon the completion of the Canal du Midi, as it was thought that merchantmen of heavy tonnage could avail themselves of this new route from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean; at any rate, it made manifest the talents of the French for engineering work, and gave flatterers—among whom Pierre Corneille was conspicuous—the opportunity of magnifying the king above Charlemagne and all his predecessors. But the new passage did not become an important trade route; the canal affected the trade merely of the surrounding districts—that is to say, of Languedoc.

The rearrangement of financial affairs, wherein, according to the report of the Venetian envoys, material improvement would be rapidly brought about by the influx of bullion from abroad, enabled the



THE POPE'S APOLOGY TO THE FRENCH KING CARDINAL CHIGI PLEADING BEFORE LOUIS XIV FOR PARDON

The sequel to a dispute between Pope Alexander VII and Louis XIV is represented in the above picture. In 1660 the French ambassadors in Rome claimed the privilege of protecting all the quarter of the city near their residence from the usual operations of justice, and, supporting this contention, Louis became involved in a serious dispute with the occupant of St. Peter's Chair. At length the Pope gave way, and sent his nephew, Cardinal Chigi, to Paris, to apologise to the French king and to seek pardon for the Holy See.

king to reorganise the army, which was hardly equal to any enterprise of difficulty in its present form, under which it had emerged from the most recent wars. The system of yeomanry enlistment, the swindling practised by the authorities, whose returns invariably claimed pay for a larger number of men than were actually under arms, the small number of real fighting troops as compared with the growing train of camp followers, the entire dependence of military operations upon the exigencies of winter quarters and harvesting—these and many other causes of weakness could only be swept away when the king took the interests of the officers and men directly under his control, when the middleman was no longer responsible for their equipment, and when pay could be disbursed as it fell due.

Hitherto the governors of the provinces had been a serious check to the power of the king over the army, since they had command of the fortress garrisons, and could call out the "arrière ban" of the nobles and levy the militia. Standing cavalry regiments had never been kept up, as they were found to be unavailable for purposes of regular warfare. Louvois was the first to make use of the militia —with some reluctance—during the War of the Spanish Succession, when lack of men became a serious problem. For this purpose contributions were exacted from the nobility and the towns, which were employed for purposes of recruiting.

It was not a national army that Louis XIV. employed to secure his predominance in Europe, but an army of professional soldiers, of which scarce two-thirds were Frenchmen. The infantry of the "Maison du Roi," which was 6,000 strong, was half foreign; in the [illegible] 800 mounted troops of noble origin, Frenchmen were in the majority. The "infantry of the line" counted forty-six regiments, of which fourteen, including fifty so-called free companies, were composed of Swiss,



RENEWAL OF THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND, NOVEMBER 10TH, 1663



"L'ETAT, C'EST MOI!": THE FAMOUS DECLARATION OF LOUIS XIV.
The imperious temper of the youthful King of France, ever impatient with opposition, led Louis on one occasion to take stern measures with the Paris Parlement. While he was hunting, word was brought to him regarding the interference of the Parlement with his edicts; he galloped straight to Paris, entered the Palais de Justice and Hall of Parlement in his hunting habit, and sternly rebuked the astonished legists. "L'Etat, c'est moi!"—The State, it is I—is the saying attributed to him, and in this phrase is embodied the policy which he so zealously pursued.

Germans, Irishmen, Italians, and Walloons. The cavalry amounted to eighty-two regiments, with 12,000 horses, in their case foreigners made up an eighth part of the whole, and were looked upon as the flower of the service, and received higher pay than the native-born soldiers.

The rise of the French nation to the position of a great power was not the result of any great national movement, but was due solely to the victory of the system of centralisation and monarchical absolutism, which lofty aims were prosecuted by capable statesmen and a monarch of first-rate capacity. These aims were national. They corresponded to that inner consciousness of power with which the nation was inspired; but they were not laid down as being the direct expression of the national will. The kingly policy had to undertake the task of accustoming the nation to that point of view. In the German Empire exactly the contrary was the case. There the necessities and the just demands of the nation were discussed in tracts and essays, which went the round of the educated classes. But the movement gained no consideration; neither the emperor nor the diet was able to unite the German forces, either for defence against attack, or for the enforcement of justice, or contractual obligations, or for a stand against oppression. Had not this dissimilarity of conditions existed in her neighbour, France would never have been able, even under the strongest absolutism, to attain a position wholly out of proportion to her natural resources and to the just claims of her people.

Centralisation at home was followed by extension abroad, by conquest, the unlimited extent of which could not fail to become a source of danger to the nation. There can be no doubt that Louis XIV. was induced to undertake his wars of spoliation by the legend of Austrasia and the so-called right of natural boundaries, which were to include the Rhine;

but it is equally certain that after his marriage with the Infanta of Spain he had entertained the hope of winning the Spanish kingdom, or at least a large portion of its territory. In so doing he transgressed to his eventual ruin the limits of the classical system of French policy which had been founded by Henry IV. and built up by the cardinals. He excited the greed for possession in the French, and fostered their political pride; but he failed to inspire them with that sense of unconditional devotion to the state, with that spirit of cheerful obedience to the ruling house, which is alone able to sustain the shock of severe repulse. The excess to which the centralisation of the state was carried brought about consequences so disastrous to the nation that all the cruel blood-letting of the Revolution could not effect a permanent cure.

Louis' Policy of Aggression

The first step which betrayed the young king's intentions was directed against Lorraine. This province had already passed into the French sphere of influence, as a result of the rights, acquired in 1659, to a military road which crossed the province in the direction of the Rhine. Diplomatic quibbles and finally the employment of force gained the whole district with the exception of one fortress, Maral. The ducal family of the House of Guise were again obliged to attempt to protect their property by joining hands with the Hapsburg policy; but they obtained no material support from the emperor.

The second step had for its object the acquisition of the Spanish "Burgundian" dominions. Louis XIV. was ready to support his father-in-law, Philip, against Portugal—for Philip had designs of uniting Portugal with the country of its origin—provided that he would agree to declare that the renunciation made by his elder daughter, Louis' wife, was invalid, and that she might accordingly lay claim to the inheritance of Franche-Comté and some Netherland territory. Louis' intentions were helped by the fact that the Netherland jurists established the fact of the existence of so-called rights of escheatage as regards Brabant, whereby Maria Theresa could lay definite claim to an important part of Great Burgundy. When Philip died, in 1665, Louis came to an understanding with Charles II. of England upon certain acquisitions which Charles was to obtain, concluded a compact with the Rhenish princes for the security of the passage of the Rhine against any contingents of the imperial troops, and then ordered the Marshals Antoine d'Aumont and Turenne to advance into Flanders and push on to Brabant.

The French Claims on Great Burgundy

The Spaniards were not so completely taken by surprise as had been hoped in Paris. Brussels was too well prepared to be captured by any sudden attack. Dendermonde, the most important strategical point on the Scheldt, was in an excellent position of defence, and could have withstood a siege. But Charleroi, Douai, Courtrai, and Lille were seized before the powers, who had been surprised by this unexpected breach of the peace on the part of France, could agree upon any common action. Louis issued the information that he desired to gain the Franche-Comté, Luxemburg, and certain places on the Netherland frontier, and that if these were left to him he would renounce all claims to any further rights which his wife might acquire by inheritance. Condé, who was entrusted with the conquest of the Franche-Comté, succeeded in this task with surprising rapidity but this was the sole success which fell to the king as a result of this first act of aggression. Sweden joined the convention which had been brought about between England and the states of Holland, resulting in the Triple Alliance on January 23rd, 1668, which recognised the claims of Louis to what he had already seized, on the condition that he should renounce all future attempts at aggrandisement.

Louis XIV. and the Triple Alliance

The king agreed; he restored the Franche-Comté to Spain, and retained his conquests in the Spanish Netherlands. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, to which Spain was obliged to conform, confirmed this settlement on May 2nd, 1668, without raising any discussion as to Maria Theresa's rights of inheritance. Louis' Ministers had urgently advised him not to entangle the finances of the country by prosecuting a war, in which Spain would undoubtedly have found allies against him. Before it was possible to resume the policy of conquest, the work of centralising the forces of the state must be vigorously prosecuted. Meanwhile, the task before French diplomacy was to split up the Triple Alliance and to prevent any future union of the so-called "sea powers."



AUSTRIA AND THE EMPIRE
AND GERMANY'S FALL FROM GREATNESS

THE German Empire, the old Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, once the greatest power of western Christendom, had renounced its position as a great power by the Peace of Westphalia. It had been deprived of territory, population, and wealth, its economic resources were inadequate, and its moral strength proportionately weakened. Moreover, its constitution had undergone changes, which entirely removed the possibility of that union of national force, that civil centralisation, by which alone national strength can manifest itself in action.

The feudal system had in this case run a course entirely different from that taken in England and France. The throne was based upon election by the freemen; and though the power of election was limited to a constantly diminishing body, yet it could not be entirely set aside by any member of the royal house, which, both on the nearer and further side of the Alps, maintained the exercise of the royal prerogatives with the consent and the support owed by law from the great vassals. When finally the princes who had the right of choice—that is, the electors—received the commission to place a ruler on the throne under conditions contractual in their nature, then their rights and their peculiar position gained a constitutional sanction, and the power of the monarch was so far limited that he could never attain to absolute sovereignty.

Limiting the Power of the Monarch

The classes excluded from the electorate were also protected from oppression, for on the one hand they were indispensable to the bearer of the crown as a counterpoise to the electors, and, on the other hand, the latter might find their help useful should the sovereign meditate any attack upon their own political existence. The many-sided interests which king and emperor were bound or found occasion to represent claimed their whole power and attention. The inadequacy of the revenue which the head of the empire, as such, had at his command made them dependent upon the goodwill of their vassals; and whenever the latter gave their assistance they found opportunity to increase their rights and to strengthen their influence upon the life of the nation. Nowhere was the position of the Church so independent or endowed with such high temporal powers as in Germany; nowhere without the German Empire could ecclesiastical princes be found with the position of an Archbishop of Mainz or Cologne, a Bishop of Wurzburg or Munster, bishops who could style themselves Dukes of Franconia or Westphalia.

The Church Strong in Germany

The Reformation had diminished their number, but the property of the dispossessed had not accrued to the crown, as might very well have been the case if the head of the empire had been able to guide the movement directed against the constitution of the Church. A Protestant emperor who could have been a national emperor at the same time might have emerged in triumph from the battle with the feudal powers, which apparently fled for protection behind the sheltering bulwarks of the old belief; the ally and voluntary steward of the papacy handed over the portion of the empire which had been torn from the old Church to the princely houses, which thereby enriched themselves and assured their political position.

The Thirty Years War had shown that this state of affairs was impossible. It should, however, be observed that the German religious wars might have had a different result if a tax-gatherer had held the throne in place of Charles V., or if Ferdinand II. had been inspired with the spirit of a Henry of Navarre, or even if this weak-minded pupil of the Jesuits of the Ingol towns had had at least the moral strength to use the talent and the mercilessness of a Wallenstein in the interests

Germany's Religious Struggles

of a ruling imperialism based upon force of arms. As a matter of fact, that strong personality, which might have changed the semblance of imperial power into the reality, was not forthcoming from the House of Hapsburg; in spite of the Divine assistance officially promised by the successors of St. Peter, it was equally incapable of performing the task laid upon it by the papacy—the subjection of the schismatics in the empire to the Roman Church. Indeed, the ecclesiastical princes themselves contributed not a little to retard the progress of the army of the Catholic emperor; they went over to the side of Maximilian of Wittelsbach when at Regensburg he had wrested the order for the release of the Friedländer from the emperor. The certainty was then made absolute that Germany could not be a monarchy.

The Paradox of Germany's Sovereign

And Philip Boguslav of Chemnitz was entirely justified, in 1640, when in his famous "Dissertatio de ratione status in imperio nostro romano-germanico" he described the form of the German monarchy as essentially aristocratical, entrusting certain departments of administration to the supervision of a monarch; the monarch, however, had no special rights appertaining to him as princeps, except such as his colleagues in the administration were willing to concede to him. "This person of supreme rank bears the old Roman title of 'Kaiser,' but the title does not express the position which a monarch holds in other states. Sovereignty or majesty is not to be found with the Kaiser, but only with the general assembly of the members of the empire crowned in the Reichstag."

In accordance with this conception of the state, representatives of the German Reichstag carried on negotiations for Munster and Osnabrück, and by the Peace of Westphalia the sovereignty of every component member of the empire was recognised, from the electors and dukes to such towns as Dinkelsbuhl and Bopfingen. The empire thereupon ceased to be a state. It no longer corresponded to the demands of a feudal state; for in such the vassals were not and could not be equal with the overlord, but must be in personal subjection to and dependence upon him. But the empire was also incapable of providing from its own resources for the protection of its people against enemies from without or injustice within, and still more incapable of carrying out the organisation necessary for culture and prosperity.

When the Empire Ceased as a State

The fulfilment of these obligations belonging to the state devolved upon the Orders, the owners of territory, who were forced to develop gradually into separate states or to disappear; as the decision upon the religion to be adopted lay in their hands, they were in possession of the most important of all instruments for moulding the social spirit of their territory. But the German Orders differed greatly in extent of dominion, in composition, and in power of action, and, in consequence, only a small number of them was capable of forming a political unity, there being 158 members of the Reichstag, whereas there existed nearly 300 governors with forms of administration peculiar to each.

During the period from the Peace of Westphalia to the dissolution of the old kingdom the history of Germany embraces not only the struggle of the Orders to maintain their sovereignty as against the attempts of the emperor to limit it, but, even more, the struggle for means to found a body politic -- that is, for extent of territory, increase of the population, and strengthening of internal relations. A process of centralisation embracing the whole empire was impracticable, being excluded by the existing scheme of disunion and disruption; such centralisation was possible only within the narrow boundaries of territorial lords, and was therefore confined to the German principalities. Strong and fortunate dynasties, where vigorous personalities could make their mark, succeeded in founding states with vital force sufficient to enable them to preserve their independence in spite of every collapse or political bankruptcy.

The Fate of Weak Dynasties

The remainder met with the inevitable fate of the weak who oppose the will of the strong—namely, destruction; or else they maintained a very modest existence, having no greater extent or power than the estates of a private landowner, and owing their continuance to the silent forbearance of their neighbours, and to a respect for tradition, which had long since been void of all political content, and had no meaning save for the historical antiquarian.

Of all the royal houses of Germany, that of Hapsburg stood first in importance and external power; but its possessions and interests had come to it from without

the boundaries of the empire; the Casa d'Austria had been of and by itself a world power. It is true that Charles V. was the only ruler to govern the whole of the immense territory which he had inherited; the division into the Spanish and German lines resulted from the fact that the two geographical groups were inevitably forced asunder by the necessities of their very existence, and the immediate cause of the separation was the exercise of those family rights which had brought the union to pass in the face of every political and economic law. The Spanish state with its Italian and Burgundian dependencies and its American colonies had been unable to maintain its position as a great power, and had been forced to yield to Holland and France. The claims of the reigning dynasty, which thought it unnecessary to set any bounds to its ambition, and had frittered its strength away on every battlefield during the Thirty Years War, diverted attention from home affairs, so that ruin came upon the kingdom of Philip II. both from without and from within. The fact that the brothers Rudolf and Matthias left no children prevented the otherwise unavoidable subdivision of the German line; Spanish influence enabled Ferdinand II. to become sole ruler, Spanish money supported the army with which the Austrian defended his territory. But the consequence was that the German Hapsburgs found themselves obliged to take up the heavy and embarrassing burden of the emperor's crown. The looseness of connection between the different members of the Roman Empire within the German nation must have proved a help to a reigning dynasty which attempted to unify the subject states by means of personal government and a uniform administration; especially was this true of the House of Hapsburg, which had been able to reinforce its rights of possession by the further influence resulting from uniformity of religion. The spiritual bond of union between the Hapsburg territories, which now began to receive the general name of Austria, and the chief centres of culture in the rest of Germany, had been almost entirely destroyed by the counter-reformation in the Alpine territories, by the victory over the Bohemian disturbances, and by the consequent subjection of intellectual and moral education to the control of the Jesuit orders. Economic relations between the two countries were also cut off at their very source by the stoppage of trade and intercommunication consequent upon the poverty in which the Thirty Years War had left the country. Thus Samuel Pufendorf, writing in 1667, under the pseudonym of Severinus de Mozambano, "De statu imperii germanici," had spoken of the constitution of the Roman Empire as irregular and monstrous, and instanced the position of the Casa d'Austria, which had been able to separate from the empire without difficulty and to set up as independent on its own account. Upon this fact he founded the opinion that the House of Hapsburg must be supported in its imperial position, because, if the crown



THE GERMAN EMPEROR LEOPOLD I.
He succeeded his father, the Emperor Ferdinand III., in 1658, and ruled his Hungarian subjects with such severity that they rebelled. The War of the Spanish Succession broke out during his reign as a consequence of the struggle between him and Louis XIV. of France for the heirship to the crown of Spain. Leopold died in 1705.

went to another family of princely rank the Hapsburg territories would inevitably be separated from the empire, which would thus be weakened and risk suffering the fate which had come upon Italy. Moreover, no other house was then in a position to bear the expense of keeping up the imperial court and ceremonial in proper form.

Ferdinand Maria Declines a Crown

The inference was so inevitable that no other prince of the empire was found who would have accepted the crown when Louis XIV. was looking out for a fresh candidate after the death of Ferdinand III. in 1657. When Count Egon of Fürstenberg made the proposal in the name of the French government to the Elector Ferdinand Maria of Bavaria, he declined it with the remark that he was not disposed to receive the imperial position as a favour from France, and that he did not care to endanger the security and permanence of his young electorate for the sake of the unstable and transitory dignity of the emperor's crown.

It was Brandenburg that finally decided the choice of Leopold I., an election vigorously opposed by France. With the exception of this elector and Bavaria, all the electors and their Ministers were silent. The ambassadors Gramont and Lionne, who were sent out to attend the election, had received credit from Mazarin to the amount of 3,000,000 pounds, and considerable sums from this source found their way into the pockets of influential personages at the courts of Cologne, Mainz, Trèves, and Heidelberg Austrian and Spanish money was also readily accepted, and the latter commanded great influence in Dresden. In any case, to take presents from both sides was to be under [illegible] neither.

Frederic William of Brandenburg enjoyed a reputation greater than any that his forefathers had possessed. When Sweden, Poland, and Austria were struggling for the

The Power of Frederic William

supremacy in Eastern Europe they could not afford to leave his power out of their calculations; within the empire his neighbours had to be careful how they opposed a coalition of which he was a member. Before the meeting of the electors, Frederic William plainly declared his opinion in a despatch to the Elector of Cologne, and spoke in favour of the Austrian candidate, for he was of Pufendorf's opinion as to the welfare of the empire, and therefore laid it down as necessary in view of the threatening state of affairs "again to elect such a house as is capable by its own power of upholding the Roman Empire."

However, when it became necessary to draw up the terms of election and to lay down the principles upon which the chosen emperor would have to conduct the policy of his government, Brandenburg declared decisively for that party which was opposed to any amalgamation of German and Spanish affairs, and was anxious that the emperor should not involve the empire in a quarrel with its western neighbour on account of the Franco-Spanish war. In brief, the desire of this party was that if the House of Hapsburg took the German crown, it should not employ the additional power thus gained to avert the fall of Spain.

Co-operation by the courts of Vienna and Madrid invariably favoured Catholicism, a religion which Brandenburg had no inclination to strengthen. The majority in the college of electors was gained by the adherence of the Palatinate under

Leopold I. Elected Emperor

the influence of the ecclesiastical princes of Cologne and Mainz, who were brought over to his side by the dependence upon France, whereas Protestant Saxony seceded through her jealousy of the Catholic parties—Bavaria and Trèves; however, the fact remains that the position assumed by Brandenburg materially helped to secure the safety of Protestantism Leopold was obliged to undertake to abstain from any interference in the wars which France was waging in Italy and Burgundy, to give no help to her opponents, and further to work in the interests of peace between France and Spain. If the emperor as head of the empire desired to enter into alliance with foreign powers, the consent of the electors must first be obtained, and this not by writing, but after full discussion in the electoral assembly.

For the execution of an imperial decree in the case of any one state of the empire the general consent was also necessary. The electoral character of the empire was thus most strongly emphasised by the election of Leopold I., and the terms of election which explained the main features of the constitution were practically an amplification of the Golden Bull in the year 1356. The election of the House of Hapsburg

had been a concession to the necessities of the general policy of the empire; it implied no greater coherence in the relations of the imperial princes to the emperor and his house. The republic of princes had chosen a wealthy and excellent representative, and had laid additional obligations upon the state, which was desirous of preserving the balance between the powers influential in the south-east of Europe; but the several members of the empire were entirely convinced that the imperial dominions and the voluntary union of the German rulers did not together constitute any political unity, and that they were severally at liberty to pursue their own course of policy regardless of the emperor.

This idea found open expression in the formation of a confederacy of the princes on the Rhine, a movement which followed almost immediately upon the election. If we consider merely the formal wording of the convention concluded upon August 14th, 1658, we may call the confederation a movement of the friends of peace—with such emphasis is the statement made that "the confederates, whether differing in religion or not, will provoke no foreign power to hostilities, but will preserve the friendship now existing among themselves, and will use the remedies of law to remove any causes of quarrel that may occur." However, this organisation could not be considered as remarkably formidable, inasmuch as the whole of the standing forces which the members were able to provide amounted to only 4,700 infantry and 2,370 cavalry.

Princes Combine for Peace

Beside the electorates of Mainz, Cologne, and the Palatinate of Neuburg, the Lunebургers of Brunswick and the Landgrave of Hesse also joined the confederation, which was modified conformably to its convention with France. France undertook to protect the rights and possessions of the confederates, who on their part promised to maintain the Peace of Westphalia together with the concessions then made to France, and held themselves in readiness to help the king with their military contingents if he should be attacked in any of the territories which had been assured by the peace.

The estimate of troops mentioned in the French proposals was sufficiently modest, amounting to 1,600 infantry and 800 cavalry; the political confederates were bound to act only in cases when the German princes reckoned upon French help; they were not concerned with the rights of France to represent her own interests with such means as might seem necessary to her within the territory of the confederates. In the war against Spain and the States-General, Louis XIV. had gained considerable advantage by making practical use of these rights, which had been established in theory by the dexterous diplomacy of Mazarin. Brandenburg also took part in the early stages of the negotiations, but she abstained from joining in the compact; she made many changes of front which were not compatible with the policy of reinsurance against the growing power of the empire adopted by a number of petty German states. Brandenburg-Prussia had already become a body politic which was quite capable of leading an alliance, but could never have been an earnest, loyal member of a confederation under French guidance.

Dexterous Diplomacy of Mazarin

The imperial court fully recognised that the formation of the Rhine confederation was directed immediately against its position in the empire, and foreboded an interference on the part of France in the affairs of the empire which might become extremely serious. The emperor therefore did his utmost to sever the constitutional representatives of the provinces, who made up the assembly of deputies when the Reichstag was not sitting, from such influence as the Rhine princes might exert. There was some dispute upon the question whether the assembly of deputies should be held in Frankfort or in Regensburg, and the Rhine confederates demanded the summoning of the Reichstag, which had been [illegible] for two years in 1654.

The German Reichstag, which was in correspondence with the assembly for maintaining the Peace at Nuremberg, might have extended its activity in an unusual degree. It might have dealt with the means of realising the principles of the imperial constitution as laid down in the Peace of Westphalia, with measures necessary for securing the frontiers, with the organisation of the imperial army, with the means desirable for increasing the prosperity of the country, for reviving trade and industry. However, one of the most remarkable

Germany's Lost Opportunities

phenomena among the consequences of the Thirty Years War is the fact that all the misery and all the losses which had befallen Germany during that period could not arouse the people to the absolute necessity of co-operation for the protection of their real interests. In wide sections of the population some dull sense of that necessity may have remained, millions of sufferers may have hoped that help would come from the emperor and the empire, but of these desires no outward manifestation ever came to be expressed in political action.

The Sad Condition of Germany

The truth of the saying that "poverty brings weakness" was never so strikingly illustrated as in the case of the German Empire, which the great war had deprived of half its inhabitants, four-fifths of all its domestic animals, and of building materials and articles of daily use to an incalculable extent. Starving men, in whom all feeling for the benefits of society is dead, who have sunk to the degradation of cannibalism, as was constantly the case towards the end of the war, cannot be expected to fight for political rights; they are utterly incapable of grasping the connection between political rights and their own struggle with the stern necessities of nature. The misery of the masses merely promotes the wealth and the power of a few self-aggrandising selfish natures, who know how to possess themselves of those means by which political power can be grasped and held.

In the sixteenth century, when the demand for the Christian community of property arose over a great part of Germany, and became almost a war cry, the German peasants were generally in a state of prosperity which amounted almost to luxury, and were thus capable of striving for social equality with the territorial lords; even after the subjection of the bloody revolt in Thuringia and Swabia, they did not lose so much in point of political rights as they lost during the two decades in which the German lands were under the rule of soldiers, and suffered alike from friend and foe.

German Lands under the Rule of Soldiers

Within the land-owning class great changes had taken place; many ancient families had been extinguished, had been driven out from castle and court, or had found themselves unable to keep up their establishments, owing to want of capital and scarcity of labour; their place had been taken by the military aristocracy, which had appropriated to itself most of the hard cash in the country. "The new masters had no mercy upon the poor dependents, for they had not learned to know them by centuries of life among them. The rights and privileges which the old families had left undisturbed were now altered, and altered in favour of the masters, with the help of adroit masters of Roman jurisprudence, who were always ready to lend a hand in any doubtful business for cash payment; free courts were broken up or suppressed."

But the men who had in this manner become great landowners could not forthwith give up the habits and vices which they had indulged during the long period of war. In the castles, which were restored and splendidly furnished with foreign money, a wild life went on; drunkenness and gaming were unbounded, and were interrupted only by the rough pleasures of the chase. In the villages the disbanded soldiers who tramped the country took from the peasants the little which they had been able to wring from the soil with their inadequate appliances. In many places there was neither priest nor schoolmaster; the rich intellectual treasure which scholars had spread abroad throughout the hearths and homes of the people had vanished entirely. Ignorance, superstition, the belief in witchcraft, dominated their minds; habits of begging had destroyed even their sense of shame.

An Age of Ignorance and Poverty

In consequence of the want of money among the lower and middle classes, wages and the prices of raw stuffs were lowered in every part of the country; industrial activity was limited to the production of such articles as were absolutely necessary, capital was wanting for the maintenance of artistic manufactures; capital in the hands of a limited number of rich men went abroad in exchange for an increase of imports, which came in chiefly from France, but also from Amsterdam, London, Lisbon, and Venice. "From the courts, great and small, ecclesiastical and civil, in which had been heaped the plunder of the generals and captains of every nation and creed, the taxes paid by the vassals flowed into the coffers of the Parisian manufacturers, who then laid down the fashion of the day for the whole of the Continent. Thus it was that

France's economic triumphs increased her political advantage, and thus Germany's misfortunes conduced to the enrichment of her western neighbour." Dutch and English had absorbed the trade which was once the mainstay of the Hanseatic houses; trade in South Germany was absolutely dead. Many of the powerful patrician families had become counts and landed lords, others took official posts as a possible sop to their ambition, most had disappeared altogether. There was no incitement to the spirit of enterprise; in trade over seas the name of Germany was almost unknown.

This state of affairs did not, however, weigh heavily upon the councillors and syndics who represented their rulers at Regensburg, and spent most of their time in the presentation of extensive reports upon fruitless negotiations and in the study of injunctions, which generally contained occasion for setting aside any proposition which might have been generally beneficial. The "Recess of the Imperial Diet," which was the name given to the collective report of the resolutions passed, contains the text of the Peace of Westphalia and the practical resolutions of the Nüremberg assembly, a decree concerning the reform of the imperial chamber court, some proposals for improvement in the division of the empire into circles, and unimportant regulations upon the payment of outstanding debts. The parties had been fighting under arms for thirty years, and continued to regard one another with mutual distrust; the general welfare of the nation was neglected in spite of the fact that public opinion, as shown by a stream of political pamphlets, had set in steadily in the direction of a more enlarged and enlightened policy. The fear that the emperor would attempt to extend his powers was so overpowering that none could recognise the unifying force of resolutions by the majority in the college of electors. Count George Frederic of Waldeck, who obtained at that time greater influence upon the imperial policy of the Elector of Brandenburg, warned him not to submit in any way to the decrees concerning imperial taxation, upon the regular payment of which the imperial party rightly laid great stress; should the elector submit, "instead of being a king's equal, he would become a dependent, a treasure-bringing—that is, a tributary—lord, of less power and resource than a landed proprietor of Bohemia or Poland." In view of the experience which Ferdinand III. had had of the Reichstag, Leopold could not expect to gain very much by re-opening [illegible] with the states of the empire, for he could hardly expect any great support of his own interests from them. It was only the recurrence of the danger of an attack by the Turks upon the territory which he had inherited which had induced him to summon the Reichstag. The territory of the House of Hapsburg, great though it was, had not yet been organised as a state, and lacked the internal strength which would have enabled it successfully to resist the powerful force which the Sultan could bring against it; German money and German troops were necessary for its defence, for it was justly to be considered as a bulwark of the kingdom against the East. The kingdom of the Magyar nationality had proved unequal to this task; since the disaster of Mohacs it had fallen into disruption and had become the scene of party conflicts, which greatly facilitated the Ottoman advance.



FREDERIC OF WALDECK
This count, who had great influence upon the imperial policy of the Elector of Brandenburg, advised him not to submit to the decrees concerning imperial taxation.

The Nation's Welfare Neglected

Germany in Danger from the Turks

It is possible that affairs in Hungary would have run a different course if the powerful dynasty of the Hunyadis had remained in power; but even then it would have been impossible to say with any certainty that the Magyar feudal nobility would have been ready as a whole to make the heavy sacrifices demanded for a long war with the Turks. Since the Ottomans had possessed themselves of the Balkan Peninsula, thoughtful Magyars were no longer set upon preserving the complete independence of their kingdom; they recognised the advisability of forming a close alliance with [illegible] who were powerful, and considered personal union to be the surest guarantee of confederations. This opinion came to open expression

in the compacts with Hapsburg, in 1463 and 1491, and also in the election of the Bohemian king Vladislav; the Reichstag at Ofen, 1527, also took the same point of view, after the terrorism of John Zapolya and his dependents had been crushed.

Hungary Between Two Evils

The nationalists, who passed the resolution in 1505 that no foreigner should be elected king, never seriously hoped for the absolute independence of Hungary. Having to choose between two evils, they preferred dependence upon the House of Hapsburg to dependence upon Turkey. The position adopted by Hungary, the centre of the opposition, was largely influenced by the religious policy of the Hapsburgs, whose permanent union with the papacy and the Jesuits formed a continual danger to the freedom of Protestantism, which had taken root both in the Carpathian highlands and in the plains of the Theiss. The national movements under Bocskay, Bethlen, and the Rakoczy were in each case attempts to protect Protestantism, and gained strength from union with the corresponding religious parties in Germany. The House of Hapsburg had hoped to be able to make its territories coherent by the maintenance of religious unity. But its stern opposition to the fundamental principle of religious freedom hindered the internal coherence of the population, shattered all confidence in the respect for justice which had been attributed to the dynasty, and secured the adhesion of the religious fanaticism, which was very strongly developed among the Magyar Calvinists, to the political parties.

The Chief Factor in Austria's Fate

The policy of the Hapsburgs was not founded on religious intolerance in itself, the grandsons of Maximilian I. regarded the Reformation from a political point of view. Resistance to the Reformation was a matter that touched neither heart nor conscience in their case; they thought that they could not afford to lose the support of the ecclesiastical princes and the clergy against the encroachments of the secular Orders of the empire. However, political views are unstable; they have to be adapted to change of circumstances and a proof of this fact is to be seen in the altered attitude of Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II., and even in the case of Rudolf and Matthias. The fate of Austria largely depended upon the supremacy of the inner Austrian line, in which the Bavarian Wittelsbach blood and temperament of the Archduchess Maria had become preponderant. We must leave the investigators of the psychology of families and races to decide why it was that Jesuit Catholicism should have gained so strong a hold upon the Bavarians in particular; at any rate, its influence during a period of 400 years is unmistakable, and cannot be neglected if we would understand the history of Austria.

The Jesuits were the primary founders of that system of centralisation which impeded the different countries possessed by the Hapsburgs in their natural development to a strongly [illegible] federal state, brought about hostility between the several populations, and set their interests in opposition to the interests of the state. In the countries of the Bohemian crown the Jesuits exercised a Germanising influence; on the other hand, in the duchies of the Alpine districts, the acquisition and the union of which had formed the kernel of the power of the Hapsburg family, Jesuit influence prevented any close sympathy on the part of the people for their blood relations in the Protestant territories.

Decay of Intellectual Culture

The consequence was the almost entire destruction in those countries of that intellectual culture which had been a splendid characteristic of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Phrase-making, empty and superficial, was the dominant feature in literature, in countless cases the spirit of intellectual society was broken, subservience was praised as a virtue, sycophancy and jealousy became habitual.

At the instance of his Bavarian relatives, and with the help of Jesuit advice, Ferdinand II. proceeded to oppress the Protestant Orders, and was resisted with empty words instead of strong action; in cowardice and hesitation the Protestant landowners retired within their castle walls before a few gangs of peasants, and quietly looked on at the process of turning shopkeepers and peasants into Catholics. Until the edict of restitution in 1629, they had at least succeeded in preserving the right of freedom of worship in their own homes; but after that period their liberties were nearly blotted out.

The Roman clerics advanced, secure of victory, and with them the overbearing bands of Friedlander soldiers, while distinguished families who would not renounce their faith, retreated before them, and left their houses, courts, and country, to

await the time when the German Empire and their Christian fellows could assure them religious freedom and enable them to return to the possession of their ancient inheritances. With unparalleled obstinacy the Emperor Ferdinand III. fought against the attempt, during six years of negotiation at Munster and Osnabruck, to extend the conditions of religious toleration to his own territories; during that period he failed to avail himself of many favourable opportunities, as he was employed in offering an obstinate opposition to the attack made by Sweden in favour of the Austrian Protestants.

After the peace the chief power in the empire was concentrated in the person of an emperor who was chief only in name, but the religious unity of the territories of the House of Austria had been preserved. The Protestant Orders made further attempts to remove or to lighten the heavy yoke laid upon their Austrian co-religionists, but these efforts were unsuccessful, the more so as they were never seriously prosecuted. The Reichstag and the election of Leopold as emperor would have provided opportunity for the exertion of greater pressure; but no one took the trouble to seize the occasion, because no one took any permanent interest in the fate of the Austrian territories. Nowhere was the weakness of the empire more conspicuous than at that point where the emperor was also a territorial prince; the imperial support, which had been so earnestly requested and desired, about which so many words and documents in the Reichstag had been spent in vain, bore a miserable appearance upon the frontiers and could make no impression upon the land-owners, who were alarmed at the incursion of the Turks, from which they had suffered loss.

Where the Empire was Weak

The custom grew of considering the title of emperor as one attaching *ipso facto* to the local prince, and no special stress was ever laid upon the fact that the prince's lords were part of the Roman Empire of the German nation. The only people to take any real part in imperial affairs were the high nobility, who were aiming at paid official posts under the empire, or whose social position would be improved by admission into the colleges of imperial princes and counts. The Austrian could no longer entertain the idea that he was himself "within the empire"; the phrase "beyond the empire" began to grow more and more habitual. The separation of the Hapsburg possessions from the rest of Germany has been a steadily growing fact since the Peace of Westphalia, so much so that the legislation establishing their separate existence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was brought about without difficulty, and the full significance of the step was probably never realised by the majority of the population. The common action necessary to meet the attack of the Turks was no check upon this process of alienation; the German princes, with whom the emperor negotiated in the Reichstag for some means of support, had no intention of demanding that the ties uniting the empire should be further strengthened by way of recompense for their aid; nor did they attempt to insist that the Reichstag should have more power to deal with affairs within the Hapsburg territories.

The Independence of the German Princes

On the contrary, their efforts were concentrated entirely upon the task of making themselves more independent of the emperor by their wealth, their troops, and their personal service in war, thus they were in favour rather of weakening the cohesive power of the empire. The more they could free themselves from subjection to a superior power, the less they regarded the efforts of the emperors to make their own territory, by the introduction of all kinds of administrative measures, a self-contained province separate from the empire. Federal relationship was the natural result of the circumstances of the time; imperial federation had no real existence.

However, the manifestations of popular feeling were of a totally different character; the nation had been roused by the reports disseminated concerning the cruelty of the Turks in Transylvania and Upper Hungary, and would gladly have joined in offering a vigorous resistance to their hereditary foe. The heroic defence of Grosswardein in the summer of 1660 increased the interest which the people took in the fate of their co-religionists in Hungary and Transylvania. But the court of Vienna had no ears for popular outcry, and not the smallest desire to turn the crusading spirit to account, as it might lead only to the further strengthening of Protestantism.

Hungary Raided by Turks

In spite of the many difficulties in the way, the diplomacy of the time continued to discuss the questions of equipment and defence. For six months had the Archbishop of Salzburg, as the emperor's chief commissioner, awaited the arrival of the provincial ambassadors in Regensburg; in January, 1663, when the session of the Reichstag could be opened, it became plain that not only the special desires of the electors would require consideration, but that an opposition to the princely houses had been set on foot, and an opposition which offered its assistance on conditions impossible to accept. It was due to the concurrence of France, ready to pull the strings of any number of intrigues, that William Philip of the Neuburg Palatinate, together with Brunswick, Hesse, and Wurtemberg, had founded the "union of princes," which was directed against the preponderance of the electoral families; their chief demand was that the council of princes should be allowed to partake in the election of the emperors, a privilege which had hitherto been claimed by the electors alone. So this party desired to make their help against the Turks conditional upon an alteration in the constitution, which the emperor had no power to grant upon his own initiative.

The Aims of the "Union of Princes"



COUNT MONTECUCCOLI
Count Raimund Montecuccoli, the imperial field-marshal, who entered the Austrian service in 1625, distinguished himself against the Turks in the Thirty Years War.

At length the union of princes was overruled; it was decided to make an immediate grant of fifty "Römermonate," there was to be exemption for no one, and the ten imperial departments were all included in the demand for 6,400,000 guldens—in reality, only the half of them. The next question was how this sum should be raised. The imperial towns, which had long been groaning under the weight of the payments imposed upon them, now demanded a revision of the imperial rolls; moreover, the members of the Rhine confederacy, upon the advice of France, declined to limit their action to a monetary payment, but desired to resume their original character of imperial auxiliaries by sending contingents of troops. France considered that such pecuniary resources would always be entirely at the emperor's disposal when once they had been tapped; whereas the co-operation of troops in the campaigns proposed would be contingent upon conditions constantly changing, and in the last resort excuses might always be found for the recall of the troops. During the debates on the subject of "emergency help," a proposal emanated from the Court of Brunswick to the effect that in future special provisions should be made for the security of the empire; this business occupied the attention of the Reichstag to the end of the session, and many well-meaning proposals were brought forward. However, no definite military scheme was evolved, as it was found impossible to guarantee the measure of support necessary for this purpose.

In the course of the summer of 1663 the Turkish intentions became plain; they had invaded Transylvania, and proposed to use the party struggles brought about by the Rakoczy family for the purposes of a great campaign, and to secure their power on the Central Danube by a crushing blow to be directed against the Austrian territory. The Grand Vizir Ahmed Koprili led one hundred and twenty thousand men to the Waag, giving out that he proposed to march directly upon Vienna. Fortunately for that town, his military incapacity was equalled only by his pride; instead of advancing straight upon his mark, he halted until September 27th, 1663, to besiege the fortress of Neuhausel, which made a heroic defence under Adam Forgach; upon the capitulation of the place he retired to Gran, and there sent his troops into winter quarters.

The imperial field-marshal, Count Raimund Montecuccoli, was one of the foremost strategists of the age; he was careful and cunning as well, and he had so cleverly manœuvred his scanty forces as to give the Grand Vizir a wholly erroneous impression of their numbers; and the Turks accordingly hesitated to attack the imperial position at Altenburg. Hungary herself took but little share in the defence of her own territory. The militia, the levies of the nobles and comitati, amounted to 11,000 men, who were of use only in guerrilla

Montecuccoli a Match for the Turks

operations, and would not stand firm in the open field. Not only were the operations of the imperial field-marshal inadequately supported, but supplies of provisions and men for the auxiliary forces were diminished by the self-seeking of individuals. The town of Pressburg declined to admit Montecuccoli within its gates, and only garrisoned the walls when the enemy were in sight of them. The Landtag declined to permit the imperial army to enter Hungarian territory before the militia had assembled, and the authorities were obliged to transport their reinforcements from Vienna by the Danube to the points threatened by the enemy.

The emperor was convinced that Ahmed Koprili would renew his attack in the following year, and appeared in person at Regensburg in December, 1663, being most anxious to secure the vigorous support of the imperial provinces. He found a zealous partisan in the Elector of Brandenburg, who further placed at the emperor's disposal such of his own troops as he could spare from the forces in preparation against Sweden and Poland, Bavaria, Saxony, and Mainz also contributed. The Rhine confederation supplied a body of 7,200 men under the command of Count Hohenlohe, who was not, however, permitted to join in any operation until the emperor should have consented to the junction with the French division. Brandenburg brought foward a proposition in the Reichstag that an imperial army should be raised amounting to 60,000 men. But the other provinces would not pledge themselves to a special number of troops; they agreed to the so-called Triplum—that is, the triple computation of the rolls of Maximilian or of Worms—which would theoretically have produced an effective force, but had never yet done so.

Germany in Need of an Army

During the winter of 1663-1664 the Rhine confederates had marched on their own initiative to the Drave, and had undertaken an aimless attack upon Essek, which had ended in heavy losses to themselves. Naturally, the emperor, in spite of his disinclination, could no longer refuse the help of the French contingent, and in view of the approach of the numerous bodies of the enemy was forced to accept any help which offered itself. Montecuccoli would have been very glad to form a central force of 50,000 men and 124 guns on the Danube. But the council of war at Regensburg demanded the formation of three armies; one for Upper Hungary and Transylvania, under Louis Rattwich, Count of Souches, another on the Drave under Strozzi and Nicholas Zrinyi for the conquest of Kanizsa, and a third under Montecuccoli on the Danube and Lake Platten with no special object in view.

The Turks Badly Beaten

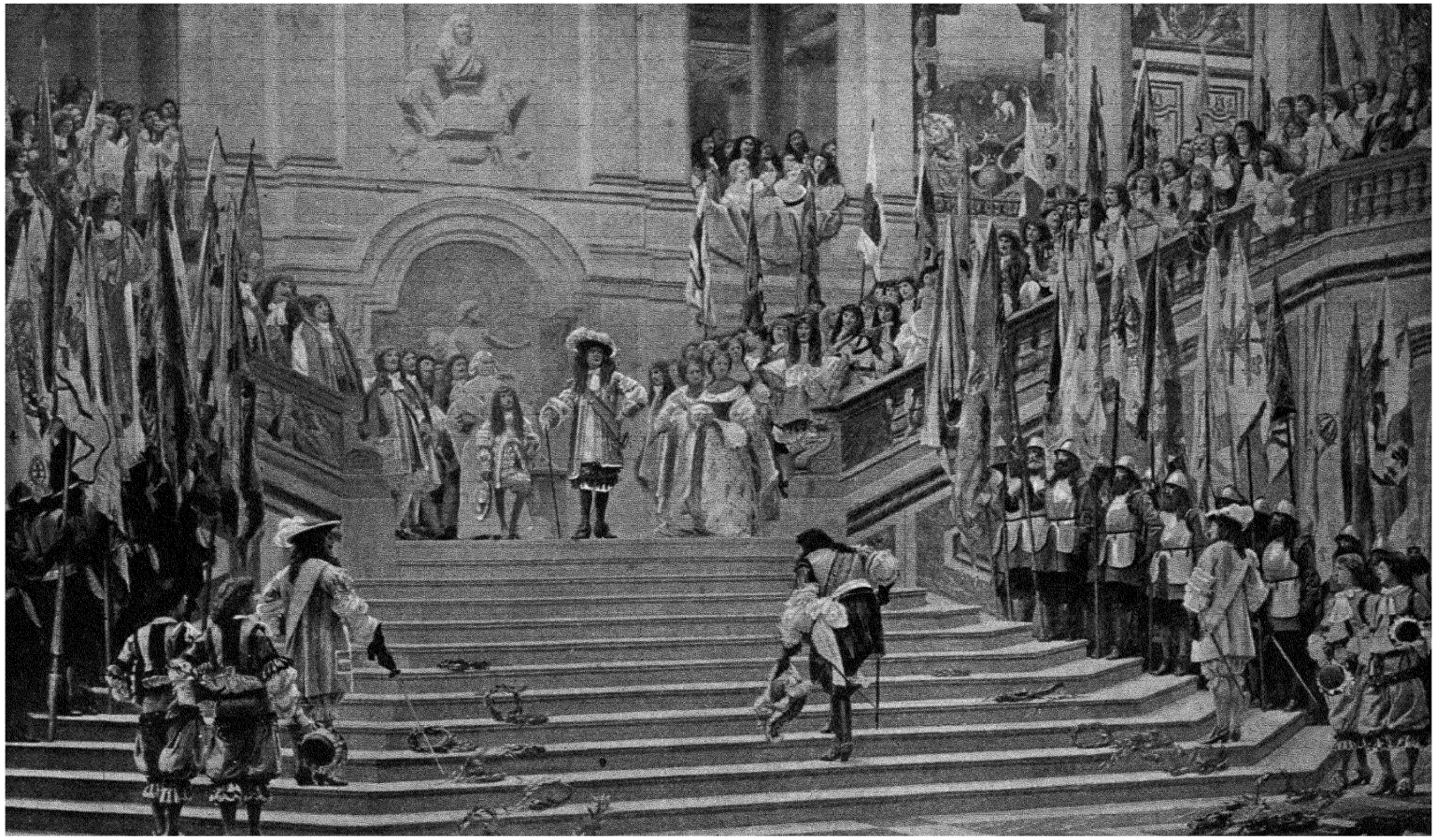
The Turks left their real line of attack to relieve Kanizsa, and Montecuccoli found time to effect a junction of his own army with the Rhine confederates and the French troops on the Raab, and gave battle on August 1st, 1664, at Sankt Gotthard, which ended in the defeat of the Turks with the loss of 14,000 of their best troops.

The Grand Vizir was obliged to give up the attack, as the condition of his troops was not such as to inspire confidence. At Altenburg, Montecuccoli brought 40,000 men and sixty guns against him, and might have been able to take the offensive had the imperial troops and the French been willing to place themselves unconditionally under his command. In order to bring the Turkish war to a victorious conclusion, French and Spanish affairs should have been left temporarily to themselves, and Brandenburg, the best armed of the German states, should have been brought over by co-operation in Silesia. Eastern Hungary and Transylvania would have had to be propitiated with the full recognition of religious freedom.

But such energetic measures proved too extreme for the authorities, and it seemed preferable to conclude the Peace of Vasvar, Eisenberg, with Turkey, on August 10th, 1664, a dishonourable peace which was really no more than an armistice of long duration. It brought contentment neither to the empire nor to Hungary. A few years after the conclusion of peace the conspiracy of Zrinyi, Nadasdy, Frangipani, and Tattenbach broke out, the object of which was the disruption of Hungary from Hapsburg. The conspiracy was discovered and the leaders punished with death, but dissatisfaction in Hungary only increased in consequence.

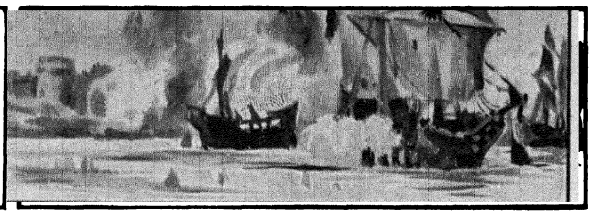
Hungary's Desire for Separation

Turkey could count now, as previously, upon the adhesion of the magnates. It was for her to say when the war should be renewed.



THE RECEPTION OF THE GREAT FRENCH COMMANDER CONDE BY LOUIS XIV. AT VERSAILLES IN THE YEAR 1674

From the painting by Jean Louis Gerome in the Metropolitan Art Museum, New York



ENGLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS
AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH LOUIS XIV.

DURING their eighty years' war of liberation against Spain the Protestant people of the Netherlands had not only struggled for religious freedom and political independence, but they had also become the greatest merchants and capitalists of the world. The struggle between the Romance and Teutonic races had lasted a thousand years, and after the seventeenth century it was not only a leading feature in European history, but was also an important factor in the political changes which took place in every habitable part of the globe, and during that struggle there is no more brilliant example of Teutonic superiority in the spirit of business enterprise, in boldness of commercial designs, and in determination to make the most of any advantage, however small, than is presented by the rise of Dutch commercial life.

Enterprising Dutch Merchants

After Spain and Portugal had begun the era of discovery, it was the merchants of Holland who were the first to grasp the commercial advantages opened by the discovery of the ocean routes to both Indies and to draw full profit from them, for the great influx of precious metal, which had given Spain so long a period of political power, was to be proved by no means a necessity, and very possibly a danger, to national prosperity.

It is possible that the Germans would have anticipated Holland by absorbing a large portion of the world's trade, or have become a commercial power contemporary with her; but German relations with Portugal who had begun her East Indian commercial career upon capital borrowed from the Fugger, Welser, Vohlin, Hochstetter, and others, had been interrupted by the opposition of Hapsburg interests and the first religious wars, which had exercised a destructive influence upon commercial activity in Southern Germany.

The political condition of the German Empire after Charles V. was totally incompatible with mercantile development, and the Netherlands had, therefore, no competition to fear in this direction. On the other hand, they were utterly beaten by the Hanseatics in the competition for the Baltic trade. The latter obtained their imports at so cheap a rate that they could afford to underbid any middleman; they supported Russia in her wars with Poland by shipments of guns and military stores, in return for which they exacted enormous quantities of raw material at ridiculously low prices. As they were always ready to pay cash down, they easily outstripped all competitors in the Baltic corn-markets; they monopolised the herring fisheries on the Scotch coasts by their greater cleverness in the curing of the fish, their methods being unknown to the English.

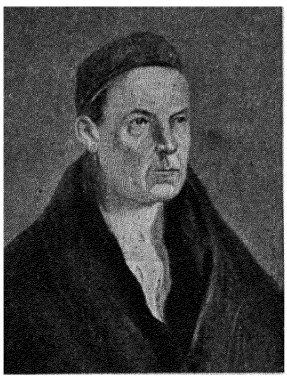
Markets Held by the Hanseatics

In 1642 a special board was appointed for the development of trade in the Levant. Venice and Genoa, who had been working for that trade for centuries, now had to put a good face on the matter and try to secure their retail trade in dried fish and colonial produce by means of special conventions. Venetian textile goods, which had been so famous and for which Smyrna was a special market, were now entirely ousted by Dutch and French productions. French goods were carried in Dutch vessels to every European coast, in the year 1658 their value was estimated at £42,000,000. The discoveries on the coast of the Australian continent, in New Guinea, and New Zealand must not be forgotten, together with the settlements in North America, where corn-growing and horse-breeding made great progress in a short time. The brilliancy of the life of the aristocracy, the self-confidence of the citizens,

Commercial Triumphs of France

have been immortalised in the Dutch school of painters, who attained to a higher pitch of artistic power during those days of commercial and political ascendency than any of their contemporaries. The admirable likenesses of their councillors and merchants bring before our eyes those men who exercised for half a century a domination which extended over every part of the world.

However, their power was but short-lived; at the moment when they seemed to have reached the highest point they were already tottering to their fall. The settlements, which their sea-power had enabled the Dutch to found after a hard struggle lay



JACOB FUGGER
He was a member of a Swabian family famous for its commercial enterprise and prosperity, and whose grants of money made the development of trade possible.

capitalists towards the landed proprietors, who took no share in commerce, eventually deprived the city aristocracy of all co-operation on the part of the nobles in the further development of the state; the House of Orange, which had raised the standard of freedom and independence during the hardest periods of the fight, was thereby deprived of that position in which it had been able to render the greatest services to the common fatherland. The young stadtholder and captain-general, William II., was carried off by an untimely death on November 6th, 1650; and it was not till a week after his funeral that his heir was born to the English

to make their defence secure; but the nation of whom these efforts were demanded was incapable of any further development. They had brought their carrying-trade to the highest possible pitch, but they were not sufficiently populous to become a producing people, and to add to the body of calculating, speculating merchants a creative, manufacturing class, which might have given the state a reserve of power; for no such reserve was to be found among the clever but narrow-minded individuals who sat in the council chambers of the "Staden." The unbounded pride displayed by the



THE PORTRAIT OF A DUTCH NOBLEMAN
From the painting by Franz Hals in the National Gallery, Edinburgh

wealth," as the regents of the state of Holland called themselves, the opportunity they had desired for establishing their sole supremacy, which rested upon two main principles: first, that the Orange party should be excluded from any share in the government; and, secondly, that the freedom of the small towns and the poorer classes of the population should be withdrawn.

There is no pride like the pride of the business man who has made his own way in the world, and there is no administration so selfish and oppressive as that which would provide for the good of individuals and the welfare of the

state upon the principles demanded for the working of a . ' .· With the hypocrisy of priestcraft, the members of the new republic compared their state to the Jewish kingdom of antiquity. But when, in order to find some cogent reason for the abolition of the hereditary office of stadtholder, the republicans began to add up the account of what the House of Orange had cost the state, not forgetting the presents made to the children of their generals and statesmen, then it was that the peddling soul of the Dutchman showed all the characteristics of the degraded Jewish usurers who had increased abundantly in previous centuries, and proved that their political ideas were absolutely devoid of that element of greatness which was always a feature of the home and foreign policy of the chosen people during their period of prosperity.



THE SYNDICS. REMBRANDT'S PICTURE OF A GROUP OF DUTCH MERCHANTS
In the seventeenth century Holland rose to a position of great commercial supremacy, the domination of its enterprising merchants lasting for half a century and extending to every part of the world. The above picture, reproduced from Rembrandt's painting, shows us what type of men they were who made their country famous in the world of commerce.

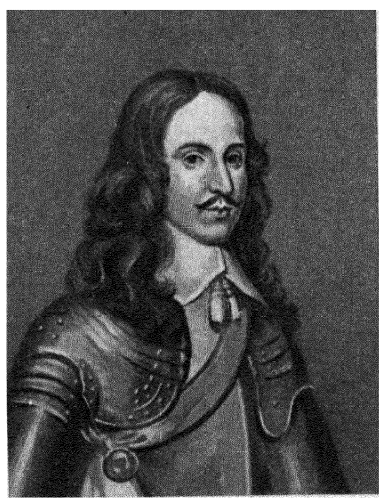
During the wars with England, which were the natural result of commercial rivalry, the Dutch fleet had in no way tarnished the reputation of the Low German seafarers, the final triumph of the heroic spirit of the great Orange period took place when De Ruyter, in 1667, made a descent upon the Thames, and burned or carried off the first vessels of the astounded British under the very guns of the Tower. The fortresses on the frontier were in a sad condition by contrast with this display of vigour. The internal dissensions and jealousies of the two parties ruined the spirit of the army, and destroyed the zeal of the officers, whom the government refused to pay because they were suspected of Orange inclinations.

However, the chief councillor of Holland, Jan de Witt, a dry, calculating machine, a man of some common-sense but with all the passionate narrow-mindedness of the republican citizen, was of the opinion that his lofty wisdom had saved the state from all danger when he had succeeded in forming the Triple Alliance with England and Sweden against Louis XIV. His mathematical knowledge had brought him the reputation of a savant, but had not enabled him to grasp the political combinations which the King of France set on foot when he found it necessary to break up this confederation of the maritime powers. De Witt thought that he had firmly bound the interests of England to those of his own country, and that he would be able to execute that great

political design which was reserved for the powers of the Prince of Orange, whom he bitterly persecuted, and whom he was anxious to reduce to the position of a mere dependant upon the "aristocracy of wealth" But the design became possible only when the positions of the actors had been reversed, when the English people had come to a full development of their political power, and were able to take the lead in the movement to save the Teutonic world from subjection to the great King of France. At the moment when Louis XIV was making trial of his diplomatic skill in his preparations to deal a crushing blow against the Netherlands, the condition of affairs in the British Isles was not such as to justify any expectation that the salvation of European freedom might be expected from that source

England's Recovery From Republicanism

England had speedily recovered from her attack of republicanism, which was short though sharp, for the population which was represented in the two Houses of Parliament was composed of far happier elements than that of the Dutch states. But when she restored the monarchy which Cromwell had removed, she had been unfortunate in setting up an utterly worthless ruler, and was consequently not in a position to take that place in the political world which belonged to her by right One of the hardest trials of a people to whom monarchy is a necessity, and who are inspired with the sense of its dignity, is to see a worthless ruler upon the throne, a man who is personally incapable of dealing with the responsibilities of his office



WILLIAM II, PRINCE OF ORANGE
Ruler of the United Provinces, William II, Prince of Orange, married Mary, the daughter of Charles I of England, and their son, born after his father's death, in 1650, subsequently ascended the English throne as William III
From the painting by Honthorst

The Stuart Charles II had no conception of the relations that should subsist between the state and its ruler, between the monarchy and the representatives of the people; in his opinion, the government of England was a possession that was naturally his, which might afford him the opportunity of leading a life of debauchery. Of national pride or of ambition he had nothing. So it was not difficult for Louis XIV to bend and turn him to his own purposes, Charles was more than willing to sell his country for the gold which his Parliaments would not provide with sufficient lavishness, and which alone might finally enable him to dispense with Parliament altogether. The royal civil list had been drawn up by the Convention Parliament, which had made its stipulations with the Stuart before the Restoration, and the king's allowance did not err on the side of generosity; however, though £1,200,000 would have been quite enough to keep up all the necessary splendour of the court, it would not suffice to satisfy the excessive demands of the king's mistresses, who surpassed each other in the extravagance of their requests Business between Charles II and Louis XIV began with the sale of Dunkirk, for which France paid £400,000, partly in cash, partly in bills, from the discounting of which King Louis probably profited.

The so-called Cavalier Parliament, which had been returned in 1661, was as loyal and devoted as any monarch could desire, but it held tenaciously to the important powers of voting supplies and controlling expenditure, and by voting separately the amounts required for special purposes it was able to preserve some proportion of authority in the several departments of public business. The vicious and unscrupulous character of the king enabled the Parliament to exercise its legislative powers without restraint, and to mould the growing kingdom as it pleased. As regards the centralisation of power, the strong hand of the Puritan dictator Cromwell had accomplished a great deal, and his place was now taken by the Parliament, which looked into religious as well as economic affairs, and also worked carefully to maintain the relations of Britain with foreign powers and to raise her prestige in Europe, for which task the house of Stuart had shown itself wholly incapable. The religious party of the Parliament

Parliament in Place of the Dictator

was intolerant to the point of cruelty. Crime and constant judicial murders were the result; dissent was persecuted with a severity almost unexampled even during the fiercest struggles of the Reformation. The supremacy of the Anglican Church was considered so inseparable from the unity of the state, and the uniform subjection of every citizen to the civil authority, that ecclesiastical supremacy was therefore especially protected by legislation and any attempt of Papists or Presbyterians to overthrow it was immediately checked by the enforcement of the severest penalties.

By the Act of Uniformity in the year 1662 every form of worship was forbidden which differed from that of the established Episcopal Church, holders of livings were dispossessed if they refused compliance, and 1,800 dissenting clergy were driven into poverty. The king, who had leanings to Catholicism, did his best to check the Papist persecutions, but terrifying rumours of conspiracies, which readily found credence among the people, kindled the fire anew; death-warrants were issued against members of the nobility, against whom the most groundless suspicions were entertained. All this, however, was not the doing of Charles; these acts marked the rapid growth of the centralisation of the civil power in the hands, not of the crown but of an intolerant Parliament.



THE CONSORT OF WILLIAM II
Mary survived her husband by ten years.

At the same time the spirit of commercial enterprise began to make itself apparent. The example of the Netherlands had exercised a reviving and stimulating influence upon English commercial activity, which had progressed but little since the voyages of Walter Raleigh in the time of Queen Elizabeth. With the exception of London there was but one seaport with any extensive trade—namely, Bristol, which was in constant communication with Virginia and the Antilles. Manchester imported every year for her textile industries only 2,000,000 pounds of raw wool, which was brought from Cyprus and Smyrna; among the largest imports were the wines of Spain and Portugal, for the wine trade became important by reason of the reaction to luxury which followed upon the stern morality of the Puritan government. In no case had manufacture risen to a higher level; British products could not compete with those of France or Belgium either in quantity or quality. Even the best hardware was then imported from abroad. The output of iron was restricted by the scarcity of coal, and amounted to little more than 10,000 tons. In the North American colonies were some 30,000 settlers, who were working with energy and forethought for the development of their community, without concern for the party conflicts of the mother country, but their economic development had not sufficiently advanced for the mother country to derive any advantage from them

Bristol as a Great Seaport

England at the Restoration

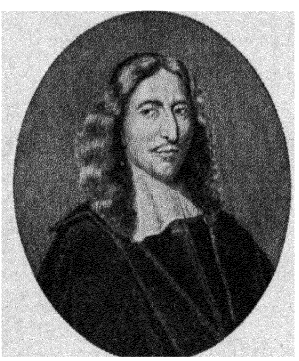
At the period of the Restoration the landed nobility were still the ruling class in England; they were but seldom in communication with the capital as the badness of the roads made travelling both expensive and dangerous. As regards education and culture, they were probably on the same level as the petty nobles of Auvergne or Limousin, even in the remoter districts of Germany men might be found of greater experience of the world and with better knowledge of the manners of the best European society than any of the nobility in Somersetshire or Yorkshire. Scarce more than half of the level land of the kingdom was under agriculture, but the products were valuable and were sufficient to maintain the middle-class farmers whose requirements were generally of a moderate nature.

However, even the richest nobles had but a very modest capital at their disposal, among them incomes of £20,000 sterling were the exception rather than the rule. After the fall of the Puritan tyranny and the disbanding of the Parliamentary army, with which Cromwell had maintained his power, it became possible to make special efforts to increase the pros-

perity of the country. The lords and city aristocracy formed business companies, which were to develop commercial and carrying trade upon the principles which had been successful in Holland. Much of the carrying trade had already been captured by the Navigation Act of 1651. The East India Company was already in existence, and an African Company was now formed with the object of providing the Antilles with negro slaves. Gold dust was imported from Guinea, and with this the first guineas were coined.

The Dutch Jealous of England

But wherever the English ships appeared they found jealous enemies in the Dutch, who did their utmost to spoil the English trade. In 1664 surprises and attacks had occurred in the distant seas, though no open declaration of war between the two states had yet been made. The interruption of friendly relations and the formal declaration of war in the year 1665 were only the inevitable recognition of that hostility which had originated in state rivalry and had long ago broken out in the colonies. Upon several occasions during the war the English fleet was able to display its excellence in brilliant and successful actions; but it was unable to maintain a permanent predominance over the Dutch. The efficiency of the navy declined considerably during the war, although Parliament showed no parsimony in voting naval supplies, however little inclined it might be to improve the land forces or to take in hand the organisation of a standing army. But of the £1,250,000 which was voted for purposes of the war, £400,000 went into the king's private purse, and money was lacking to provide the shipwrights with proper timber and materials for building. The favourites of the king's mistresses became naval commanders, capacity or experience being disregarded.

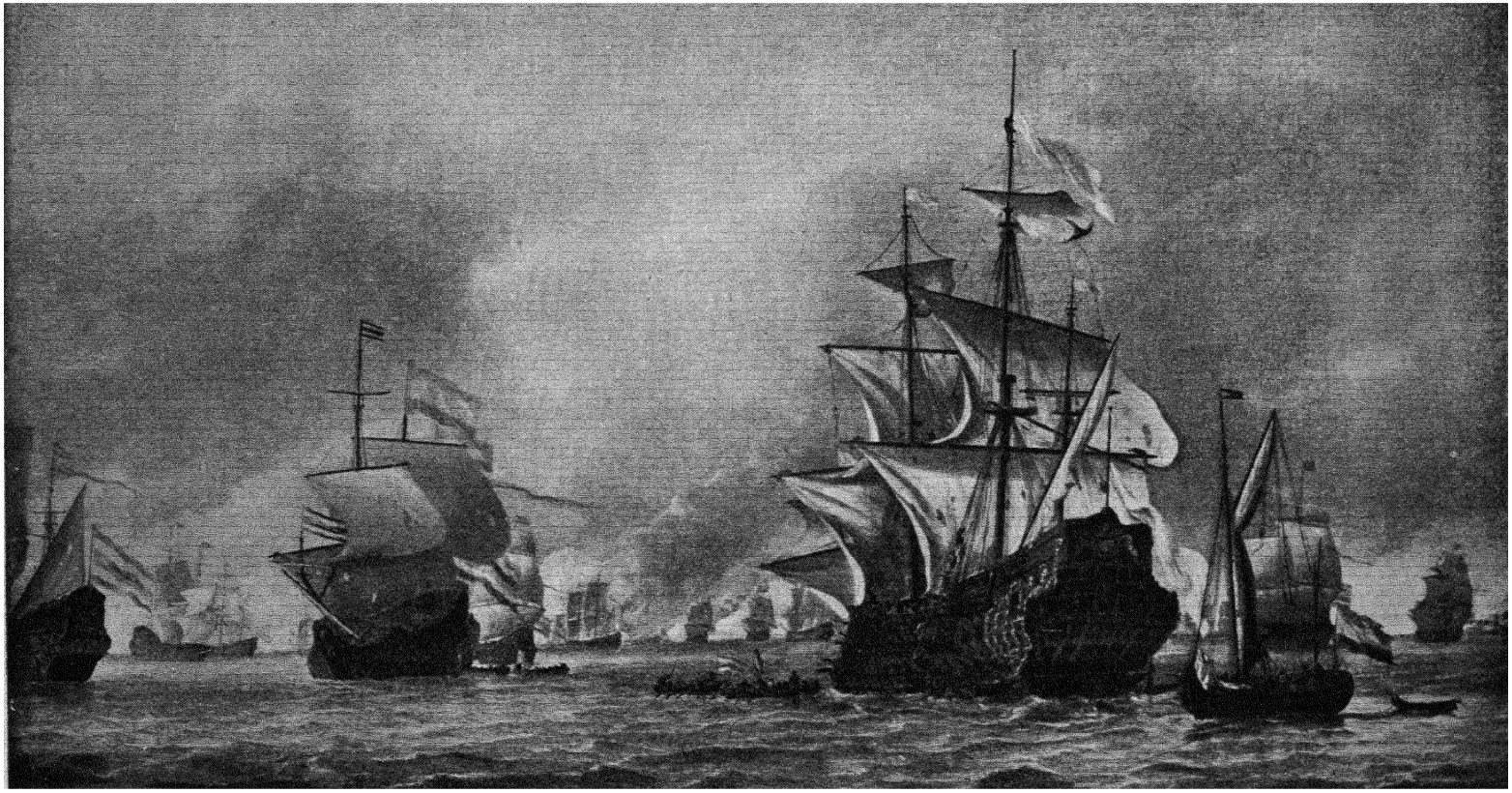


JAN DE WITT
He was the chief councillor of Holland, and succeeded in forming the Triple Alliance with England and Sweden against Louis XIV. He tried to avert war with England.

After De Ruyter's last attack on Gravesend and Chatham, the hope of inflicting a humiliation on their bold rivals was abandoned. It was recognised with bitter disappointment that a man had been chosen for king who had no particular interest in the fate of the country. "On the night when our ships were burned by the Dutch," writes the good Royalist Admiralty official Pepys in his diary, "the king did sup with my Lady Castlemaine at the Duchesse of Monmouth's—the wife of his natural son, whom he had legitimised—and they were all mad in hunting of a poor moth."

By the Treaty of Breda in 1667 England made peace with the Dutch; she determined to limit rivalry with Holland to the sphere of commerce; she recognised the common danger threatened by France who had now freed herself from the anxiety of the war with Spain, and therefore she readily agreed to the conclusion of the Triple Alliance. Charles II. cared nothing whatever for the political and moral forces which were working within the people. The direction of party movements which might happen to be popular with the city magnates or the county members was nothing to him, except in so far as he might be able to use it to increase his income. He and his brother, James, Duke of York, contributed, it is true, to the capital which was raised for the re- . . . of the African Company, which had become bankrupt during the war; but this action was not the result of the desire to set a good example, and to promote the spirit of enterprise among the moneyed classes, it was impelled by covetousness and the instinct of speculation. The investment of £5,000 in the African Company was a very small deposit for a king, one of whose mistresses lost £25,000 in one night at cards. Such insignificant sums went for nothing in his financial plans, even though there were times when he had not money enough to buy himself new underclothing. The Stuart king's respect for the new-made Triple Alliance and for the Constitution of his country was not strong enough to prevent him from entering upon the course of political dealing proposed to him by Louis XIV., by which he was the more attracted as the propositions of Louis promised him a far greater and surer reward than did the trade in spices and negro children. His royal cousin of France also displayed considerable politeness and prudence in entrusting the

Financial Schemes of Charles II.



HOLLAND'S WAR WITH ENGLAND: THE DUTCH FLEET IN THE THAMES

Meeting near the mouth of the Thames on June 11th, 1666, the fleets of Holland and England—the former commanded by De Ruyter and the latter under the direction of Prince Rupert and General Monk—fought for four days Victory rested with the Dutch, but it was dearly bought, as many brave officers and about 800 soldiers and sailors lost their lives The English had 6,000 men killed, and lost twenty-three vessels. In the following year the Dutch commander burned English shipping in the Medway, and sailed up the Thames to Gravesend.

final conclusion of this piece of business to the hands of two ladies, Henrietta of Orleans, Charles's sister, and her companion, Louise de Quérouaille, who became Duchess of Portsmouth, and gained an influence upon the king nearly as strong as that which the Countess of Castlemaine had up to that time exercised.

In the convention of Dover, on May 22nd, 1670, Charles II. promised to go over to the Roman Catholic Church, to dissolve the Triple Alliance, and to form a confederation with France against Holland; in return for this, Louis promised him an immediate present of £200,000, and further support by way of so-called yearly war subsidies to the amount of £300,000. Six thousand French troops were also to proceed to England should the king find it necessary to defend his royal prerogatives against the Parliament. Moreover, Louis did not confine his operations merely to securing the king's adhesion; he gave large sums of money to be spent in bribery, the division of which among Ministers and members of Parliament was entrusted to Colbert's brother



HENRIETTA OF ORLEANS
She was the youngest child of Charles I., being born on June 16th, 1644. In 1661 she was married to Philip, Duke of Orleans, the only brother of Louis XIV. of France.

In England the king had dismissed the grave and unpopular chancellor Clarendon, and so stifled criticism upon the increasing immorality of court life; public opinion was entirely at fault concerning the intentions of the government, which was now carried on by the so-called Cabal Ministry —Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham Ashley, and Lauderdale. The Cabal obtained £2,500,000 from Parliament for purposes of coast defence in the event of a war between Holland and France, and then prorogued the assembly. As there was thus no Parliament in session, they seized the opportunity of defrauding the creditors of the Treasury, in particular the London goldsmiths, who then undertook banking business; to these they refused repayment of the capital which they had borrowed. Charles also issued a declaration of indulgence removing the penalties to which Papists and Presbyterians were liable. By these acts the powers of the Prerogative were exceeded, and suspicions of Papistry began to be aroused. The seed of further discord had thus been sown and was rapidly germinating when Louis XIV. raised his hand to deliver the blow which he had long prepared against the Netherland states, in order that he might destroy the opposition of the most dangerous enemy to his plans of expansion



THE DUCHESS OF PORTSMOUTH
The companion of Henrietta of Orleans, Louise de Quérouaille, afterwards the Duchess of Portsmouth, became a favourite of Charles II., and wielded great influence over him

Sweden had also been bought by France; she had undertaken to enter into the war with 16,000 men on the side of France if the emperor or the empire should espouse the cause of Holland, the price for this promise was 400,000 thalers in the event of peace, 600,000 in case of war The Emperor Leopold I. had already come to an agreement with Louis XIV in the year 1668 concerning the future division of the Spanish monarchy, by means of his Ministers Auersperg and Lobkowitz. Auersperg was possessed with the idea that if he were made cardinal he would be a statesman not inferior to Richelieu and Mazarin, and he required the support of the King of France to obtain his preferment at Rome; Lobkowitz hated the Spaniards, who lorded it over him at the court of Vienna, although they no longer had at their disposal the money with which some thirty or forty years previously they had brought over privy councillors, princes of the Church and generals, to their interests.

The German House of Hapsburg had acquiesced in the gains which France had made during the "war of escheatage." It had, moreover, concluded a secret conven-

tion with France, which is first mentioned by Grimoard in the "Œuvres de Louis XIV.," published in 1806, this convention was to the effect that, when the Spanish line became extinct, France should have the Franche-Comté, Navarre, Naples and Sicily, the Philippines, and the fortresses on the African coast, while the emperor was to receive Spain, the West Indies, Milan, Sardinia, the Balearic and Canary Islands. Louis XIV. never had any intention of holding to the conditions of this convention; but he had obtained a general recognition of the possibility of dividing the Spanish possessions, the throne of which was likely to become vacant, and he had obviated for a long time to come, any opposition on the part of the Vienna court to his undertakings against Holland. On November 1st, 1671, a compact was signed for the emperor by Lobkowitz, in which the emperor promised to take no part in any war of France which should be waged outside the Spanish and German dominions, and to afford no other assistance to the powers attacked by France than the continuance of friendly relations with them.

Consequently, the efforts of the Austrian ambassador to the Dutch states to persuade the emperor to intervene on behalf of Holland remained without result for the moment. The occupation of Lorraine by French troops, and the expulsion of the duke from his territory, occasioned no change in the emperor's attitude, though it increased the opposition of the Spanish party at the Vienna court.

Of the German states whose attitude towards the French army in its operations against Holland might have been of importance, Cologne, Bavaria, the Palatinate, and the warlike Bishop of Munster had been won over to the side of France; of the Guelfs, John Frederic of Hanover was induced to enter into a compact of neutrality at the price of a monthly subsidy of 10,000 thalers. Celle and Osnabruck stood aside and waited. Mainz declared that all resistance to the French military power was quite hopeless.



THE FRENCH CAVALRY FORCING THE PASSAGE OF THE RHINE ON JUNE 12th, 1672

The Elector of Brandenburg, Frederic William, who had always been regarded with mistrust by the Dutch regents as being the uncle and guardian of the young Prince of Orange, perceived the serious complications which the victory of France over Holland would produce in the kingdom; he declared that "in the eyes of the present and future [illegible] it would appear an eternal disgrace to surrender the freedom not only of Germany, but of the whole of Christendom." He would neither comply with the requests made to him by the French ambassadors, nor would he shrink before any threats. He was very anxious to form a confederation with the Dutch government; but, dazzled

by the power and financial resources of Louis, they hesitated for a long time to accept the conditions which Frederic William was obliged to impose in view of the resources of his territory. But early in 1672 the Netherland ambassadors requested to know the meaning of the French preparations, and received the short answer from the king that he would complete his preparations and use them as he thought proper. Then at length they made an agreement for the putting of 24,000 men into the field; but for their maintenance they paid only 8,000 thalers a month, and not the 100,000 demanded by the elector.

Louis XIV. at War with Holland

Two months later, Louis took the field with 140,000 men. After a short halt before Maestricht, two armies under Turenne and Condé diverged towards the Rhine, marched through the territory of Cologne, and took possession of the fortresses on the Holland frontier, which were in the worst possible condition and garrisoned with helpless, cowardly troops. At the custom-house on the Schenkenschanze, the passage of the Rhine was forced by the French cavalry, who were anxious to give proof of their old prowess under the eyes of the king. Meanwhile, the Bishops of Cologne and Munster made the most cowardly excuses for withdrawing their troops into Friesland and Oberyssel, and permitted the occupation of a number of towns, among them Deventer, Zwolle, Harderwijk; the province of Oberyssel readily submitted to the protectorate of the Bishop of Munster. The English fleet under the Duke of York, with very insufficient support from the French, had meanwhile, on June 7th, 1672, fought an action with De Ruyter in Southwold Bay, the result of which was indecisive; the proposed landing of the English in Zealand was fortunately frustrated by an unusually low tide and a violent storm. None the less, affairs in the seven provinces were in an unsettled condition. The rich merchants with their families and treasures, jewels and works of art, fled to Hamburg, Denmark, or even into hostile England; after the flight of the garrisons the citizens seized the power in the towns, in order to save their property by capitulating with the enemy, even at the loss of their freedom.



WILLIAM III, PRINCE OF ORANGE
The son of William II, Prince of Orange, and ruler of the United Provinces, he married, in 1677, Mary, daughter of James, Duke of York, afterwards King James II. He was subsequently called to the throne of England.

The government of the aristocratic republicans had ended in anarchy; destruction menaced the existence of the state, the constitution of which was not national, and was, moreover, entirely subversive of freedom, being intended solely to secure the domination of the insolent Mynheer. But the deep feeling of the unspoiled classes, who still clung to the old faith and the old traditions, found expression in the cry for the strong guidance of a royal personality, and for the reinstatement of the last survivor of the House of Orange in the hereditary office of stadtholder and captain-general. To the great historical events which contributed to strengthen the belief in the importance of the individual, an addition has now to be made; the assurance and the hope which impelled that cry for guidance were addressed to a personality worthy of the confidence reposed in him. In the towns and marshes of the Low German mariners there was but one man who possessed the special qualities of which the fatherland had need—firm conviction, unshaken courage, strong faith, devotion to the idea of German independence; and this man was no other than the young Prince William of Orange, now twenty-two years of age, whose princely heart and nature had not been spoiled, despite the endeavours to that end of his republican guardians.

As is invariably the case when the passions of the masses have been aroused by some unexpected calamity, the manifestations of love for their national leader were accompanied by outbursts of hatred against the enemy and the oppressor. A few weeks after the States-General had removed the Permanent Edict by which the brothers De Witt in the year 1668 hoped to have made the restoration of the House of Orange for ever impossible, this

feeling broke out in wild rage against the brothers, who were tortured and murdered by a furious mob on August 20th, 1672. Historians with leanings to republicanism reproach the Prince of Orange for not having used his popularity to save them; but they forget that at that moment the stadtholder had to unite all the forces which were then freely offered for resistance against the enemy, that at no price could he have afforded to permit the growth of discord among those men who were ready to sacrifice person and purse to save their country.

Thus in Holland the impression made by the resolution of the prince restored the confidence of the nation in its own power; inundations caused by breaking down the dykes put a stop to the advance of the French army, which had already gained possession of Utrecht. Meanwhile the opinion began to gain ground among the European powers that it was not wholly wise on their part to remain passive spectators of the conquest of the republican states and the victory of France. In Spain the war party gained the upper hand, and used all possible leverage to induce the emperor to break with France. In the German Empire the Elector of Brandenburg consulted the general feeling in the Protestant countries, and also his own inclinations and political principles, when he determined to take up arms in favour of his nephew. However, he considered that it would be useless for him to take the field alone with his own troops, as the French armies would be able to prevent his junction or even his co-operation with the forces which the Prince of Orange had collected; from the other princes of North Germany he could expect no assistance worth mentioning. Thus the only remaining resource was to remind the head of the empire of his duties, and to induce him to lead a general military operation of the German people. The elector desired an alliance between Brandenburg-Prussia and Austria, on condition that the former should be recognised as the ruling power in evangelical North Germany, and the latter in South and West Germany, which were Catholic; but the plan proved to be wholly premature, and it was impossible of discussion with men like Lobkowitz and Hocher, the vice-chancellor of the empire, who considered it impossible to renounce all hope of resuming the struggle against Protestantism.

None the less, Frederic William thought that he ought to lay great stress upon the importance of the emperor's co-operation in the campaign against France; through John George of Anhalt in Vienna he vigorously pushed the proposal for an offensive alliance. On June 12th, 1672, it was agreed that each party should march with 12,000 men to protect the boundary of the kingdom and repel the French from German soil; also that the provinces of the empire and the Kings of Spain and Denmark should be invited to join the alliance. But both parties approached the subject with intentions and from points of view exactly opposed. The French party at the Vienna court was convinced that they would gain far greater gratitude from the King of France if Austria joined the alliance, and thereby obtained the right and the opportunity to place obstacles in the path of the Elector of Brandenburg, than they would if she were to decline alliance with the elector and thereby force him to act upon his own initiative. Frederic William, however, considered that he would be able to induce the Austrian forces to make some sort of strategical movement, and would thereby draw off the attention of the larger part of the French army. The imperial marshal Raymond, Count of Montecuccoli, was at first by no means disinclined to fall in with the elector's plans and to operate on his side against the French upon the Rhine; however, even during the march to the proposed scene of action he was obliged to observe



MARY, PRINCESS OF ORANGE
This portrait, from the painting by Wissing, represents Mary when she was the Princess of Orange She ascended the English throne with her husband, William III, after her father, James II, had lost his crown.

French Troops on the Rhine

the instructions which he had received from Vienna—namely, to avoid any possible collision with the enemy whom it was intended to befriend. The duty imposed on him was to await the attack of Turenne, to whom the defence of the Lower Rhine had been entrusted, and on no account to begin hostilities on his side.

Turenne's Success in Westphalia

Although Frederic William could not induce Montecuccoli to advance with him even as far as Coblenz, a movement which he had especially recommended to the Prince of Orange, he insisted upon the union of the two armies. But it became impossible to join hands with the Dutch and Spanish troops which were stationed at Maestricht, as Montecuccoli declined to cross the Rhine with the elector. When, toward the end of the year 1672, the allies marched to Westphalia, Turenne followed them and cut off their union with the Netherlands troops, which had gained a position in East Friesland.

The elector was no longer in receipt of subsidies from the States-General, as he had not fulfilled his obligations at the seat of war; he did not venture to make any attack on Turenne's strong position at Soest, and, lest he should find himself the object of an overwhelming assault, determined to conclude an armistice with France. In view of the emperor's wavering policy and the weakness of the contingents furnished by him—Montecuccoli's successor, Bournonville, had scarcely 10,000 men all told—this step was for the moment the best that could have been taken, for in no other way was it possible to avoid defeat.

By the Peace of Saint-Germain, on April 10th, 1673, Frederic William engaged to enter into hostilities neither against France nor against her allies—England, Cologne, and Münster. In the Convention of Vossem, on June 16th, the King of France promised him £800,000 by way of compensation for the loss of the payments from Holland; there was, however, no stipulation against his fulfilling his duties to the empire in the event of an imperial war. When the Dutch ambassadors made reproaches to Frederic William for his secession, he plainly informed them that his retirement was entirely due to the premature cessation of the war subsidies which they had been paying; that, should they fail to bring about a general peace, he would be ready to renew his action on behalf of the states. The fact that it was his action and his influence upon the emperor which had alone prevented the destruction of the Dutch republic is in no way affected by the Peace of Saint-Germain.

Secession of Frederic William

The retirement of Brandenburg from the scene of operations, though but temporary, was unavoidable in view of events in Poland; it implied only a momentary interruption in the foreign policy of the elector and inflicted no permanent damage upon the cause of the Netherlands. On the contrary, it obliged the emperor to give up his temporising policy, and to show greater decision in defending the independence of his empire and in preserving the security of his frontiers, if he did not wish to run the risk of entirely losing in the eyes of the empire a prestige which was in any case greatly impaired.

A convention was arranged on August 30th, 1673, between the United Netherlands, the emperor, and Spain, whereby a monthly subsidy of 95,000 thalers for the army was assured to the emperor. Montecuccoli again took the command, and Turenne, who had penetrated to Rotenburg on the Tauber, was forced back to the Rhine by a series of strategical movements. William of Orange besieged and took Bonn, after obliging the marshal Luxemburg to abandon the right bank of the Rhine. When the winter brought operations to a close, France had lost her advantage and was acting upon the defensive. She was, moreover, unable to prevent the secession of her allies; England, who had not added to her reputation in the maritime war with the Dutch, was obliged to conclude the Peace of Westminster on February 19th, 1674, as she would otherwise have lost her Spanish trade; her example was followed by Munster and the electorates of Cologne and Mainz.

How England Saved Her Spanish Trade

The campaigns of the year 1674 were fraught with great dangers to Louis XIV., who was now confronted by a strong confederation of European powers, and heavy subsidies had to be paid to keep England from joining their number. Condé defended the northern frontier of the kingdom from a foreign invasion in the bloody battle of Seneffe in the Hennegau, on August 11th, 1674, which was fought against the Dutch, Spanish, and imperial troops. Turenne's military powers had never been displayed to greater advantage,

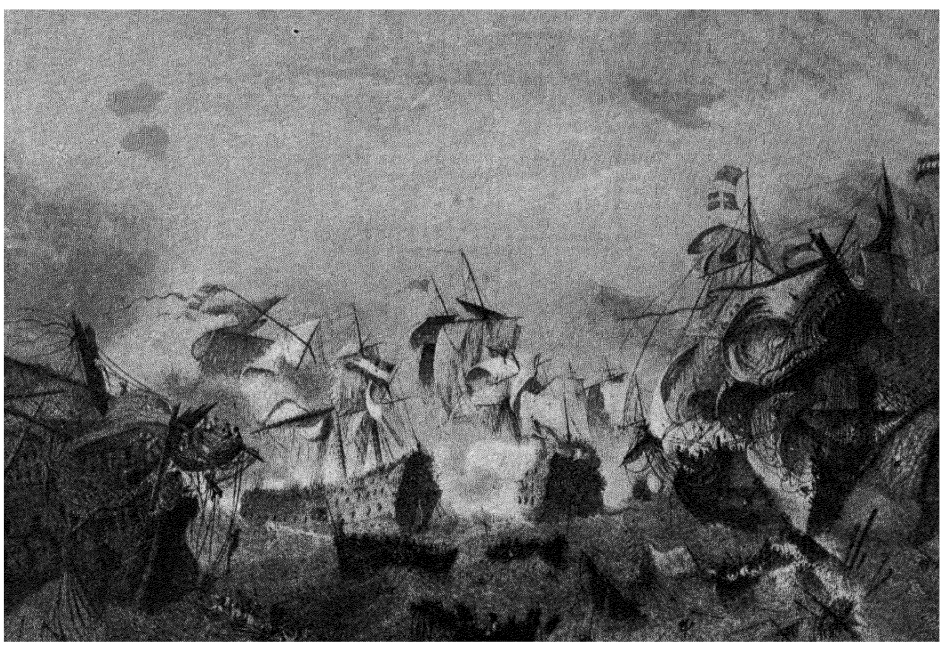
but all that he could do was to preserve Alsace, upon which the main attack of the imperial army had been directed. The Elector of Brandenburg had also appeared in that direction with 16,000 men under the general field-marshal George of Derfflinger, for Louis XIV. had delayed the payment of his subsidy, and the elector had gladly seized the opportunity of treating the convention of Vossem as dissolved.

The German troops, among which those of [illegible] and Brunswick were distinguished by the excellence of their equipment and by their bravery, were unable to inflict any decisive defeat upon the enemy; the miserable cowardice of their leader, Alexander, Duke of Bournonville, who was thought to be treacherous as well as incapable, entirely neutralised the excellence of the forces at his disposal.

In November, 1674, Turenne was forced by the superior strength of his opponents to retreat from Alsace to Lorraine. There he obtained reinforcements to the extent of 13,000 men, which brought his army to the number of 30,000, and by dividing it into several columns he succeeded in reaching Belfort unobserved: from that point he suddenly swooped down upon Mulhausen towards the end of the year 1674, and, surprising the allies, who had gone into winter quarters, he scattered and drove them back. After the indecisive battle of Turkheim, on January 5th, 1675, the allies were forced to give up Alsace and to retreat once more to the right bank of the Rhine.

Disputes had broken out between the imperial generals and those of Brandenburg, as a consequence of the constant failures in the handling of the army. The elector's son Emil had succumbed to typhus fever in Strassburg during the campaign. The elector himself withdrew his troops no farther than Franconia, in order that he might be able to take his share in the general plan of campaign upon the resumption of hostilities. During the winter he was hard at work at Cleves with the Prince of Orange, arranging plans, and inducing the emperor to place a proper proportion of fresh troops in the field.

But, though the Minister Lobkowitz had fallen, there was no inclination in Vienna to great sacrifices or vigorous measures; the government hesitated even to make fitting preparations to protect Brandenburg and Pomerania against the attack of



THE GREAT NAVAL BATTLE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND DUTCH AT AGOSTA IN 1676
In this naval battle between the French and the Dutch, fought on April 2nd, 1676, the latter gained a notable victory, but lost their commander, De Ruyter, the hero of many fights and a tower of strength to his country in its wars.

the Swedes, who had again become allies of France. On May 30th, 1675, these restless neighbours actually began the campaign against Brandenburg by invading the Mark, and the only course of action open to the elector was to withdraw his contingent and its reinforcements from its position in Franconia, to return to his own country by way of Magdeburg, and to concentrate his efforts upon the task of defending his frontier. After the departure of the Brandenburg forces, the imperial army on the Rhine would have been reduced to the worst extremities had not Turenne, whose strategical talent, experience and daring made him a host in himself, been killed in the fight of Sasbach in Baden on July 27th, 1675.

Turenne Killed in Battle

From that time onward the progress of the war in the Palatinate and in the Breisgau was marked by no special occurrence, though the important fortress of Breisach was captured. In the Spanish Netherlands, the French under Luxemburg made great progress, defeating the Prince of Orange at Saint Omer, and capturing Ghent and Ypern. The king ordered Vauban to extend and complete the fortifications of Condé, Valenciennes, and Cambray, and in his hands these places became first-class strongholds; it was plain that he had no intention of surrendering them.

But the greatest surprise was excited by the appearance of France as a great naval power; her gifted admiral, Abraham, Marquis du Quesne, beat the united fleet of the Dutch and Spaniards at the Lipari Islands and at Catania; in a previous conflict, the battle at Agosta, on April 29th, 1676, in which they were victorious, the Dutch had lost their famous naval hero De Ruyter. The preponderance thus gained by France in the Mediterranean, and her acquisitions in the Spanish Netherlands, created a most painful impression in England. After a lapse of fifteen months, Parliament was again summoned in the year 1677, and obliged the king, whom Louis XIV. was still subsidising, to form a new alliance with Holland, and to agree to the marriage of the daughter of the Duke of York, who had been brought up in the Protestant faith, with William of Orange. The personal attitude of Charles towards Holland had changed when the power passed into the hands of his nephew William, the son of his sister Mary. The reserve funds of the French state had now been expended, its credit was strained to the utmost, and Colbert was most earnestly urging upon the king the necessity of putting an end to the war; Louis, therefore, after protracted negotiations at Nimeguen, came to an understanding with the republican party and the leaders of the English Parliament as to the principles which should form the basis of a pacific settlement.

The Marriage of William of Orange

Louis' aims were, on the one hand, to relax the close union existing between the Prince of Orange and the "States," and, on the other, to put an end to the highly inconvenient demands of the Stuart for further subsidies. In these objects he was successful, for he induced the Dutch to abandon Spain, and to allow France to indemnify herself at the expense of Spain in the Spanish Netherlands and in the Franche-Comté. On August 10th, 1678, the treaty between France and the Republic was concluded; on September 17th, Spain was forced to agree to the disadvantageous conditions imposed upon her; in February of the following year the German emperor also accepted the peace. The Elector of Brandenburg, with the support of Denmark, had won victory after victory in his war with Sweden: he had now to bear alone the full brunt of the attack of the whole French army, which advanced to Minden in June and proceeded to march upon Berlin. Brandenburg was obliged to give up her conquests in Pomerania, and to agree to the distribution of territory settled by the Peace of Westphalia. Louis XIV. had gained his desire; but it was easy to perceive that of all his adversaries he had the greatest respect for Frederic William, and before the year 1679 had expired he had won him over to alliance.

France's Brilliant Outlook

As the ruler of Brandenburg had been abandoned by the emperor and the empire and above all by his Guelf neighbours, so was the Prince of Orange abandoned by the Hollanders and by the regents of the states, which he had preserved from disruption and loss. In the days of Nimeguen, Europe bowed to the will of the monarch who purposed to restore to the French the position that the Franks had held under Charlemagne. It seemed that with the exception of the Padishah of Stamboul there was to be but one great power in Europe—the French kingdom.



FRANCE'S WARS OF AGGRESSION
AND THE STAR OF GERMANY IN ECLIPSE

DURING the two final decades of the seventeenth century the seeds lying dormant in the historical life of the European peoples gradually came to maturity; the ground had already been cleared for the most important changes in the territorial areas and in the mutual relations of the powers. In this light we must regard the conquests of France and her repeated attacks upon the German Empire, the eastern developments of the German-Hapsburg policy which were brought about by the favourable result of the Turkish war and the recovery of Hungary and its neighbouring territory; the War of the Spanish Succession; the renewal of complications in the East through the rivalry of Sweden and Poland; and finally the rise of Brandenburg-Prussian influence and the recognition of her sovereign position, which was marked by the rise of Prussia to the status of a kingdom. The transference of the policy of the House of Orange to England and the permanent connection of that country with Holland must be regarded as an additional factor in the problems under consideration. A new member entered the European political world in the Russian state, whose mission was to educate healthy and vigorous Slav races to take their share in the struggle for the blessings of civilisation in the stead of the Polish Lithuanian kingdom, which was hastening to its inevitable fall.

The Doom of the Lithuanian Kingdom

Immediately upon the conclusion of the Peace of Nimeguen Louis XIV. began to take new steps for the acquisition of that territory which, as he was firmly convinced and as French patriots believed, was indispensable for the completion of his kingdom; he proposed a set of entirely new principles as the basis of his national and historical right to what he claimed. In the name of the bishops of Metz, Toul, and Verdun he advanced his demand that the feudal rights of these bishops to lands and possessions within the German Empire must be revived, though they had lain obsolete for centuries, and that the supremacy of France should extend over the districts in question. Upon the conclusions of the Peace of Westphalia concerning the withdrawal of the Austrian wardens from the Alsatian towns he placed such an interpretation that it was possible for France to claim the whole country, including Strassburg. The representations of the emperor and the Reichstag did not prevent him from annexing, piece by piece, the country which he claimed; at the close of September, 1681, he surprised the old imperial town of Strassburg, and obliged the citizens to do him homage, after he had been informed that the emperor was proposing to garrison the town.

Strassburg's Forced Homage to Louis XIV.

It is superfluous to spend time in pointing out the absence of justifiable reason for these "reunions." Justice is dumb when questions of national interest are at stake; the most brazen injustice, the most outrageous demands, are acclaimed as righteous by patriots so long as they can thence draw food for their vainglory. This is a fact of which the historian as well as the politician must take account, for he will generally find himself in the wrong if he attempts to account for state policy on principles other than "might is right." Louis XIV. continued to proclaim that his state must be increased just so long as he found himself able to brush aside all resistance to his will; his example was followed by every succeeding government in France, whether monarchical or republican, until the neighbours whom she had trampled on trampled on her in their turn.

How France Treated her Neighbours

Not for a single moment was the imperial court inclined to compliance, nor did anyone imagine that the arts of diplomacy would ever induce Louis XIV.

to retire from his advantageous position. The only possible course of action was to gain time to prepare for the struggle and to find allies against France. Of alliances, however, the prospect was exceedingly small. It now became clear how fatal had been the mistake committed in neglecting Brandenburg, for without her troops the collective forces of the empire were no match for the French king's army. It cannot be denied that the change in the Great Elector's policy after the Peace of Nimeguen was largely the cause of the "reunion" movement, but it is equally certain that King Louis would have had far less hesitation in aggrandising himself at the expense of the empire if Brandenburg had exhausted her strength in a hopeless war against Sweden and France and had sacrificed to no purpose the army which she had just created. The mere fact of her existence as an ally on one side or the other was a ground of security for the empire in the last extremity. Moreover, Frederic William would have been quite ready on proper terms to throw in his lot again with the emperor. But he was anxious, first of all, to see for himself that the emperor was capable of taking up the war with France; then he demanded certain compensation in return, the cession of districts in Silesia, where the rights of inheritance possessed by the Hohenzollerns were not wholly secure. The Vienna court did not think it necessary to meet these advances half way; it looked to other sources of help.

The Empire no Match for France



JOHN GEORGE III.
The Elector of Saxony from 1680 till 1691, John George III played a leading part in the struggles of the period, and his secession from the French party was a sore blow to it.

The members of that mighty confederation which resisted the foundation of a universal supremacy of France in later years existed side by side, even at that period; but they were not then sufficiently developed and had not the resources necessary to enable them to withstand the [illegible] the will of the French king. Around William of Orange was grouped a number of Dutch and German statesmen, who were constrained by necessity to thwart the ever-widening plans of Louis XIV.; among them was also to be found George William of Waldeck, sometime minister and general of Brandenburg, who had been in the service of Holland since 1672. He was confident that he could undertake the military organisation of the empire after he had secured the adherence in 1679 of some of his compeers from the Central Rhine, from the Wetterau, Westerwald, and Eifel, to a scheme for their mutual defence. This "union" was joined by Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, Fulda, Bamberg-Wurzburg, and the Frankish district, and shortly afterwards by Saxony-Gotha.

Waldeck was able to create such a strong impression in Vienna of the importance of his scheme of mutual defence that the emperor, on June 10th, 1682, concluded the "Laxenburg Alliance" with the "union," and it was hoped that others of the imperial provinces might be induced to join. They were to take up the defence of the empire, of which scheme the main features had been sketched out by the Reichstag at Regensburg, which had now become a permanent assembly. However, their intentions did not issue in practical results. Of more importance was the union of Bavaria and Hapsburg, which was closely cemented by the marriage in July, 1685, of the young elector, Max Emanuel—Ferdinand Maria had died on May 26th, 1679—with the Archduchess Maria Antonia, the daughter of the emperor; important, too, was the secession of the Elector of Saxony, John George III. (1680–1691), from the French party, and the readiness of the Duke of Hanover, Ernest Augustus I., to send an army of 10,000 men to the Rhine to support the imperial troops. Leopold and his council, which was then led by the Freiherr von Strattmann, were consequently obliged to admit that the interests of the House of Hapsburg with respect to Spain demanded an unconditional resistance to the encroachments of France; to this they remained firm, even though the danger of a new Turkish war grew more imminent.

New Turkish War Threatened

The Hungarian policy of the Vienna court was invariably unfortunate. The leaders did not appreciate the necessity of smoothing over religious differences by gentle treatment of the non-Catholics;



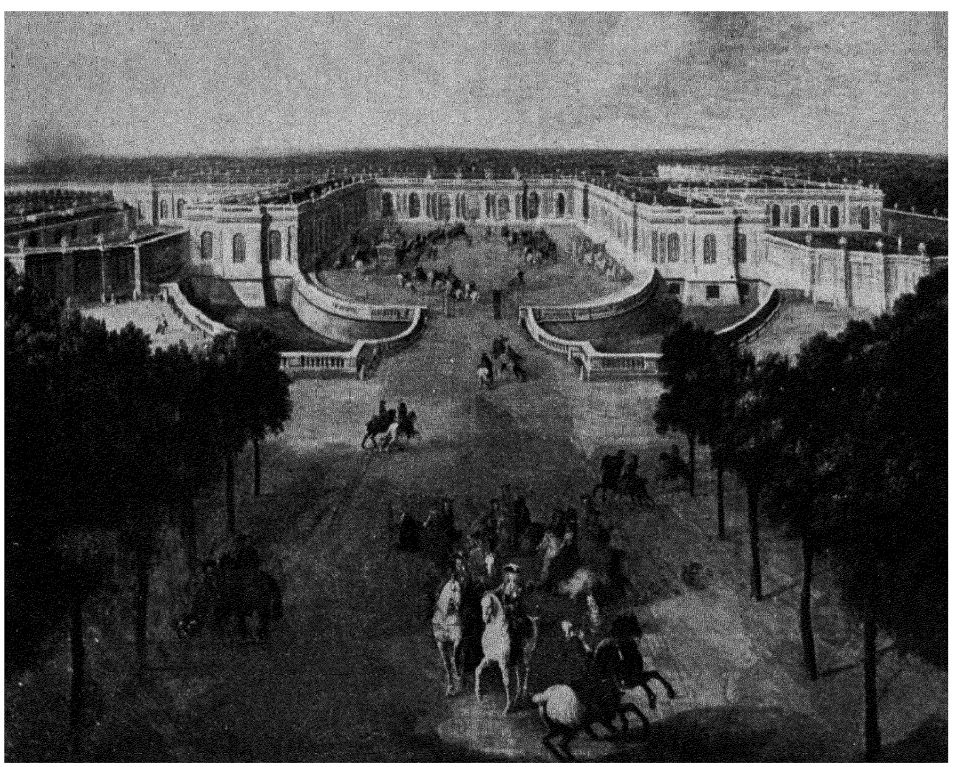
MOLIÈRE DINING WITH LOUIS XIV., WHO IS INTRODUCING THE FAMOUS DRAMATIST TO HIS COURTIERS
From the painting by H J Vetter in the Luxembourg

their treatment of personal and family affairs was also ill-considered. The claims of the Rakoczy family, to which the Transylvanian magnate Emerich Tökóly belonged, had been set aside by timely offers of compensation, bestowal of titles, and opportune marriages; but time had never been found for proper attention to these affairs, and the attitude of rejection that was too often adopted helped to bring powerful adherents to the opposition. Stern and harsh in time of peace, weak and careless in time of war, the Austrian House did not gain either the respect or the confidence of the Magyars.

The Turks On the War Path

After their fruitless war with Poland and Russia the Turks thought that they had found a haven of rest upon the Danube, and the state of affairs in Transylvania and Upper Hungary seemed eminently suited to further their aims. The Grand Vizir Kara Mustapha required to secure his position by some military success, and, having persuaded the sultan to permit the further chastisement of the infidel, he marched in person upon Vienna at the head of an army of 200,000 men. The Vienna statesmen had actually brought matters to such a pass that Austria found herself obliged at one and the same time to carry on the war against France upon the Rhine, and to resist the attack of an enormously superior power upon the hereditary territories of the ruling house.

The unprincipled Elector of Brandenburg took the opportunity to advocate the conclusion of an armistice with France, which would imply the temporary abandonment of the "reunion" problem; if some such arrangement could be made with Louis XIV., his ally, he was ready to send 16,000 men and more to Hungary. But in the course of these negotiations he again advanced his claims to Jägerndorf, and the emperor declined to accept help from Brandenburg, which appeared the less indispensable as the King of Poland had promised to lead his army against the common enemy without any stipulation of reward. The Pope Innocent XI. persuaded Louis XIV. to cease for a time the hostilities which he had already begun against the House of Austria, and the king complied with his request in the expectation that in case of necessity his help would be



THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES AS IT WAS IN THE TIME OF LOUIS XIV

From the painting by J B Martin in the Museum of Versailles



THE WOMEN WHO INFLUENCED LOUIS XIV

The morals of Louis XIV. were notorious. In 1685 he was privately married to Madame de Maintenon, a woman who was under the influence of the Jesuits, but was no mere courtesan; the Duchess de la Vallière bore the king four children, and retired into a convent when she was supplanted in the royal affections by Madame de Montespan

demanded, and that when he had saved the country from the Turks he might, with the assent of Brandenburg, make any terms he pleased for himself

The magnificent defence of the imperial capital offered by Count Rudiger of Starhemberg, the endurance of his troops and of the more sensible part of the population of Vienna, and finally the glorious battle which raised the siege on September 12th, 1683, in which Kara Mustapha was utterly beaten by the Polish army under John Sobieski, entirely upset Louis' calculations and raised the emperor's prestige to an unexpected height. The supreme command had been given by agreement to the Polish king, but the real conduct of the battle was claimed by Duke Charles of Lorraine; and on this memorable day two German electors, John George III. of Saxony and Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria, had voluntarily placed themselves under the orders of the duke, as also had the imperial field-marshal, the Count of Waldeck. This was Poland's last intervention in European politics. The emperor had not succeeded in raising an imperial army; the empire had not yet found time to take the measures necessary for the fulfilment of military exigencies. The help which had averted the fall of Vienna had been given to the emperor by the allied "armed provinces," in which the Frankish district was included as well as the electors. Hitherto standing armies had been set on foot only in such North German territories as were forced to protect themselves; besides the Elector of Brandenburg, who was more powerful than any other German prince, the dukes of Brunswick and the Bishop of Munster had troops on a war footing at their disposal, capable of being used for independent operations. The system of individual armament now began to prevail throughout the empire, so that military affairs entered upon a new phase of development.



COUNT RUDIGER

Count Rudiger of Starhemberg made a magnificent defence of Vienna while it was undergoing the siege of the Turks, which was raised on September 12th, 1683

It was a considerable advantage to the greater territorial princes always to have their own troops ready, and to send them beyond their provinces only upon special occasions of concerted action. But the maintenance of these standing armies was an extraordinary expense, and one which could not be met from their ordinary sources of income; princes were therefore ready to employ their troops outside the somewhat narrow sphere of their own interests, and lent them to other powers, which were armed insufficiently or not at all, in return for corresponding pecuniary returns, which went into their war chests. This was a business which had been carried on by the captains of regiments

during the period of vassalage, and during the Thirty Years War, by such great "contractors" as Mansfeld, Christian of Brunswick, Wallenstein, Bernhard of Weimar, and others. It now passed into the hands of the princely war lords, who gained far greater profit from it and were less easily exposed to the danger of a conflict of political interests. The complaints concerning the so-called "sale of the country's children" first arose at a later period, and resulted from the failure to appreciate the close connection between the fundamental idea of "armament" and the arrangements for defence existing in earlier times. In most cases the soldiers who were thus lent out were themselves entirely convinced that in no other manner could the special military qualities which made their services of value be kept at a high level of perfection.

Soldiers Who were Lent Out

The smaller provinces of the empire, which did not possess sufficient territory or population to enable them to embark upon such undertakings, generally came to some arrangement with the "armed" powers, if they were ordered to prepare for war by the empire or their allies; districts in which there was no lord of dominant power formed compacts offensive and defensive and added to the number of the armed powers. But such a movement was for the most part of short duration.

As soon as the most pressing danger was over, these imperial districts withdrew their contingents, because their maintenance was not imperative upon them as upon their more powerful neighbours, and because the expenses of war had an effect upon their home life more immediate and heavier than in the case of a populous state, where there were many shoulders to bear the burden. From 1670 to 1680 and through the following decades German military strength was represented by the forces of the "armed" provinces. Alliance and convention were the only means of calling great national armies into existence. The policy of the emperor and the statecraft of every dynasty that strove to attain success abroad resolved itself into a series of attempts to effect alliances with the armed provinces of the empire; consequently the threads of the diplomatic history of the period became so tangled, owing to schemes and plots, that during no other epoch have we the same difficulty in unravelling their confused complexity. The defeat of the Turks at Vienna induced Louis XIV. to renew and to increase the pressure upon the two Hapsburg courts and upon the German Empire.

The Tangled Threads Of History

In addition to Strassburg he had quickly annexed two other important strategical points—Casale on the Po on September 30th, 1681, and Luxemburg on June 4th, 1684. He now demanded an armistice for thirty, or at least twenty-five, years, the status quo to be maintained. During that period the empire would be able to devote her whole energy to the struggle with her hereditary enemy. The Elector of Brandenburg exerted his influence in Vienna and in Regensburg to secure the acceptance of this proposal, as it offered him personally a possibility of escape from the embarrassing position into which his relations with France had brought him.

It was clear to him that he could not safely take up a position of hostility to the emperor at a moment when the majority of the Germans looked upon the continuance of the war with Turkey as a national duty. He had cynically admitted the difficulty of his position to the French ambassador, the Vicomte de Rébenac, and had appealed through him to the generosity of Louis XIV., asking him not to make capital out of the "desperate necessities of the empire." Rébenac was in full possession of the elector's confidence, and it was through his ready influence that the king was induced to confer a special mark of friendship upon the elector, which consisted in the raising of his subsidy to 100,000 livres per annum, a sum which was to be doubled in the event of war, and did not include personal presents. The elector was ever vigilant when his personal interests were concerned.

Louis' Friendship for the Elector

The views entertained at the court of Vienna underwent a change during the progress of the campaign. A few weeks after he had marched into his sore-tried capital the emperor's confidence in his Polish ally was seriously shaken. Sobieski, who despised the German time-servers, as he called them, considered that his Polish nobles had suffered disproportionate losses in the battle of Parkany on October 9th, 1683. At the storming of Gran on October 27th, he allowed them to take no active share in the operations, and afterwards marched them home. If the war in Hungary was to be continued it was necessary



VICTIMS OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION. HUGUENOTS MAKING THEIR ESCAPE FROM FRANCE IN 1685

The Protestant community in France underwent severe penalties at the hands of the Government In 1685 the Edict of Nantes was revoked by Louis XIV and at once the Huguenots were subjected to worse persecution than ever Many of them made their escape from the country to find in other lands the liberty which was denied to them in their own

From the painting by G Sheridan Knowles R I, by the artist's permission

to procure more and more reliable troops, and such Germany alone could provide. If war were to break out with France in the following spring, there would be very small numbers of German troops, perhaps none at all, at the emperor's disposal. Thus the Emperor Leopold was confronted with the dilemma whether he should again conclude an unsatisfactory peace with the Turks, and resume the struggle with France, or should put off the solution of the French question and at once undertake the conquest of Hungary. On the one side the position of the whole House of Hapsburg as a European power was at stake; on the other, the special interests of the German ruling line. Leopold decided in favour of the latter.

The Empire's Armistice with France

The Hungarian campaign of the year 1684 was carried on with inadequate forces, and led to no definite result. The mission of an ambassador-extraordinary, Count Lamberg, in February, 1684, to buy off Brandenburg from France, had been a failure, and for these reasons the emperor gave his consent to the conclusion of an armistice for twenty years with France, which was concluded on August 15th, 1684, at Regensburg.

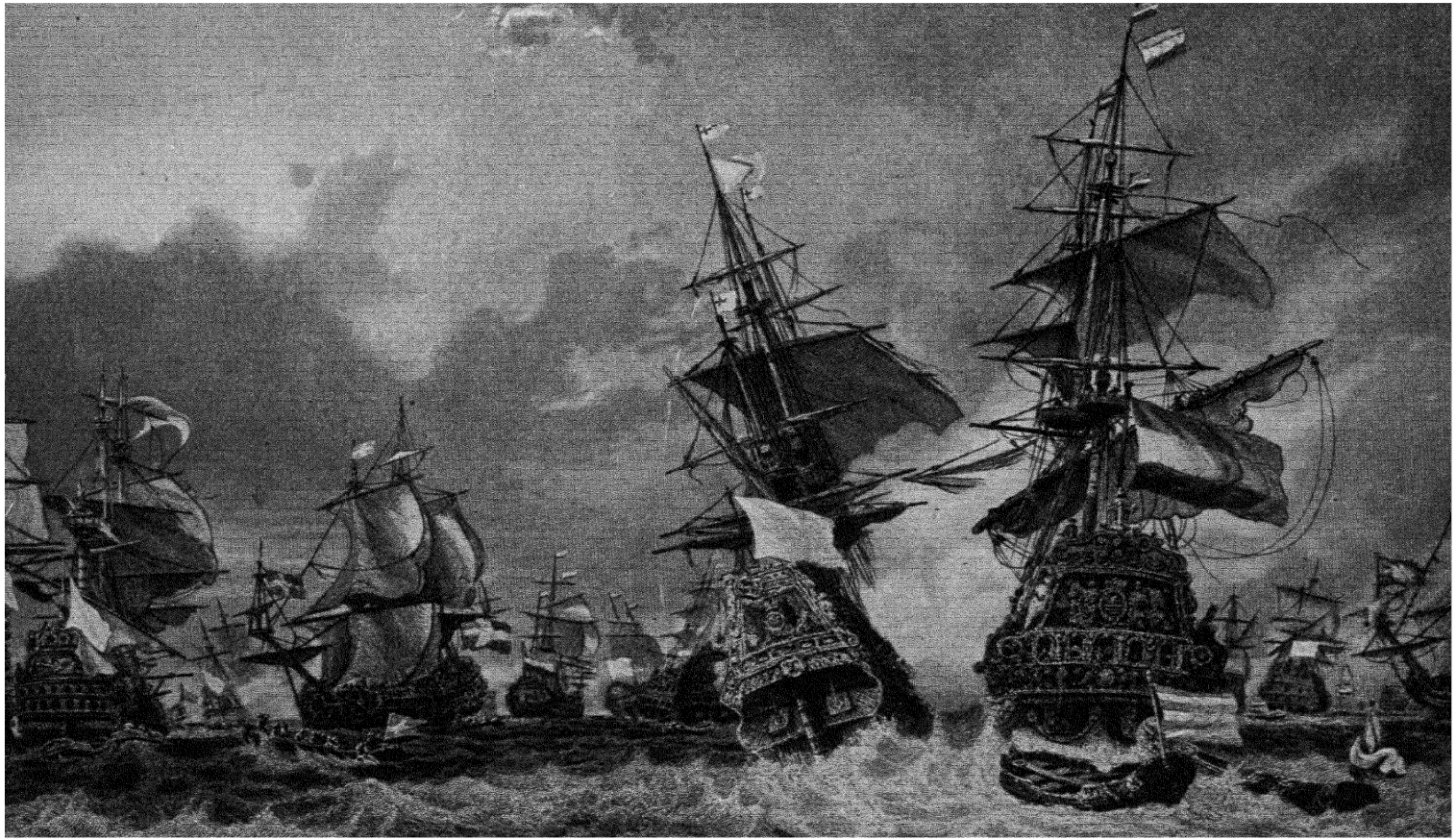
This event marks a turning-point in the relations of the two hostile parties, because from that time begins the gradual separation of the Great Elector from Louis XIV. A number of other occurrences in the year 1685 contributed to set him against French policy, and to prepare the way for that great federation which was destined eventually to ruin the far-reaching plans against the freedom of Europe which Louis XIV. had conceived. Of these the most important were the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the suppression of the Huguenots and of religious toleration in France, and the accession of the Stuart James II. in England, who had become a Catholic and openly introduced a counter-reformation into England, so far as his opportunities allowed. Frederic William threw open his territory to his exiled co-religionists, the refugees, and came to a close understanding with William of Orange to the effect that Louis must be conquered, as his obvious intention was to disturb the balance of the different Christian creeds which the Peace of Westphalia had determined. Though he was quarrelling with the Pope, the king was considered still the most dangerous opponent of the Protestant powers. His efforts to build up a national French policy had been attended with complete success. But the ruinous dissension which eventually shook France to her very foundations proceeded from the king's fatal opinion that the centralisation of the constitutional power was incompatible with the existence of different religious creeds, and that universal toleration would impair the strength of the kingdom.

Brandenburg's Open Door for the Huguenots

As soon as the Great Elector had made up his mind to dissolve his connection with France, in spite of the subsidies which had been paid to him through Rébenac since the year 1680, he entertained no scruples about rejoining the emperor and supporting him in his undertakings He could not have failed to recognise that Louis was desirous of keeping him in restraint, and even in impotency. He had at one time expected to increase his territory with the aid of France, at the expense of Brunswick-Hanover or of Sweden, and this hope he was now obliged to enounce. None the less, the negotiations with the imperial government would have resulted unfavourably had not the Electoral Prince Frederic, a declared enemy of France, devoted his energy to removing the chief obstacle. His father insisted upon the fact that an inconsiderable accession of territory was owing to himself in view of his hereditary claims to Jägerndorf and some other Silesian estates—the so-called Schwiebus district. What was the loss of twenty-four square miles of territory and a few thousand inhabitants, for the most part Protestants, to the powerful Hapsburg House, which was desirous of conquering the kingdom of Hungary at that moment?

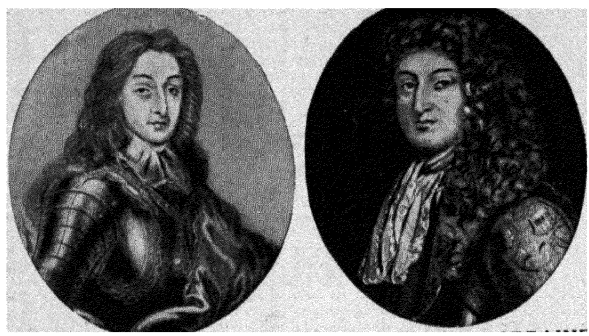
Disappointed Hopes of the Elector

A rigid insistence upon their rights prevented the Vienna statesmen from making a sacrifice which was valueless in comparison with the important alliance it would have brought. Schwiebus was formally alienated from the emperor during the lifetime of the elector. The electoral prince was obliged to undertake to restore the district upon his accession. For this he received a special subsidy of 10,000 ducats, a not unwelcome addition to his impoverished treasury. This piece of baseness was successfully concealed from the old elector; until his death he firmly believed in the uprightness of the Austrian House and of the prince. The



THE NAVAL BATTLE OF TEXEL, IN 1673, BETWEEN THE ALLIED ENGLISH AND FRENCH FLEETS AND THE DUTCH UNDER DE RUYTER
From the painting by Isabey

emperor eventually exacted the return of his twenty-four square miles from the elector's successor; however, he had provided an excuse for Frederic the Great to declare that the promised renunciation of the Silesian principalities by his predecessor was not binding upon himself, and so to give a quibble of legality to his conquest of it.



THE DUKE OF SAVOY AND CHARLES OF LORRAINE
Victor Amadeus, the Duke of Savoy, fought against the French in the battle of Staffarda in 1690, and was overthrown by Catinat; Charles of Lorraine commanded the imperial army, and died in 1690

On September 2nd, 1686, the fortress of Ofen, the central point of the Turkish rule in Hungary, was stormed by the German and imperial troops. In this brilliant feat of arms some share was taken by the Brandenburg contingent of 8 200 men, and after a lapse of 145 years the emperor was again put in possession of the Hungarian Konigsberg. The Brandenburger then undertook the defence of the Lower Rhine, and co-operated with the Dutch against France, his late ally, while Max Emanuel of Bavaria and Charles of Lorraine won the battle of Mohacs on August 12th, 1687, and took Belgrade on September 6th, 1688, for the first time, thus breaking down the resistance which the Turks annually renewed. The Field-Marshal von Barfus rendered important service at the battle of Slankamen on August 19th, 1691, with the Margrave of Baden, Lewis William, and helped to win a brilliant victory, which permanently strengthened the position of the imperial troops in Hungary, which had received a heavy blow in the previous year by the loss of Belgrade.

A Series of Important Battles

Meanwhile, an open breach with France had come to pass. Louis XIV. could not behold the recovery of the Hapsburg power in the East and the rise of the imperial prestige among the imperial princes without raising fresh claims on his side, and attempting to assert his preponderance by interference in German affairs. With the death of Charles the Elector of the Palatinate on May 16th, 1685, the line of Simmern of Wittelsbach became extinct, and Louis seized the opportunity to claim the allodial territory of the Simmern family on behalf of his brother Philip of Orleans, husband of the Princess Elizabeth Charlotte, the sister of the late elector. The possession of this territory would have made the French ruler a prince of the empire. In the contest for the archbishopric of Cologne he had espoused the cause of William Egon of Fürstenberg in opposition to Prince Joseph Clemens of Bavaria, and this action had embarrassed the interests of Austria and Bavaria and the rights of the Pope, who had decided in favour of Joseph Clemens. None the less, Innocent XI. made every possible effort to induce the king to accept some peaceful solution of the question at issue, and to restrain him from appealing to force of arms. His efforts were not successful. Louis felt himself threatened on two sides, and was determined to anticipate the formation of a confederacy against him by striking a rapid blow at his enemies. He considered himself as especially threatened by the alliance of Augsburg, whereby the emperor, Spain and Sweden, as allied powers, the Frankish and Bavarian districts, and also certain princes, had pledged themselves to provide a federal army of more than 46,000 men for the defence of the empire until its military organisation should have been perfected. Still more serious was the discord which had broken out between the English and King James II., and the alliance now imminent between the leaders of Protestantism in England and William of Orange, who could now reckon upon the consent of the States-General to such steps as he might consider needful to secure the Protestant character of the government in England.

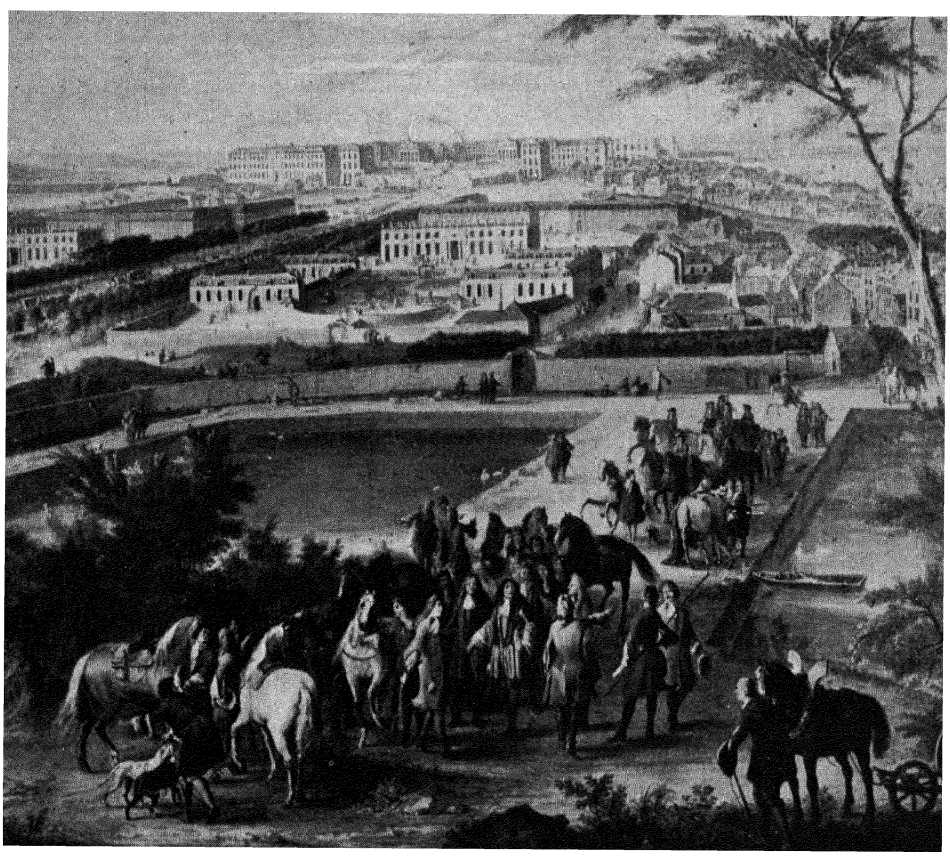
The Plans of William of Orange

The Prince of Orange had been forced for a long time to postpone the execution of his great plans, as he was invariably confronted with the suspicions of the States-General; the time was now at hand when he was to gain a powerful position enabling him to undertake the

war with the despot upon the Seine who was threatening the freedom of Europe in general, and of the Protestant states in particular. William III had married his first cousin Mary, a daughter of James II., who had been baptised in the Protestant faith, of which she was a warm supporter as her husband, he was summoned by England to bring into order the troubled and confused affairs of that country.

The Whigs had formed the forefront of the opposition to James II.; the majority of the Tories and the whole of the clergy joined them with the object of overthrowing the Papal rule, to which the whole nation was resolutely opposed. It was the impenetrable stupidity of James II. which brought about this revolution, the extent and the radical consequences of which no one could have foreseen. He made easy martyrs of the bishops, destroyed the discipline of his troops by amalgamating the Irish with the English and Scotch regiments, sneered at the well-meant advice of his protector on the French throne, and rewarded his liberality with ridiculous displays of haughtiness. Finally, his disregard of the prescribed court ceremonial gave rise to the rumour that the Prince of Wales, born on August 10th. 1688. was a mere changeling, whose existence was to destroy all possibility of a Protestant successor. A long series of similar provocations forced the opposition to resort finally to resistance and their decision was taken only with the greatest reluctance, in view of the universal loyalty that the Restoration had at first evoked. The personal stubbornness of the king and of his Catholic followers played a large part in this change of government in England, which was so important in its influence upon the destinies of Europe, so far reaching were its consequences, that even Lecky, a historian avowedly concerned with tracing "the permanent characteristics of national life," is

England's Fear of Catholic Supremacy



A SCENE AT VERSAILLES IN THE TIME OF LOUIS XIV.
From the painting by J. B. Martin in the Museum of Versailles

obliged to draw the attention of his readers to the fact that "that issue of the complicated drama was brought to pass more by the action of individuals and by chance circumstances than by general causes."

William of Orange as England's King

After the flight of his father-in-law had laid the road open, William III. did not place his wife in the position of ruler, but succeeded in getting himself recognised as full sovereign and as the ruler whom the will of the nation had called forward. This was the real occasion upon which the Whig spirit first broke its bonds; the prestige of the Parliament was secured, and the highest intellect of a nation provided with the most admirable political capabilities was called to the management of its own affairs. With the passage of the Prince of Orange from his native land to English soil the historical importance of Holland was also transferred to England. The Netherland States had exhausted their ideals and their political strength in the struggle for the victory over Spain, and sank from their former high position in proportion as England rose in the world to a height for which past history affords no precedent and no standard of comparison. It is true that only in the eighteenth century did England take the step from the place of a European power to that of a world power; but it was in the seventeenth century that the foundations for that step were laid. Elizabeth, Cromwell, William form the constellation which has lighted the proudest and the most fortunate of all the Germanic nations upon a path which has progressed upwards without interruption for over two hundred years.

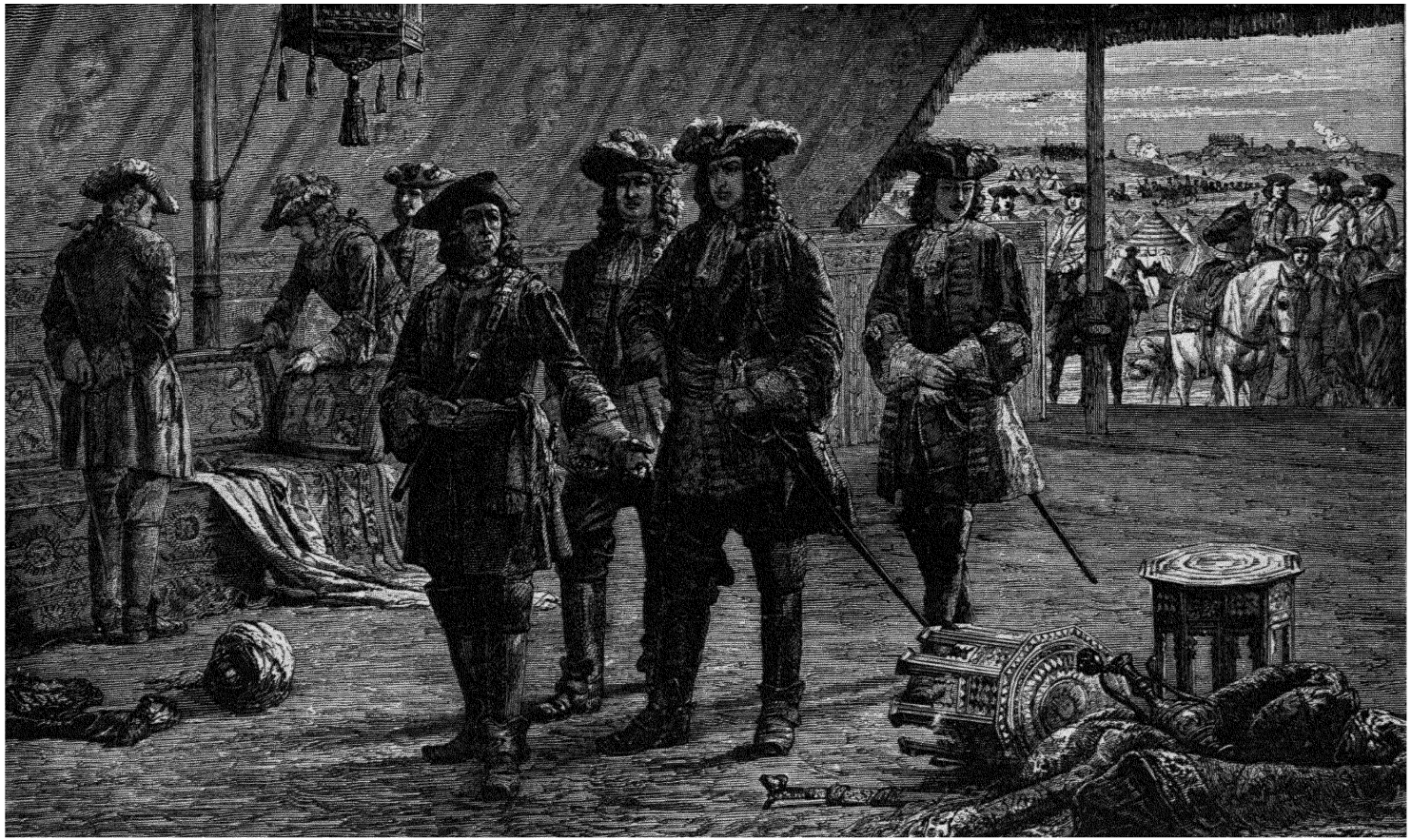


PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY
Refused a commission in the army of France, Prince Eugene renounced that country and entered the service of Emperor Leopold, distinguishing himself in the wars against France.

William III. himself recognised that England would become the leader of the maritime powers; he devoted his every care and effort and his unusual political capacities to making the United Kingdom equal to the performance of his splendid task. The distrust of the English toward their new ruler on account of his presumed leanings to Holland speedily proved as groundless as did those insular suspicions of Coburg influence which last century saw. William III. was a stranger and a usurper on the throne of England, if he would maintain his position, he was obliged to prefer his new country before the old. The heavy English customs duties remained unchanged, the Navigation Act was carried out in the colonies; under the rule of the Dutch king two great financial powers arose, the Bank of England and the new East India Company, which proved ruinous to Dutch trade. In the friendly rivalry between the allied peoples England's preponderance rapidly became manifest; the name of "sea-power" became a collective noun among diplomatists, and soon implied, as Frederic the Great was ill-natured enough to remark, "the English man-of-war with the Dutch jolly-boat towing behind."

The change of rulers in England would not have come to pass so quickly as it did, would perhaps never have been brought about at all, if Louis XIV., in September, 1688, just before the landing of William of Orange, had not declared war upon the German Empire, a war generally known as the third war of aggression. He proposed to strike terror into South Germany by delivering a vigorous blow, and to oblige the emperor, whose best generals and troops were perforce employed in the Turkish war, to permit the armistice to be ratified as a definite peace, which would have secured him in the possession of the Reunions. His action was successful from a military point of view, though, by releasing Holland from immediate danger, it set William free to secure the English crown. The admirably equipped French armies penetrated into the Palatinate as far as Heilbronn, overran the Wurtemberg territory, devastated the fertile country on the Rhine, blew up the castle of Heidelberg on March 2nd, 1689, and by the end of the year collected over 2,000,000 livres in forced contributions. But no member of the empire had any intention of being thus bullied into a disgraceful peace. The emperor resolved to undertake the war upon both frontiers simultaneously; his closer allies, Bavaria, Saxony, and Brandenburg, and also Hanover and Hesse, joined the "Concert

Devastating French Armies in Germany



THE CONQUEROR OF THE TURKS: PRINCE EUGENE AFTER HIS GREAT VICTORY AT BELGRADE IN 1717

When the empire's war against the Turks was renewed in 1716, Prince Eugene again took the field, and at Peterwardein defeated an army of 150,000 men. In the following year he besieged Belgrade, which was at that time in the hands of the Turks, and after a desperate fight succeeded in gaining possession of the town.

of Magdeburg" which had been concluded by the armed provinces on October 22nd, 1688. Moreover, the Regensburg assembly determined to support the imperial war. Twenty thousand Brandenburg troops were speedily before Bonn, which Cardinal Fürstenberg had betrayed to the French; Charles of Lorraine, who commanded the armies of the empire, retook Mainz on September 8th, 1689, after eight weeks' fighting, and Bonn fell shortly afterwards—on October 13th. During the succeeding years the war in Germany made no decisive progress; the further advance of the enemy was repulsed, but nothing more was accomplished. The Margrave Lewis William of Baden succeeded Charles of Lorraine in the command of the imperial army after his death, on April 18th, 1690.

Victories of the French arms

At the seat of war in the Netherlands, Prince George Frederic of Waldeck lost the battle of Fleurus on July 1st, 1690, and the French took Mons in April, 1691, and Namur in July, 1692. At the battle of Steinkirke, in Hennegau, on August 3rd, 1692, William of Orange was unable to gain any decisive advantage. On the other hand, at the battle of Staffarda, Catinat won a victory over the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus, to whose support Max Emanuel marched across the Alps, but was unable to bring about that change of fortune in Upper Italy for which the allies were anxiously longing.

Thus the French armies had the advantage on every side. But on May 29th, 1692, at La Hogue, their fleet was defeated by the combined English and Dutch Navies, under Russell; this was the first of that series of defeats, the almost invariable persistence of which during the next 200 years seems to prove that the Romance nations are no match for the Germanic in naval warfare. Louis XIV. could not flatter himself with the hope of being able totally to overpower the forces opposed to him in the field; he was unable to concentrate his power and to break down the resistance of his enemies at any one point. On May 22nd, 1693, he laid Heidelberg waste for the second time, and utterly ruined the castle, that wonderful monument of the German Renaissance; but this could not be considered a success. The Margrave of Baden drove the devastators back across the Rhine, and found himself able to renew his plans for establishing himself in Alsace. The allies of the Golden Horn also did not accomplish as much as Louis had expected; during the years following the departure of Baden from the seat of war in Hungary the imperial troops gained no advantage, but the operations of the Moslems were of a slow nature. As soon as Louis could with any certainty foresee the possibility of dissolving by diplomatic measures the federation of his enemies, without himself making any disproportionate sacrifice, he accepted the intervention of Sweden, which had been repeatedly proffered, and entered upon the negotiations begun at Ryswick, from which Spain and the emperor, on October 30th, 1697, were unable to withdraw, after he had secured the consent of the sea-powers.

Heidelberg Castle in Ruins

The recognition of the Prince of Orange as King of England was an indispensable preliminary to which Louis agreed with a heavy heart, after previously assuring himself that there was no possibility of forming a party within the United Kingdom for the later restoration of the Stuarts. The death of Queen Mary, on January 7th, 1695, in no way weakened her husband's position; the Whig principle, that the Parliament might bestow the crown outside of the direct line of succession, remained in force. Holland was easily satisfied by the concession of certain commercial privileges. Calculating upon a future understanding, Louis showed himself very accommodating towards Spain, to which Luxemburg and Barcelona, taken during the last stages of the war were restored. The empire had to bear the cost of the peace. Strassburg, which might have been retaken at the eleventh hour by a rapid assault, had to be abandoned. As a set-off, the Austrian House regained Freiburg and Breisgau, the empire gained Kehl and [illegible]. The Cologne question was set at rest; the Bavarian prince got his principality: the question as to the Palatinate succession was solved by a moderate payment on the part of the Palatinate Neuburg.

Spain's Restored Possessions

The peace concluded at Ryswick on October 30th, 1697, was but an armistice between France and the House of Hapsburg, which had been [illegible] for European predominance for 200 years; the division of the Spanish inheritance, a question which was shortly to demand solution, would bring about a resumption

of hostilities all along the line. Louis XIV. required time and breathing-space in order to arrange the situation to suit his own interests by means of his unrivalled political insight and diplomatic capacity.

The emperor did not venture, though the peace allowed him to turn the whole of his military power against the Turks, to embark upon a wearisome war in the Balkan states and to make a determined effort to crush his hereditary foe; and yet, even at that moment, circumstances at the seat of war in Hungary had taken an unexpectedly favourable turn.

During the years 1695 and 1696 the progress of affairs in Hungary had been most unsatisfactory. The departure of the Margrave of Baden, Lewis William, had proved almost as disastrous as an actual defeat; his successor, the Elector of Saxony, Frederic Augustus I., had been unskilled and unlucky in every operation which he undertook; the emptiness of the treasury could no longer be concealed, and the discipline and courage of the troops deteriorated accordingly. But a rapid and far [illegible] change in the state of affairs was brought about by the nomination in 1696 of a commander-in-chief who was only thirty-three years of age, Prince Francis Eugene of Savoy-Carignan, the youngest son of Mazarin's niece, Olympia Mancini, and the Count of Soissons. Since the election of the first Rudolf the House of Hapsburg could congratulate itself upon no more fortunate occurrence, certainly none more opportune or richer in result, than the fact that the "petit Abbé," whom Louis XIV., with his usual arbitrariness had wished to drive into the cloister, applied to the court of Vienna, following the example of his brother Lewis Julius, for a post in the imperial army.

The Military Genius of Prince Eugene

"Who can venture to say," justly observes Alfred von Arneth, "how the history of Europe would have been changed if the prince had applied to Spain instead of to Austria, if he had never fought against the Turks, if he had been on the side of Philip of Anjou instead of against him during the War of the Spanish Succession, if he had fought for instead of against France?" The prince had long enjoyed the full confidence of the imperial veteran troops, and in a few months had so thoroughly [illegible] the army that he was able to oppose the powerful force with which the Sultan Mustapha II. (1695–1703) was advancing in person during the month of August, 1697, for the delivery of a crushing blow. On September 11th he attacked the Turks at Zenta on the Theiss; they had been turned back from Peterwardein, and proposed to cross the river and invade Transylvania. They were so utterly defeated as to be unable to recover themselves. A large number of their best officers and 30,000 men were left on the field of battle or drowned in the Theiss; 80 guns, 423 standards, and seven "horse-tails" fell into the hands of the conquerors, who paid but the moderate price of 1,500 dead and wounded for their victory. When the larger part of his army had been sent into winter quarters, Eugene made his famous incursion to Serajevo with 4,000 cavalry, 2,600 infantry, and 12 guns, proving to the Turks that the mountains of the Balkan peninsula, which they had regarded as a sure line of defence against Western armies, were not inaccessible to Austrian cavalry and even to guns. The Porte's strength was broken; not only Austria, but also Poland, had gained considerable advantages. Moreover, Venice under Francesco Morosini, who died in 1694, had overrun the Morea, had taken Athens — when the Parthenon was destroyed on September 26th, 1687—and had proved her superiority at sea. After the heroic struggle for Candia in 1669, the republic seemed to have lost her dominant position on the Levant, but in 1685 the banner of St. Mark triumphed once more, and the position of Venice as the chief Mediterranean power was vindicated.

Turkish Rout at Zenta

Peace was concluded at Carlowitz on January 26th, 1699; Austria obtained the kingdom of Hungary with the exception of the Banat, Transylvania, and Slavonia; Poland was given the Ukraine and Kamanez-Podolsk; Russia obtained the harbour of Asov, and Venice the Morean peninsula, with Ægina and Santa Maura, Cattaro, and some smaller places on the coast of Dalmatia. Europe seemed to have entered upon a breathing space for rest and recovery, the duration of which depended upon the life of the last Hapsburg King of Spain, which was slowly ebbing away in Madrid.

Europe's Rest After War



THE PROBLEM OF THE SPANISH THRONE

PREPARING FOR THE COMING WAR

AT the outset of the eighteenth century the conception of the state as an entity had not been dissociated from that of the ruling dynasty. National rights were only tentatively brought forward in support of dynastical objects. The surest mode of extending political power remained in the formation of family ties, the creation of hereditary rights, and the enjoyment of them when they fell due. Consequently, upon the extinction of a ruling dynasty of such territorial power as was the Spanish line of the Hapsburgs, a European war was inevitable as being the only way of deciding whether some one European power was to become definitely predominant, or whether the balance of power could be maintained.

Women's Rights in Spain

In the Spanish kingdom women could usually inherit, failing men. In the House of Hapsburg the rights of female succession and of primogeniture were also recognised. The possessions of the Spanish line and also the estates of the Austrian line formed inheritances, which had passed undivided to the testator's eldest son or to the male representative next in succession, so long as any such survived. For the last two generations the daughters of the Spanish line had intermarried only with Bourbons and the German Hapsburgs, so that these were the only families affected by the failure of male heirs. A point in favour of the Bourbon claims was the fact that the elder Infanta had always married into the French line. Louis XIV.'s mother, Anna Maria, was older than Maria Anna, the mother of the Emperor Leopold. Of the sisters of Charles II., the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs the elder, Maria Theresa, born on September 10th, 1638, was the wife of Louis, the younger Margaret Theresa, born on July 12th, 1651, was the first of Leopold's three wives. Maria Theresa, however, had solemnly renounced her right of succession, whereas Margaret Theresa had been specially appointed to the succession by her father's will, in default of male issue. Consequently at the court of Vienna there was no doubt whatever that the succession in Spain must fall to the Emperor Leopold, and that his rights were beyond question.

Royal Houses Linked by Marriage

But at the outset of the War of Succession Louis XIV. had already found a pretext for declaring that his wife's renunciation was invalid. In this position he naturally remained firm, declared himself to be the only legitimate successor to the Spanish throne, and pretended an especial desire to consult the interests of Europe at large by entering into negotiations for the division of the Spanish inheritance.

The German House of Hapsburg was at a disadvantage compared with the Bourbons, because its efforts to increase its territory rested upon no national basis and no conception of the state as a whole. The Hapsburgs were limited to a dynastic policy, and their territorial power had no natural solidarity. To them the imperial throne of the German kingdom was the summit of their ambition, as it was in fact the most dignified position in the Christian world. But it was a position which gave no increase of power, and there was no future before it.

The Summit of the Hapsburg Ambition

The Peace of Westphalia had made any union of the several German powers under a Catholic emperor wholly impossible. No political genius, however powerful, could have dreamed of successfully accomplishing the task of imperial reform with a view to general centralisation. The conception of an Austrian state was non-existent. Hence neither the ruling dynasty nor the privy council ever troubled themselves to consider in what direction their territory could and ought to be extended with a view to the gradual formation of a state.

The Hapsburgs had been forced into the practice of a universal policy by the unexpected reversion to themselves of

immense inheritances. They had thus been unable to devote their attention to the formation of a strong confederacy of the lands upon the Danube, or to the introduction of a uniform administration throughout the possessions which had been given into their hands. Their eyes were invariably fixed upon some possible advantage which might be won upon the outskirts of their empire. They frittered away their great resources in fruitless undertakings, and put off the ordering of their house at home, which would have brought them wealth and power. The conclusion of the Turkish war, the conquest of Hungary and Transylvania, had been successfully brought about, and room for colonial expansion was thus provided for at least a century. The greatest problems of political economy were awaiting solution; treasures lay ready to hand such as no other dynasty in Europe possessed. The Balkan territories lay open to the imperial armies, and never afterwards were the conditions so favourable for a rapid success. The Venetian Republic had recovered its strength, and might have been brought over to alliance; its objects coincided with those of the Hapsburgs in every respect; its growth would have implied no loss, but a great increase of prosperity throughout the inner Austrian domains, for the exchange of products and of labour was necessary, natural, and inevitable. The more harbours the Venetians could have gained upon the coasts of Greece, Macedonia, and Albania, the easier and the more advantageous would have been the realisation of the products of the territories under the Austrian rule. The eastern portion of the Mediterranean might have regained its commercial importance; for, of the thousand threads which had united the Levant to the Adriatic in earlier ages, all had not yet been torn away, and many might have been reunited.

The death of Charles II., the last prince of the blood in possession of Spain, Naples, Milan, the Catholic Netherlands, and "both Indies," was a misfortune for the Hapsburg House, because it again entangled them in a web of European politics, in which they had but little success in the days of Maximilian and Charles V. Moreover, this event averted their attention from very pressing necessities at home, which they would probably have recognised and dealt with had they been allowed the leisure to do so. All these considerations did not affect the Emperor Leopold. He considered the Hapsburg tradition as implying special duties which he must fulfil at all costs. His unshaken confidence in Divine Providence had been increased by his victories over the infidels. He believed in his rights and in the divine nature of the call which bade him cling to those rights. His determination was in no way influenced by political considerations or practical statecraft. Otherwise it must have dawned upon him that the only successful course open to him was to come to some pacific arrangement with Louis XIV. to divide the Spanish inheritance, and to unite with Louis in resisting any foreign interference. Leopold, however, did not take this course, and troubled himself very little about the precautions which other powers were taking in the event of the demise of the crown of Spain.



PHILIP V., FIRST BOURBON KING OF SPAIN
He was the second son of the Dauphin Louis, and in 1700, when Duke of Anjou, was bequeathed the crown of Spain by Charles II. But it was not till 1713 that, by the Peace of Utrecht, he was left in possession of the throne, after a long struggle with the Archduke Charles.

It had long ago been plain to William of Orange that it would be most conducive to the peace of Europe if neither Bourbon nor Hapsburg should receive so considerable an accession of power, and if the Spanish monarchy could be kept intact

and independent. There was, moreover, an heir whose rights could be justified with but little trouble, the Electoral Prince Joseph Ferdinand of Bavaria, the son of the Elector Max Emanuel's marriage with the Archduchess Maria Antonia, the only daughter of Leopold I. and the Infanta Margaret Theresa of Spain. If the female line of succession in the House of Spain was to be maintained, then Joseph Ferdinand was the legal successor to his mother, who had died in 1692. Louis XIV. discussed the terms of a compact of division with the Prince of Orange on October 11th, 1698, whereby the electoral prince was to have Spain, the Catholic Netherlands (Belgium), and the colonies; the French dauphin, Naples and Sicily; the second son of the emperor (Charles), the duchy of Milan, which was in any case a fief of the German crown. But on November 14th, 1698, Charles II. of Spain signed a will wherein he named the electoral prince as his successor. Louis then declined to recognise the prince, and waited the course of events, confining himself to putting in a word for the choice of his grandson Philip from among the Spanish grandees.

Charles's Choice of a Successor

Once again it would have been highly [illegible] for the emperor, who was supported the hereditary rights of the electoral prince and the testamentary rights of the dying sovereign, to have come to an understanding with Louis XIV. on the subject of a division. Such a course of action might have proved extremely profitable, even if they had taken the Elector of Bavaria into their confidence, for he would have been ready to give up Bavaria in return for Belgium. Thus German territory might have been acquired, influence in Germany might have been strengthened, Milan and Naples claimed as a secondary inheritance for the Archduke Charles, and Spain given up to the Bourbons in return. The Austrian House, instead of expending its power in the War of the Spanish Succession, wherein it actually gained a still smaller success, would have been free to take the offensive against the Turks and to plant colonies on the Lower Danube and in the north of the Balkans.

Opportunities Lost by the Austrian House

But before any course of action had been decided upon, or the first step to negotiations with Spain had been taken, the whole position was altered by the sudden death of the Bavarian electoral prince, on February 6th, 1699, as he was about to take ship from Amsterdam to Spain.

In March, 1700, Louis proceeded to discuss further propositions for division with William of Orange, with the intention of keeping him from union with the emperor. The latter was calculating upon the choice of a Spanish relative, which would have been favourable to his house, of whose recognition by the sea-powers he had no doubt. The Spanish population declined to entertain any proposals for dismembering the kingdom, and for this reason it might have been possible to secure the succession of a German Hapsburg if he had appeared in the kingdom with a force of troops sufficient to offer vigorous resistance to the invasion of the French army, which was to be expected upon the death of the king. But the Emperor Leopold did not think the expense advisable, and in any case the undertaking would have been difficult. He therefore agreed to Louis' proposal that they should mutually agree not to undertake any military operation in Spain during the king's lifetime. The advantages of this arrangement were entirely upon the side of France, for upon receipt of the news of the king's death she could bring an army to the Ebro in as many days as the emperor would require weeks to land a regiment at any Spanish port.

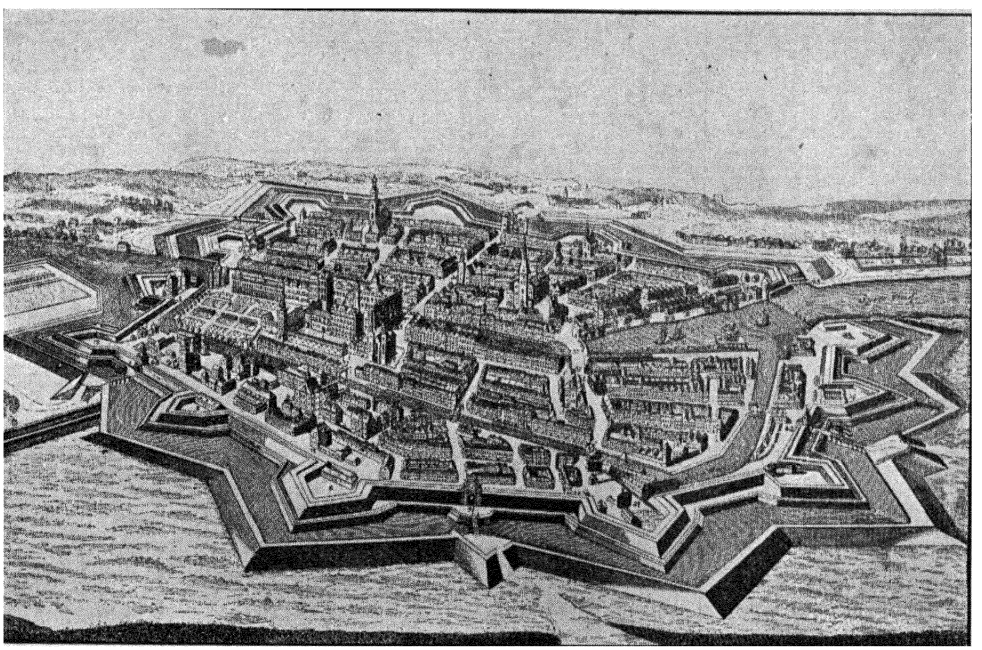
The Dying Hapsburg at Madrid

Under these circumstances it was in vain for the dying Hapsburg at Madrid to form the heroic resolve of naming his relative at Vienna as his successor in defiance of his powerful neighbour's desires; for the peace party in his own country, and chief among them the Archbishop of Toledo, urged upon him that the whole of Spain would be occupied by the French troops long before any German claimant could appear in the field to defend his rights.

Under pressure of these considerations was signed the will of October 3rd, 1700, wherein the hereditary rights of the Infanta Maria Theresa were recognised, and her descendants were called to the succession; in the first place was the second son of the dauphin, Philip, Duke of Anjou; and if he should obtain the French throne, his brother Charles of Berry. After the Bourbons the German Hapsburgs were to inherit, and after them the Savoyards, who were descended from a sister of Philip III. The inheritance thus

provided for fell vacant on November 1st, 1700; on that day Charles II., the last representative of that race which for a century had wielded the greatest power in Europe, sank into his grave.

A fortnight later Louis XIV. greeted the Duke of Anjou as Philip V., King of Spain, and gave him immediate possession of all the powers united under that title. He thought that he now had the game entirely in his own hands, for he knew that neither England nor Holland was inclined to further military undertakings or to great expense. He considered that if he could succeed in a very short space of time



THE STRONGLY FORTIFIED CITY OF BERLIN AS IT WAS IN THE YEAR 1688

[From a copperplate print of the period

in getting all the Spanish territories into his possession, the sea-powers would have little opportunity of stirring them up against him. As to the emperor's power, he thought he would not be able to keep in the field the imposing armies which he was able to summon.

The Emperor Leopold naturally could not recognise his brother-in-law's will, on the contrary, as head of the kingdom and as representing the rights of his family, he was bound to offer a forcible opposition to the occupation of Spain by the French troops. His eldest son, Joseph, "King of the Romans," with all his dependents at the Vienna court, had long been fully convinced of the necessity for taking some such step; he brought all his influence to bear upon the emperor, urging him to commission Prince Eugene to open the campaign in North Italy with all possible speed. The determination displayed by the German Hapsburgs was due to the consciousness that they could place an important general at the head of troops then marching to attack but still more to the fact that they had on their side an ally who was ever ready to strike, whose infantry and cavalry squadrons were the admiration of Europe, the Elector of Brandenburg and King of Prussia. Frederic III., the Great Elector's son and successor, did not possess his father's moral and intellectual qualities He was a weak ruler, fond of display, of but scanty political talent; but he added a showy exterior to the edifice which his father had built up, by obtaining a formal recognition of its rank as a second-rate European power For the moment this action appeared only as an attempt to satisfy personal vanity, but in later times it proved a valuable step on the road to further development. It is a point of some importance that this step was taken at a time when the imperial house had made the greatest sacrifices to the old plans of a universal foreign policy If the

Hapsburg had not been on the eve of the decisive struggle with the Bourbon rival, it is certain that consent would never have been given to the foundation of a German kingdom, and without the emperor's consent such a kingdom would never have obtained recognition.

A New King on the Throne of Poland

In another direction there was an attempt to make capital out of the elector's earnest desires; his electoral colleague, Frederic Augustus I. of Saxony, had been elected King of Poland on June 27th, 1697, at the price of his Protestantism, his recantation being made at Baden near Vienna, on June 1st, 1697; he would have been glad to see another imitator of his secession, and would have rejoiced if the Brandenburger had requested his advancement to the kingly title from the Pope. For this purpose conversion to Catholicism would have been an indispensable preliminary. The Bishop of Ermeland, Andreas Chrysostomus Zaluski, had already arrived at Berlin with a letter from Pope Innocent XII., which unreservedly announced the readiness of the Curia to assent to the kingship. But Frederic showed that he was made of sterner stuff than his usual manner of life appeared to indicate; not for a moment did he entertain any thought of changing his religion, but he allowed the Poles to speculate upon the possibility of such change so long as he thought their opposition might hinder the advancement of Prussia. He saw that as Protestant champion he would give his house a more assured position while placing his own loyalty to principle in contrast with the facile conduct of the King of Poland.



AUGUSTUS OF POLAND
Frederic Augustus I., Elector of Saxony, was elected King of Poland on June 27th, 1697, taking the title of Augustus II. He was defeated and dethroned in 1702.

Frederic had also recognised correctly that he could not ask the crown he desired from the hand of France. Not dependence, but independence, was to be the meaning of this crown; it was to oblige the sovereigns of Europe to treat with him as with an equal. The new Prussian kingdom was to rise from the Holy Roman Empire not as its enemy, but as a new expression of the power which was yet dormant in that antiquated organism. For that reason the emperor's consent was the most important preliminary, and was a guarantee of recognition on the part of other powers who would naturally adopt the emperor's attitude. The change might have been brought to pass by wholly different means in the confusion of the approaching wars. Brandenburg might have seized some suitable piece of territory and have been able to adopt the title of kingdom.

Frederic's was the sure and certain way, and the one proportioned to his capacities. It cost some sacrifice; but this was comparatively small when compared with the benefits which resulted. On July 24th, 1700, the emperor's privy council had practically given its assent to the negotiations upon this matter; on November 16th the affair was concluded. Brandenburg renounced any obligation of feudal dependency to the emperor as his "creation"; in return for the imperial promise to greet the king after every coronation, he undertook to serve the emperor in the war for those parts of the Spanish inheritance situated within the limits of the empire—tacitly including the duchy of Milan—with 8,000 men, for whose maintenance nothing should be paid in time of peace and the elector further promised to renounce all claim to arrears of subsidy due from Austria, and to transfer from his successors to the Roman emperor the electoral power of an archduke. On the other hand, the emperor promised the new king the inheritance of Orange after William's death.

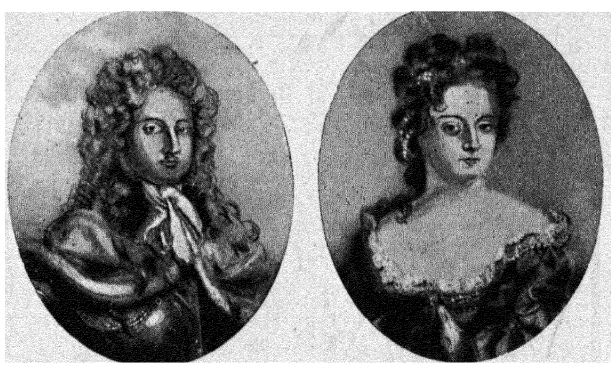
On January 18th, 1701, Frederic and his wife ascended the kingly throne in K[illegible] and the duchy of Prussia, which had been acquitted of all feudal obligations since the compacts of Labiau and Wehlau, was thus raised to the status of a kingdom. The Elector of Brandenburg became King of Prussia, even as the Elector of Saxony became King of Poland, as the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein became King of Denmark, and the Elector of Hanover, a decade later, became King of England. The form of personal union and the constitutional relations of the empire to these independent monarchies was the same in all of these cases; but the actual

Prussia Becomes a Kingdom

course of events produced many practical differences. Only the Elector of Brandenburg had become a German king; his royal residence was Berlin, and not Konigsberg.

The help of Brandenburg-Prussia was all the more important to the emperor, as the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, who was closely united to him, was now unable to fulfil his promises in the event of a war with France. He was the disturbing cause of a war for the possession of the Baltic territories, which occupied the attention of Europe for a full decade simultaneously with the War for the Spanish Succession—the Second, or Great, Northern War (1700-1721). Of this war, it suffices at this point to say that the impetuous youth upon the Swedish throne, after overthrowing Denmark, attacked 40,000 Russians on the Narwa with 8,000 men on November 30th, 1700, and beat them utterly; but Peter was not to be turned from the prosecution of his designs. This defeat taught him the absolute necessity of completing his military organisation, and he understood very well that "his inexperienced youths were bound to yield before an army so old, so experienced, and so well equipped." The ridicule of Europe at the Muscovite incompetency, of which the most incredible reports emanated from Sweden, was of no long duration. The tsar was able to reorganise his military administration, to found cannons out of church bells, to devise new sources of income, and in a short time to take the offensive again. Meanwhile Charles XII. interfered in the affairs of Poland, marched his army up and down the Vistula valley, and by his partisanship of Stanislaus Leszczynski as opposition king in 1704, accentuated the party divisions among the Polish nobility, in which the kingdom expended the remainder of its strength. These Northern complications considerably

Poland's Opposition King



FREDERIC I OF PRUSSIA AND HIS QUEEN

Born in 1657, Frederic succeeded to the Electorate of Brandenburg in the year 1688 On January 18th, 1701, Frederic and his wife Sophia Charlotte ascended the kingly throne in Konigsberg, and the duchy of Prussia was raised to the dignity and status of a kingdom.

increased the emperor's difficulties in [illegible] a force of troops from his German allies sufficient in number to protect the Rhine boundary; they did not, however, prevent him from making an appeal to arms to secure his rights. His decision to send an army into Upper Italy under the command of Prince Eugene, for the reconquest of the duchy of Milan which had now been taken over by the French, was one of the best-advised moves which Leopold I. ever made in the course of his long reign. Eugene's success greatly increased the prestige of the House of Austria, and contributed to encourage those states which were hesitating whether to take any part in the struggle or to allow the Spanish kingdom to pass without opposition to Louis XIV.'s grandson. A general feeling of astonishment was created by the information that Eugene had taken over the army under Marshal Nicolas Catinot, which was waiting in readiness in the fortresses on the Itsch, that he had arrived in Venetian territory by détours through almost impassable Alpine tracks, and that his attack upon the enemy's flank in the battle of Carpi, on July 9th, 1701, had obliged the French to retreat behind the Oglio. The imperial field-marshal then awaited the counter attack of Villeroi at Chiari, on September 1st, and inflicted considerable loss upon the French. Then the open and the secret enemies of France rejoiced aloud, and began to consider the possibility of forming a new confederacy against the king, who was striving to become the master of Europe.

The Greatest Move of Leopold I.

Louis XIV. was not anxious for the outbreak of a general conflict, and thought that Holland, which delayed to recognise the position of Philip of Anjou, might be tempted into neutrality, and restrained from any thoughts of hostility which she might have entertained. In February,

1701, he ordered Marshal Boufflers to cross the frontier of the Spanish Netherlands, and to demand the surrender of those fortresses in which Dutch garrisons were stationed, in accordance with the terms of a "Barrier Treaty" with Spain. Max Emanuel of Bavaria, who ruled in Brussels as Spanish stadtholder, had already ordered the commandants to hand over the fortresses to France, and in the result twenty-three Dutch battalions became French prisoners. The Dutch States were now obliged to recognise Philip whether they would or not, in order to stave off the further advance of the French, against whom they were entirely defenceless for the moment; but their suspicions had been aroused to the highest pitch, and of this fact they made no concealment to the English Parliament.

France's Strong Hand on the Dutch States

The Parliament determined to send an ambassador to the negotiations which had been opened at the Hague to discuss the conditions necessary to the maintenance of peace. Louis XIV. struggled to prevent the protraction of the negotiations which was thereby involved, but at length gave in, whereupon the States and England went a step further, and demanded power to co-opt an ambassador from the emperor. The danger which France now had to face was lest the execution of the will of Charles II. of Spain should be placed in the hands of a European congress While the progress of diplomacy between the House of Bourbon and the sea-powers was thus opportunely coming to a head public opinion in England was gradually swinging to the opposite extreme The Tories were afraid of losing their influence if they attempted to stem the tide, they therefore withdrew their opposition to the Hanoverian succession.

The news from Italy, and the prospect that England would take a vigorous share in the coming war, produced an immediate effect in Holland William of Orange arrived in his native land in September, 1701, and concluded the Great Alliance, which declared itself unable to acquiesce in the French prince's possession of the Spanish monarchy. To the emperor was guaranteed at least the possession of the Catholic Netherlands, Milan, Naples, and Sicily, as well as the Spanish islands in the Mediterranean. On their side the sea-powers claimed the right to annex such portions of the Spanish West Indian colonies as were most suitable for their commerce and carrying trade. Spain and France were never to be united, and in no case was the King of France to be ruler also of Spain It remained open to the Archduke Charles, to whom the kingdom had been devised by his father, to secure possession of it, if he could; but the allies were not bound to support him

Signs of the Coming War

The formation of this alliance did not absolutely preclude the possibility of a peaceful solution, if Louis XIV. had recognised the critical nature of the situation, an equal partition might undoubtedly have been agreed upon. But his political programme was of far too ambitious a character to admit of any demands for the placing of reasonable limits to the French power The compact that was concluded on March 9th, 1701, with Maximilian Emanuel II. of Bavaria, whose brother Clemens of Cologne was already dependent upon him, might easily have deceived him with regard to the situation in Germany, and have stimulated the hopes which he entertained of the emperor. Instead of making overtures to the sea-powers, and requesting their mediation with the emperor with a view to settlement, he made the breach with England irreparable by recognising as king the thirteen-year-old James (III) upon the death of his father James II., on September 17th, 1701, at the same time he provoked the emperor to the bitterest resistance by giving permission to Philip to assume the title of Count of Hapsburg and Duke of Austria.

Indiscretions of the French King

William of Orange survived this change in the relations of the European powers only a few months, he died on March 19th, 1702. His great achievement, the alliance against Louis XIV, remained unimpaired. His sister-in-law, Anne, was bound to support it because her position as ruler was founded upon the general opposition to her relatives who were maintained by France. John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough, the husband of her friend Sarah Jennings, was anxious for a war and therefore busied himself in gaining the strong support of the English Parliament, and also in maintaining the policy of the Prince of Orange in the States, where he found an enthusiastic dependent and a loyal supporter of William's actions in the Council Pensionary, Anthony Heinsius.



WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION AND THE GREAT TRIUMPHS OF MARLBOROUGH

LOUIS XIV 's hopes with regard to the German Empire remained unfulfilled. The two Wittelsbachs found no party. The associated armed districts of the empire had certainly fallen into the Bavarian trap, and had concluded an agreement of neutrality with him. But they perceived in due time that they were then entirely without defence against the protector of Max Emanuel, and so rejoined the emperor, on whose behalf the Margrave Lewis William of Baden undertook the defence of the Rhine. Hanover and Luneburg placed 6,000 men at the disposal of Holland, and 10,000 men at England's service in return for the necessary payments. The King of Prussia gave the sea-powers 6,000 men, besides the auxiliary troops which he was pledged to furnish to the emperor

The First Movements in the War

In the spring of 1702 the war began upon the Rhine and in the Netherlands. At the same time Max Emanuel openly declared for France, overpowered the imperial town of Ulm, and got possession of Regensburg. His task was to maintain his position on the Danube until a French army could advance through the Schwarzwald and unite with him. Then it was proposed to march upon Vienna. However, it was not until May 12th, 1703, that the Bavarian army, in the pay of France, succeeded in joining Marshal Villars, and even then the leaders did not feel themselves strong enough to march upon Vienna until they were secured against the possibility of a diversion from the Tyrol. Max Emanuel also had a subsidiary plan. He desired to get possession of the land which seemed well suited for his retirement in the event of peace negotiations, or even for exchange against Naples or Belgium. He therefore pressed on to unite with the Duke of Vendôme, who was operating in Northern Italy.

Prince Eugene had been so feebly supported from Vienna that he had been able only to prevent the duke from advancing further north at the bloody battle of Luzzara on August 15th, 1702, and could not inflict a decisive defeat upon him. The Bavarians got possession of the upper and lower Inn valley, took Innsbruck, and pressed on across the Brenner Pass. Then the Tyrolese brought their militia against them, which they had kept on foot since the Landlibell of 1511, and drove them back to the Brenner, after defeating them at Landeck

Bavarians Defeated at Landeck

The elector's attempt was a complete failure, for Vendôme did not press his advance upon the Etsch with sufficient vigour. Lewis of Baden had been in position for the Danube for a long time, confronting the French army under Villars with a superior force, and if he had grasped the situation and made the best use of his advantage, Max Emanuel, whose strength had already been broken, would have been in a critical position, and would have been forced to make a separate peace with the emperor. However, he and Villars very cleverly extricated themselves from their perilous situation, and on September 20th, 1703, they even won a victory at Hochstadt over the imperial troops under the Austrian Count Hermann Otto Styrum.

The emperor's cause was in a bad way, mainly through lack of money for the pay and equipment of the troops. Prince Eugene was, it is true, summoned to court to preside over the council of war; but his most zealous attempts to make the necessary provision for the armies remained without result from the time that it became necessary to carry on war in Hungary. Leopold's domestic policy of religious intolerance now brought forth its fruit. Religious toleration should have been granted to the kingdom upon its reconquest, and after the hereditary rights of the Hapsburgs had been recognised in the Presburg Reichstag of 1687 a modicum of [illegible] should have been granted to the country. Instead of spending time upon religious uniformity, the

The Fruit of Religious Intolerance

Christian Ernest — imperial regiments, Frankish troops and Prussians under Leopold of Dessau, not more than 14,000 men altogether.

Marsin's troops were in poor condition, and greatly in want of recruits to complete their strength. To bring these up was the task of Marshal Tallard, who was on the Upper Rhine with 30,000 men. In the Moselle district were 14,000 French under Coligny. Against him and Tallard, the Margrave Lewis William of Baden, whose headquarters were at Aschaffenburg, could oppose 30,000 men, consisting of troops from the emperor and the empire, and from Hesse-Darmstadt and [illegible] in Dutch pay. He held the so-called Stollhofen line in the Rhine plains, opposite Strassburg and the Schwarzwald passes.

English and Dutch in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands the English-Dutch army, under the command of Marlborough, had been standing for a year in almost complete inaction, confronted by the French under Boufflers and Villeroi. The Dutch commissaries, who interfered in all military affairs as soon as a single company paid by them had taken the field, placed insuperable obstacles in the way of any comprehensive plan of campaign. They were accustomed to wage war on the principles of commercial calculation. They were but feeble, nervous merchants opposed to any undertaking requiring audacity; and so, whenever an attack was proposed, they hesitated and discussed until the advantage had slipped through their fingers.

Under these circumstances, it became plain that the respective superiority of the combatants must be decided upon the Danube. Perhaps the most striking proof of Marlborough's strategical powers is the fact that he recognised this necessity, and at once determined to act upon it. As in all great events, personal ambition here also exercised a most fortunate influence, for this it was which drove John Churchill to seek a sphere for his military energies in which success and honours were to be won. To the Dutchmen he left their own troops and no inconsiderable portion of the auxiliaries hired by England to carry on some unimportant sieges and covering movements in the Netherlands, while he himself executed a surprise movement across Germany with 20,000 English troops. The imperial court also recognised that Austria must be protected on the Rhine and in the Schwarzwald, and sent Prince Eugene into the empire. He undertook to cover the Upper Rhine, while Lewis William of Baden claimed the personal command of the imperial army, which was operating against Max Emanuel and Marsin. The Elector Max retired from Upper Austria to the Lech on hearing that the Schwarzwald passes were more strongly held and that the army was advancing from Franconia towards the Danube. He was afraid, and with reason, that his junction with Tallard might prove impossible of execution, and saw himself already in a desperate position.

The English Leader's Quick Action

If the timid Margrave had been in the least degree competent to perform his duties, the elector would most probably have been taken prisoner before the arrival of the French reinforcements, which were marching in the direction of Freiburg and had already reached Villingen. On May 20th he took over reinforcements from Tallard to the number of 10,000 men, with a long train of supplies, guns, uniforms, and 1,300,000 livres. Tallard then returned to the Rhine. However, thanks to the Margrave of Baden's disinclination to fight, the Franco-Bavarian army escaped from its dangerous position at Stockach, and proceeded to fall back upon Ulm on June 1st, 1704.

Marlborough's Splendid Beginning

Shortly afterwards Marlborough's troops passed through Swabia without molestation, joined hands with the margrave's main army, and a plan of campaign became possible. Prince Eugene also took part in the deliberations, and agreed with Marlborough as to the necessity of attacking Max Emanuel, while their forces were still superior to his. Marlborough and the margrave held the command upon alternate days. On July 2nd Marlborough gave battle with the united Anglo-German army on the Schellenberg at Donauwerth, and in spite of heavy losses—among them Field-Marshal Styrum and General Goor—won a victory over the Franco-Bavarians, who were forced to retire across the Danube and to concentrate upon Augsburg. The elector's hopes of victory were now dashed to the ground; he showed an inclination to listen to the emperor's proposals for peace. Marsin was greatly annoyed at this, and was forced to throw all kinds of obstacles in the way to prevent him



THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH BRINGING THE CAVALRY INTO LINE AFTER THE BATTLE OF RAMILLIES, IN 1706
From the drawing by R. Caton Woodville

from negotiating with a view to throwing up the cause of Louis XIV. Tallard and Villeroi were opposing Prince Eugene on the Rhine with three times his strength, but did not venture to attack their dreaded adversary.

Dropping the Margrave of Baden

Tallard, at the call of Marsin, now marched through the Schwarzwald to the help of the elector with 25,000 men and forty-five guns. As soon as Prince Eugene learned this, he collected all the troops which could by any possibility be spared from the defence of the Stollhofen lines, and made his way to that point where the fortunes of the Great Alliance were to be decided—to the Danube. He made a secret agreement with Marlborough, that the Margrave of Baden, who was nothing but a hindrance to their operations, should be left behind to carry on the siege of Ingolstadt, while the two generals confronted the enemy in the open field.

Meanwhile Marsin had induced Max Emanuel to march with him from Augsburg in a north-westerly direction to the Danube, and to cross to the left bank of the river. There they joined hands with Tallard's troops. Marlborough had been covering the retirement of the imperial army at Rain, and now hastened through Donauwerth to the support of the prince, who had been for some days in a dangerous position, as he was liable to be driven out of his post upon the Kesselbach by the Franco-Bavarians, who were vastly superior in numbers.

The French Waiting for Help

The Frenchmen were anxious to await the arrival of the Bavarian reinforcements, for they thought it dangerous to weaken their own forces before the arrival of this accession of strength; the Bavarians, however, did not arrive at the proper time. When Marlborough's battalions appeared on the Kesselbach, the positions of the respective parties for the battle of Hochstadt were already determined. On the morning of August 13th, 1704, the allies advanced: Prince Eugene, with eighteen battalions and seventy-eight squadrons — 9,000 infantry and 9,360 cavalry—undertook to make a march on the right wing for the purpose of delivering a flank attack, and at three o'clock in the afternoon advanced upon the position of Max Emanuel and Marsin at Lutzingen. The former had five battalions and twenty-three squadrons under his command, while Marsin had thirty-seven battalions and sixty squadrons. Tallard had thirty-six battalions, forty-four mounted squadrons and sixteen on foot, with which to meet Marlborough, who commanded forty-six battalions, 23,000 men and eighty-three squadrons, with 10,560 cavalry. The allied forces, as a whole, numbered 57,000 men with fifty-two guns, against 56,000 French and Bavarians with ninety guns.

Brilliant Victory of the Allies

The brilliant victory gained by the allies was due to the complete agreement of the two commanders as to the general idea of the battle and the accurate execution of the movements proposed. Marlborough was twice repulsed by Tallard on the right, while he prepared his unexpected main onset on the centre, but was able to rally for a third onset, while Eugene held the enemy's left wing so firmly that Marsin dared not send a single battalion to Tallard's support. The battle in this quarter was finally decided by the " indescribable valour " with which the ten Prussian battalions under Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau stormed the position of Lutzingen, after the imperial cavalry had retreated before the Franco-Bavarian horse. Max Emanuel and Prince Eugene fought in the hottest part of the attacks. Tallard did not understand how to make the best use of his superiority in infantry; the greater part of them he placed in Blenheim to defend the place, and kept only nine battalions and 1,200 dismounted cavalry for use in the open field. Marlborough made the utmost use of his masses of cavalry; 109 squadrons were employed in the tremendous charge at Oberglauheim in the centre of the line of battle between Lutzingen and Blenheim. Having broken the centre completely, Marlborough was now able to envelop the French right and destroy it.

At nine o'clock in the evening the allies were masters of the field; they had lost 12,600 men, a quarter of the forces with which they had marched out to battle. The Elector Max and Marsin retreated with half of the Franco-Bavarian forces, having lost 17,000 dead and wounded, and 11,000 prisoners, among whom were 1,500 officers. The battle of Blenheim marks the beginning of modern warfare, which seeks to decide the contest by destroying the adversary on the battlefield, and not by merely winning the ground or capturing

fortresses. The strategical principles of Marlborough and Eugene were further developed by Frederic the Great and Gneisenau, and brought to perfection by Moltke. However, at that time the art of following up a success was not understood.

After the Battle of Blenheim

A vigorous pursuit, of which the numerous German cavalry would have been quite capable, would have completed the destruction of the French army before Villeroi could have come to their assistance. But it was contrary to the custom of war to refuse the troops a pause for rest at the conclusion of a great action; moreover, it was thought that the objects of the war might be obtained by diplomacy and continued negotiation with Bavaria. These hopes were not fulfilled. The remnant of Marsin and Tallard's army, together with some thousands of Bavarians sent by Villeroi, reached the left bank of the Rhine and went into winter quarters on the Moselle and in Alsace.

Max Emanuel resumed his post as stadtholder in Brussels, while his troops kept up a guerrilla warfare in their native land with the Austrians, until Prince Eugene occupied Bavaria in the emperor's name, brought about the disbandment of the electoral battalions, and came to an agreement with the Electress Therese, who had remained in Munich, whereby she was assured a maintenance, but deprived of all influence upon the government of the country. However, the extortions of the Austrian administration and the conscription of recruits excited a revolt of the peasants in the following year, which was repressed only on Christmas Day by the battle of the Sendling Gate.

On May 5th, 1705, Leopold died, and Joseph I. ascended the throne without hindrance. The Great Alliance was now able to take the offensive, but the war made no great progress during this year. The French lines in the Netherlands were stormed by Marlborough on July 18th; on August 16th Prince Eugene fought an indecisive battle with Vendôme at Cassano. It was not until the year 1706 that Marlborough's victory over Villeroi at Ramillies in Brabant on May 23rd made the occupation of the Spanish Netherlands possible. The corresponding victory of Turin on September 7th, where Leopold's Prussians again displayed their admirable military capacities under Eugene's leadership, drove the French out of the north of Italy. On June 27th, 1706, Madrid was won for Charles III. by an Anglo-Portuguese army, but was soon afterwards retaken. Valencia now became the seat of the Hapsburgs, until the defeat of Almanza, which Lord Galway suffered on April 25th, 1707, at the hands of the French marshal—natural son of James II.—James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick. The southern provinces then fell into the hands of Philip V.

Death of the Emperor Leopold

Louis XIV. attempted a change of policy by entering into an alliance with Charles XII. of Sweden, who had advanced upon Saxony from Poland in 1706, and obliged the Elector Frederic Augustus I. to renounce his claims to Poland at Altranstadt on September 24th, 1706. This was a serious matter for the allies, because the Swedes had made demands upon the emperor with which he was not likely to comply, and an adventurous spirit such as Charles might very well have initiated a Swedish attack upon the imperial territory. Had Charles possessed the smallest capacity for diplomacy, the embarrassments of France would have provided him with a splendid opportunity for its exercise. But his action was inspired by the humour in which he happened to be, not by fixed principles; his military success was a surprise for the moment, but it did not contribute to establish the Swedish power, the importance of which was almost everywhere over-estimated.

France in Alliance with Sweden

Thanks to the personal intervention of Marlborough, Charles was induced to throw in his lot with the allies in April, 1707. His quarrel with the emperor was not successfully patched up until August 30th, 1707, when the emperor was led to make certain concessions in favour of the Silesian Protestants. During his stay in Saxony, Charles XII. had collected an army of 40 000 men and nearly 100,000 horse, and with this force he might have imposed any terms upon Germany as the ally of Louis; for the empire had no army capable of resisting him at its disposal. When this army again marched eastward, in September, 1707, it was felt that the terrible suspense of the situation had been relieved. It was marching to its downfall. Charles was persuaded by the revolted Cossack hetman, Ivan Stephanovitch Mazeppa, to make an incursion into the Ukraine, instead of



THE BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET, IN 1709 MARLBOROUGH DRIVING THE GUARD OF THE CORPS OFF THE FIELD

From the drawing by R Caton Woodville

first reconquering the Balkan districts which the Russians had occupied. The battle of Poltava, on July 8th, 1709, resulted in the annihilation of the Swedish army, forced the king to take flight into Turkish territory, and by securing Peter the Great in the possession of Ingria (Saint Petersburg) gave him the foundations for his future position as a European power. It was only at the cost of the greatest efforts that Louis XIV. could provide means for the continuation of the war. The defeats of Oudenarde on July 11th, 1708, and of Malplaquet on September 11th, 1709, obliged him to open negotiations for peace, wherein he showed himself disposed to renounce his claims upon Spain, if Philip were to be compensated with Naples. The Hague conference arrogantly demanded guarantees on the part of Philip of Anjou for the evacuation of Spain by the French troops. Louis never proved himself better capable of representing the interests of his people than when he rejected this proposal, and determined to continue the war, relying upon the devotion and the nobility of the French.

Louis XIV. Works for Peace

France was now no longer to be feared. In Spain, also, her influence was gone. The national party clung to Philip of Anjou because he consulted their interests in declaring for the independence of the monarchy. All the advantages which the sea-powers demanded for their trade might have been conceded forthwith. There was no reason why Europe should put herself to further loss on account of the kingdom of Charles III ; on the contrary, the ground had been cleared for a peaceful settlement, which might have led to a universal pacification. But one obstacle to this was the "barrier treaty" which Holland had concluded with England, on October 29th, 1709, without informing the other members of the alliance of the agreement. By this convention the States were to receive a number



THE BATTLE OF VILLA VICIOSA IN THE YEAR 1710
This battle, which was fought after the withdrawal of the great Marlborough from the operations of the war, resulted in a victory for the French over the Austrian party, and did much to revive the hopes of Louis XIV.
From the painting by Alaux at Versailles



THE FRENCH VICTORY AT THE BATTLE OF DENAIN IN 1712

The success of the French at the battle of Denain is said to have saved the kingdom, French writers swelling it into comparison with Ramillies. Prince Eugene besieged Landrecies, and the French commander, Villars, pretending to assault the besieging army, made a sudden side march and advanced upon Denain. The French officers called for fascines to fill up the ditch. "Eugene will not allow you time," cried Villars, "the bodies of the first slain must be our fascines." Then storming the camp, the Frenchmen carried it before Prince Eugene could arrive.

From the painting by Alaux at Versailles

of fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, together with Liège, Bonn, and Guelders. Thus the division of the Spanish inheritance was affected before the heirs had come to any agreement. As soon as Louis learned this fact, he perceived that the Alliance must split asunder. His new peace proposals were offered merely with the object of initiating negotiation; when once the negotiations had been got under way, he felt confident that the relations of the powers would change in his favour.

The Tories in Power in England

This change began in the course of the year 1710, owing to the fall of Marlborough's party in England, and the fact that the Tories gained nearly a two-thirds majority in the Parliamentary elections. Queen Anne had broken with the proud Duchess Sarah and assured the allies of the continuance of her support; but she was anxious to see the conclusion of peace, in order that Marlborough might be removed from his position as commander on the justifiable plea that there was no further need for his services.

Affairs in Spain had taken a course which precluded any prospect of Philip's removal. Vendôme, who had taken up the command of his army, was more than a match for any forces which Charles had at his disposal. He had forced Charles to evacuate Madrid, which he had occupied, and on December 10th, 1710, at Villa Viciosa, he had defeated the Austrians under Starhemberg. Charles was driven back upon Barcelona and some fortresses on the shores of Catalonia. It was not to be supposed that he would ever succeed in getting possession of the kingdom. If, therefore, Philip was left in possession of the country of which he was, in any case, virtual

master, favourable conditions in other respects might be expected from France. The road to peace was thus cleared when the Emperor Joseph I. died, on April 17th, 1711, leaving no son, so that the Hapsburg claimant to the Spanish throne became heir to the inheritance of the German line and to the imperial crown.

Eugene's Agreement with France

This entirely unexpected event —the emperor died of small pox—sealed the fate of the Great Alliance. The Minister in charge of English foreign policy, Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, immediately entered into secret negotiations with Louis XIV., without giving the queen full information as to his intentions. He deceived the emperor's ambassadors and the Dutch by a pretended attitude of firm adherence to existing compacts and to the peace proposals of 1709. But he would guarantee no subsidies, and supported no plan of military operations. Prince Eugene himself paid a rapid visit to London to urge the continuance of the war, but was coldly dismissed. The Duke of Marlborough, who could do as he pleased with the army, might have put an end to a situation intolerable to himself had he determined, on his own responsibility, in conjunction with Eugene, to invade France, which was now quite defenceless.

A special agreement with France on October 8th, 1711, made England's withdrawal an accomplished fact. All that was required of Louis was a solemn declaration that Philip of Anjou renounced his claim to the French throne, and some general promises with regard to the indemnity payable to the combatants. When England invited the Dutch to consider negotiations for peace, the latter did not venture to shake off the Tory yoke and to take up the ideals of the great Prince of Orange. The troops of all the allied princes, the Prussians, Hanoverians, and Danes, marched out of the English encampment.

The Great War at an End

Eugene was at the head of 122 battalions and 273 squadrons, and was ready to march upon Paris; but the Amsterdam merchants were no longer inspired with that spirit which had raised their maritime state to the position of a European power.

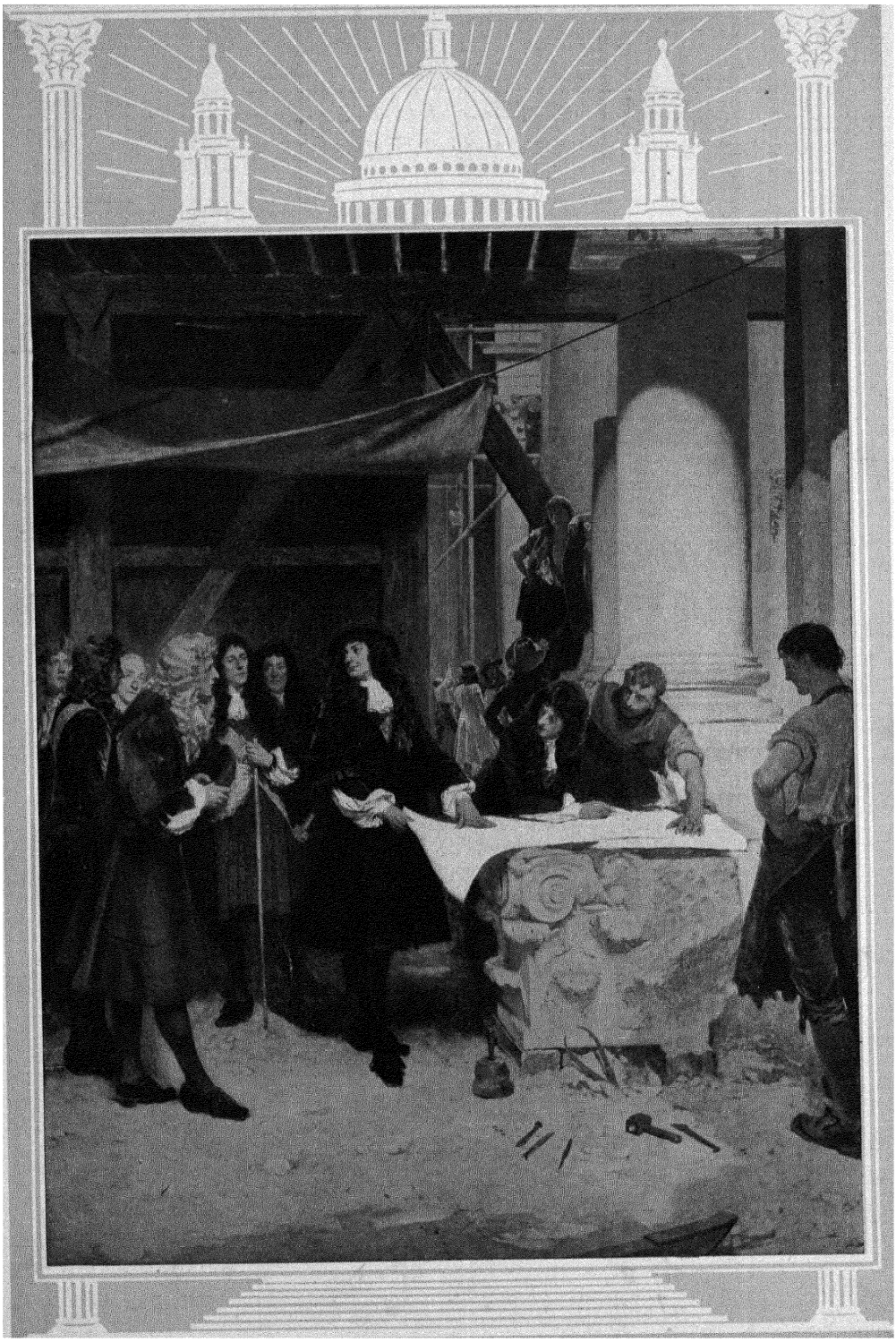
The War of the Spanish Succession was at an end. Louis XIV. dictated the conditions of peace, which was concluded on April 11th, 1713, in Utrecht without the emperor's concurrence. Louis XIV. recognised the succession of the House of Hanover in England, left to England the Hudson Bay territories—in modern British North America — gave Holland a number of "barrier" fortresses on the French-Netherland frontier, and gave the kingdom of Prussia part of the Orange inheritance, the principality of Neuchâtel in Switzerland, the counties of Mörs and Lingen and parts of Guelders. As to Spain and her colonies, a new Bourbon dynasty was founded by Philip V. and his descendants. Portugal obtained the land on the Amazon, the Duke of Savoy got the kingdom of Sicily. To the emperor were left Naples, Milan, and the rest of the Spanish Netherlands. Sardinia and Luxemburg, with Namur and Charleroi, were evacuated in favour of the Elector of Bavaria until his native dominions should be restored.

It was the hardest of all conditions that the emperor and the kingdom should be obliged to receive into favour the Wittelsbach arch-traitor, that they should have to restore to him the lands which had been justly confiscated The emperor was unable to continue the war. Of this fact

Prince Eugene Yields to France

Prince Eugene was well aware, and after continuing the war upon the Rhine for a year, he bowed to the will of France, and concluded the peace negotiations of Rastadt and Baden on March 7th and September 8th, 1714. Of these, the main points were the recognition of the Peace of Utrecht and the reconciliation of Max Emanuel with the emperor. A project of exchange had been seriously considered by these two—the kingdom of the Netherlands with Luxemburg in return for Bavaria. In spite of the protestations of his brother, Joseph Clemens of Cologne, Max Emanuel would have been ready to close with the bargain, preferring to stay amid the gaiety and wealth of Brussels to returning to Munich. It is worth while to remember that affairs in South Germany might have run a very different course from what they actually took. At that time Prussia could never have entertained the remotest idea of thwarting the growth of the Austrian power in South Germany. Fifty years later, when the proposal for exchange was renewed, Frederic the Great was able to prevent its accomplishment by force of protest, without appealing to force of arms.

HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SUDENHORST



CHARLES II. VISITING WREN DURING THE BUILDING OF ST. PAUL'S

From the painting by Seymour Lucas, R.A., in the possession of Mrs. W. C. King, Billinghurst

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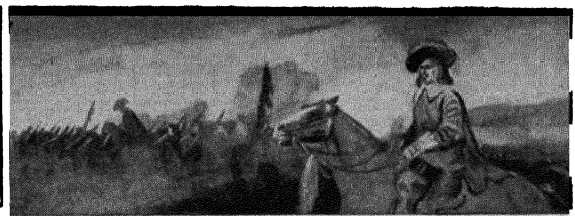


ENGLAND'S RESTORED MONARCHY

THE REVOLUTION AND THE UNION

ON the death of the Protector his office was conferred by Parliament upon his son, Richard Cromwell. a well-meaning country gentleman who had nothing but his name to recommend him for the first position in the state. The army, however, was determined to assert itself in the settlement. Finding that Richard Cromwell would not allow the military power to claim equality with the civil government it forced him to abdicate, and invited the Rump to assemble. Forty-two of those whom Cromwell had rejected in 1653 responded to the summons, but were soon discovered to be no more tolerant of military rule than they had been six years earlier.

A council of officers expelled the Rump for the second time, and made a shift to govern by the commissions which they held from the late Protector. The general indignation of civilians warned them that this system could not be maintained, and once more, on December 26th, 1659, the Rump was brought back to Westminster. All was confusion and uncertainty when Monk, the ablest and most moderate of Cromwell's lieutenants, made his appearance on the scene leading the troops with which the Protector had supplied him for the maintenance of order in Scotland.

Monk and the Rump Parliament

Monk's intentions were a mystery to others, and possibly what passed for supreme duplicity on his part was in fact the result of genuine perplexity. He confined himself to assurances that he would maintain the supremacy of the civil power, and took steps to procure a Parliament which would command the general support of the nation. He induced the Rump to recall the Presbyterian members who had been expelled by Pride's Purge; he induced the Presbyterians to give their votes for the final dissolution of the Long Parliament. The stage was thus cleared of the body which had so long pretended, without justice, to represent the wishes of the people.

A new Parliament, composed of two Houses, was summoned, and the Commons were chosen once more by popular election. The two Houses met on April 25th. They contained a strong Royalist majority; for the arbitrary acts of Charles I. had been obliterated from memory by the still more arbitrary conduct of the Long Parliament, the Protector, and the Majors-General. Within a few days of assembling, the new Parliament—called a convention, because summoned without royal writs—had before it a manifesto from Charles II., who was then living under the protection of the United Netherlands. This document, the famous Declaration of Breda, removed the last fears of those who had resisted the late king. It promised a free pardon to all persons who should not be expressly excepted from the amnesty by Parliament. It promised to tender consciences such liberty as should be consistent with the peace of the kingdom, and expressed the king's willingness to accept an Act of Toleration. It referred to Parliament all the disputes concerning the lands which had been confiscated in the late troubles. Without delay the two Houses voted unanimously for the restoration of the monarchy. In May, 1660, Charles II. returned to his own amid scenes of the wildest exultation.

The Famous Declaration of Breda

The promises which he had made were indifferently fulfilled, for, as it turned out, no protection for Puritans or Commonwealth men was to be obtained from Parliament; the promises which Charles had made of submitting to the arbitration of Lords and Commons left him free from all but moral and prudential restraints. The Convention Parliament, which contained many moderate men, was dissolved on the king's return, on the pretext that it was irregularly constituted, but in reality because it wished to protect the Presbyterian ministers who were in

Charles II. on the Throne

possession of church benefices, and to make an equitable provision for the purchasers of lands which had been confiscated.

The Cavalier Parliament, which met immediately afterwards, was filled with hot-headed Cavaliers and Episcopalians. It allowed all Royalists who had been punished with confiscation to recover the whole of their estates by ordinary process at law. It declined to hear of any compromise in religious matters, and proceeded to pass a number of disabling Acts which were levelled against the Puritan clergy and laity. This so-called Clarendon Code—which took its name from the king's chief adviser—excluded all Dissenters from municipal office, imposed a more rigid test of uniformity upon ministers of religion, disqualified for preferment all who had not received episcopal ordination, prohibited dissenting conventicles of every description, and forbade nonconforming ministers to come within five miles of a city or chartered borough. With cynical disregard for the expectations which the Declaration of Breda had excited, the king gave his assent to all these measures. His conduct was the more odious because he was himself out of sympathy with the victorious Anglicans. At heart a Catholic, he secretly intended to secure toleration for his co-religionists at the first opportunity. He made some attempt to benefit them, and incidentally the Dissenters, by issuing a declaration of indulgence to suspend the operation of the penal laws.



RICHARD CROMWELL
The son of the great Protector, he had none of his father's genius for government. Though he succeeded his father as Protector, he quietly acquiesced in the Restoration.



GENERAL MONK DECLARING FOR A FREE PARLIAMENT
This able soldier, realising the condition of anarchy into which the country was falling, proceeded to London, where the Rump Parliament had resumed its sittings, and on February 16th, 1660, openly declared himself to be in favour of a free Parliament. The Long Parliament came to an end a month later, and the restoration of the monarchy soon followed.
From the painting by E. M. Ward, R.A., by permission of the Art Union of London

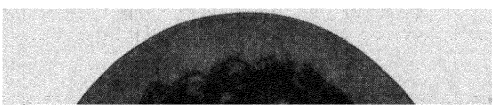


THE MONARCHY RESTORED CHARLES II RETURNING TO ENGLAND

The son of the ill-fated King Charles I, Charles II. was born at St James's, London, in 1630. On January 1st, 1651, he was crowned King of Scotland at Scone, and invaded England some months later at the head of an army of 10,000 men. Cromwell met and defeated him at Worcester, and after some adventures he escaped to France. When it was resolved to restore the monarchy, he was recalled to England and placed upon the throne of his father.

From the painting by C M Paddy, by permission of the Religious Tract Society

But when Parliament protested against this stretch of the prerogative, he at once with-



other prerogative courts. Parliament voted the king a liberal income, but

manifesto. He feared, as he said, to be sent again upon his travels; the prospect of committing or conniving at injustice had no fears for him.

Despite the exuberant loyalty of Parliament, there were many respects in which the power of Charles II. was more limited than that of his father. The legislation of 1641 remained for the most part unrepealed. It was out of the question to think of reviving the Star Chamber and the



KING CHARLES II.

He was dissolute and utterly untrustworthy, and while a Roman Catholic in heart, he did his best to conceal from his subjects his adhesion to that faith. His reign was a failure

plies he was entirely dependent on the Commons; nor were they inclined to vote subsidies without demanding a strict account. The experience of the Civil War made the name of a standing army odious, and it was with difficulty that Charles contrived to retain a few regiments of Monk's army. In the debates of both Houses the king's policy and his Ministers were sharply criticised. It is from this reign that we date the formation of

a parliamentary opposition well organised and skilfully led; for the opposition in the Long Parliament had soon passed beyond the limits of party war and had become a revolutionary caucus. The king had therefore to walk warily.

The objects which he cherished—independence for himself, toleration for Roman Catholics—were repugnant to the majority in Parliament and the nation. He therefore looked abroad for help, and like Cromwell, but with very different motives, made a French alliance the pivot of his foreign policy. England, as a part of Catharine's dower, Bombay and a firmer foothold in India—formed a new link with France, which had long affected to support the cause of Portuguese independence. Immediately afterwards the king sold Dunkirk to Louis for a round sum of money. The new understanding encouraged Charles to declare war against Holland in 1665, and English commercial jealousy was gratified at the same time that Louis received a proof of the value of an English alliance. Louis at first played a double game.



THE LANDING OF CHARLES II AT DOVER ON MAY 26TH, 1660
From the painting by J. M. Wyld, R.A.

The old commercial feud between England and the Netherlands supplied him with a partial justification. The Navigation Act was renewed in 1660 with the express object of damaging Dutch trade. This facilitated friendly relations with Louis XIV, who had long cherished the idea of [illegible] in his dominions the heretical and republican Dutch. In 1662 Charles married Catharine of Braganza, a P[illegible] princess. The marriage—otherwise notable, because it gave England stood in the way of his schemes for the extension of French trade and the establishment of French supremacy at sea. For a time he assisted Holland against England; but in 1667 he was won over to a secret treaty with Charles, under which the latter agreed, in return for French neutrality, to further the designs of Louis upon the Spanish Netherlands. The Dutch war, in which the rival fleets had fought desperate battles with alternating fortunes, was then wound up. It


BEAUTIES of the COURT of CHARLES II
QUEEN CATHERINE
COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND
DUCHESS OF RICHMOND
NELL GWYNN
COUNTESS OSSORY
LADY GRAMMONT
LADY SOUTHESK
DUCHESS of CLEVELAND



THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON IN THE YEAR 1666

Following the Great Plague in 1665, when 100,000 of the city's inhabitants died from the scourge, London, in 1666, was the scene of a terrible conflagration, which cleansed the city of the dregs of disease. The city was practically reduced to ruins, 13,200 houses being burned, and 200,000 people rendered homeless. The above view represents Ludgate, St. Paul's, and, in the extremity of the scene, the ancient and beautiful tower of St. Mary-le-Bow.

had served its purpose, and Charles made no attempt to revenge the disgrace which he experienced from a Dutch raid upon the shipping in the Thames and Medway. On the contrary, in 1668 he consented to the formation of a triple alliance with Sweden and Holland, by which he pledged himself to resist the French designs upon the Spanish Netherlands. But the secret object was still to raise his value in the eyes of France, and an alliance with Louis was effected in 1670 by the secret Treaty of Dover. Louis, swallowing his resentment at the trick which had been played upon him, promised Charles a considerable pension on condition that he should have the help of English troops against the Netherlands. Charles undertook to avow himself a Catholic at a convenient opportunity, and was promised in that case the support of a French army.

The Secret Dealings of Charles II.

Only one or two of the king's most trusted advisers were admitted to a full knowledge of these provisions, and Charles never fulfilled the undertaking to declare himself a Catholic. But for the remainder of his reign he was the pensionary of Louis, and in European politics England usually figured as the satellite of France. In 1672 the English navy supported a French invasion of the Netherlands, and in 1673 bore the brunt of a severe battle in the Texel. The land operations of Louis were foiled by the constancy of William of Orange. The French alliance was thoroughly unpopular, and Charles bowed to the wishes of his subjects so far as to conclude peace with Holland and to bestow on William the hand of his niece Mary of York in 1674. But the secret understanding with Louis remained unbroken. Three years later Charles refused to support the Dutch against a new French invasion; and if at times he appeared to humour the popular desire for a war with France, his object was merely to obtain more subsidies.

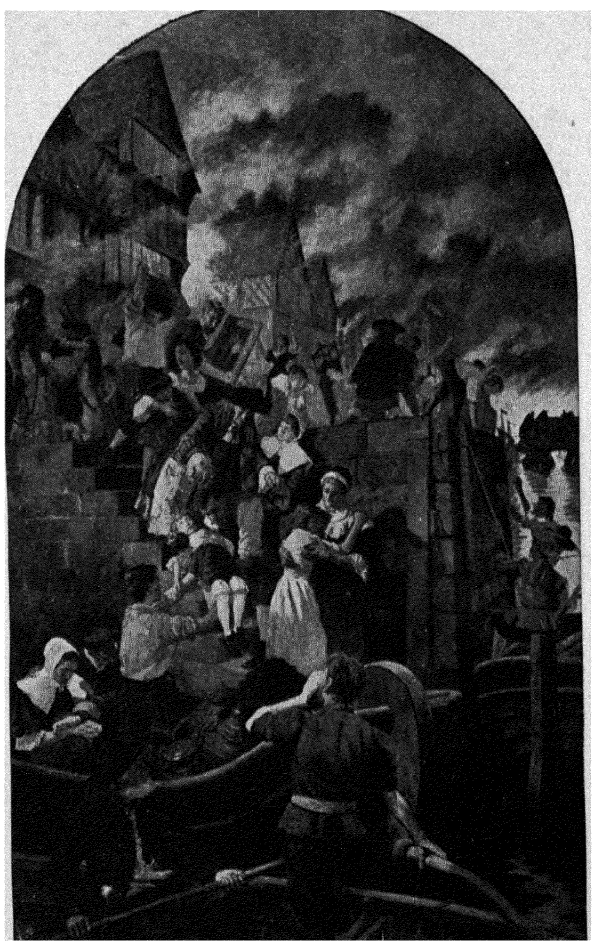
On the other hand, he refrained from entangling himself too deeply in the plans of Louis, and his main efforts were devoted to a conflict with the opposition, led by Shaftesbury. This able party manager had been at first a Cavalier, then a supporter of Cromwell, then an ardent advocate of the Restoration and a member of the Cabal Ministry which was formed in 1668 after the fall of Clarendon. Suspicion of Charles' designs and disappointed ambition soon drove Shaftesbury to resign his office. From 1673 to 1681 he led every attack of the Commons upon the Crown,

Crown and Commons in Conflict

and spared no artifice to discredit the Ministries through which the king worked tortuously towards an absolutism. In 1678 the revelations of Titus Oates served Shaftesbury as a pretext to spread the alarm of a Popish plot formed to destroy Anglicanism by introducing French troops into England. It made little difference to the unscrupulous party leader that a number of innocent Roman Catholics were in consequence condemned to death. He followed up the attack upon the king's religion by impeaching Danby, the chief Minister, and Danby was saved only by the dissolution of Parliament.

In 1679 the opposition secured a more honourable triumph in forcing upon the king the Habeas Corpus Act, by which the traditional remedies against arbitrary arrest and detention were made more effectual. Finally an Exclusion Bill was introduced to prevent the king's brother, James of York, from succeeding to the throne. James, unlike Charles, was a conscientious Catholic. There was a probability that he would do his utmost to procure not merely toleration but ascendancy for the oppressed Catholics; and the dangers of a Catholic reaction seemed grave enough to give Shaftesbury the support of many moderate politicians. But there can be little doubt that private aims determined his conduct. He knew that from James he had nothing to hope and much to fear. His complicity in the outcry against papists would never be forgiven by the heir presumptive. On the other hand, there was every prospect that if Parliament should follow Shaftesbury's wishes and confer the succession upon Monmouth, an illegitimate but favourite son of the king, and the chief hope of the Anglican party, the Protestant demagogue might reasonably aspire to the post of chief Minister.

The question of the succession was the all-absorbing topic in the next three Parliaments. Shaftesbury's influence procured innumerable [illegible] to petitions calling on the king to disinherit his brother, and the Protestant faction were nicknamed "Petitioners," in contradistinction to the "Abhorrers," who supported the king. But the king defended his brother's right with tenacity. The old instincts of loyalty reasserted themselves in the country, and after the abortive Parliament of Oxford in 1681 Shaftesbury fled into exile, a beaten man. He had laid the foundations of the great Whig party, but his rash precipitation discredited his followers; in the last two years of the reign they were exposed, without popular disapproval, to a merciless persecution. London and other Whig cities were adjudged to lose their charters, and all municipal offices were filled with royal nominees. Russell and Sidney were executed on a charge of conspiracy in 1683.



LONDON'S CITIZENS ESCAPING FROM THE GREAT FIRE
From the painting by Stanhope A. Forbes, A.R.A., by permission of Messrs. Hildesheimer & Co.



THE DISGRACE OF LORD CLARENDON LEAVING WHITEHALL PALACE AFTER HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE KING

THE DISGRACE OF LORD CLARENDON LEAVING WHITEHALL PALACE AFTER HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE KING. Chancellor under Charles II , Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon, was for many years the king's favourite Minister, but when he remonstrated with his royal master on the licentiousness of the court he immediately fell under his displeasure After a lengthy interview with the king at Whitehall, Charles emerged first from the audience, and turning his back upon Clarendon, as shown in the above picture, walked along the path by himself. The fallen Chancellor was banished from the kingdom, settled at Montpellier, and died at Rouen seven years later.

From the painting by F M Ward R A , in the National Gallery

Never had the establishment of absolutism seemed more probable than in the latter years of Charles. Reaction is the dominant note in the domestic history of England between 1660 and 1684, and Parliament in its own way was not less reactionary than the Crown.

In more than one sense, however, the Restoration marks the beginning of modern England. The intellectual attitude of the nation was altering. Some great Puritans lived and wrote under the last two Stuart kings; but Milton and Bunyan, Penn and Baxter, are the glorious survivors of a vanquished cause. The satirist and the comedian are now the characteristic figures of the literary movement. Dryden and the dramatists of the Restoration bear witness to the triumph of French influence over older modes of thought and style. Their work was more than the mere effect of reaction—it was inspired by the ambition to recover touch with the artistic and intellectual society of the Continent, from which England had been entirely estranged by twenty years of fanaticism and warfare





EARL OF SHAFTESBURY AND DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
A Royalist colonel, who afterwards went over to the Parliament, the Earl of Shaftesbury was one of the commissioners sent to Breda to invite Charles II back to England, he died in 1683 The Duke of Buckingham had the reputation of being the most wicked man at the court of Charles II His sad end is pictured on page 4477

The growth of scientific interests, attested by the foundation of the Royal Society in 1660, was in part a continuation of the native movement which Bacon had initiated, and was largely due to the interest excited by his writings. But the work of Isaac Newton (1643–1727) is closely related to the mathematical researches of Descartes and Pascal on the one hand, and to the astronomical discoveries of Galileo on the other. Newton and his contemporary Robert Boyle, the father of English chemistry, were in the highest degree original; but their enthusiasm for natural science and their conception of method were affected by the example of foreign *savants*. Meanwhile, the mercantile classes were [illegible] new fields of enterprise and laying the foundations of a great commercial supremacy.

The one title of Charles II. to the reputation of a national statesman is to be found in his care for trade, and for the colonies, upon which the hopes of trade depended He gave up Nova Scotia to the French colony of Canada in 1668, and suffered the island of St. Kitts to



Lauderdale



Arlington



Clifford

THREE MEMBERS OF THE NOTORIOUS CABAL MINISTRY

John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, taken prisoner at Worcester in 1651, lay a prisoner for nine years in the Tower, at Windsor, and at Portland, at the Restoration he became Scottish Secretary of State, he died in 1682 Like Lauderdale, the Earl of Arlington was a member of the Cabal Ministry, and earned for himself an evil reputation as a betrayer of trust. The scar on his nose, seen in the portrait, was received at [illegible] the Civil War. A Catholic member of the Cabal, Thomas Clifford was, in 1672, created Lord Clifford of [illegible] He died in 1673.

be conquered by the navy of Louis XIV. in 1666. But England gained a predominant position in the West Indies; the American colonies of the Dutch were annexed and retained at the conclusion of the Peace of Breda in 1667. Charters were granted to a private company for the exploitation of Hudson's Bay, and to Penn, the Quaker, for the settlement of Pennsylvania in 1680, while the name of the Carolinas records the fact that they were first colonised in this reign. From the Bay of Fundy to Charlestown, the whole east coast of North America was now in English hands. At the same time the decline of the Dutch maritime power, shattered by continual wars and undermined by the Navigation Acts, prepared for the growth of an English empire in India, which had hitherto been the battleground of Dutch, French and Portuguese. The East India Company profited by the exhaustion of competitors and threw out new tentacles. As early as 1639 it had acquired Fort St. George (Madras); and in 1668 it took over from the king the equally important station of Bombay. In 1686, shortly after the death of Charles, Calcutta in the Ganges delta was acquired by a treaty with the Great Mogul. Sensualist and dilettante though he was, Charles watched the growth of trade and colonies with an enlightened interest; he formed within the Privy Council a special committee to handle all questions connected with these interests.



LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL
Third son of the fifth Earl of Bedford, Lord William Russell was a prominent politician in the reign of Charles II; his fate is depicted on the following page.



ALGERNON SIDNEY
The second son of the second Earl of Leicester, he was charged with complicity in the Rye House Plot, and was condemned, and beheaded on December 7th, 1683.

The death of Charles II., in 1685, was followed by the peaceful accession of his brother, James of York. The new king had every intention of continuing his brother's autocratic system. But the revenue which Parliament had granted to Charles was not, for the most part, hereditary, and it was therefore essential that the new king should meet Parliament at the first opportunity. The new House of Commons showed an unexpected degree of loyalty. Fear of civil war had brought all moderate men into the Tory party; the king's demands were satisfied without murmuring or hesitation. This success was immediately followed by others of a less peaceful kind. The rising of Argyle in Scotland and that of Monmouth in the South of England were both crushed with ease, and James believed that the Protestant party, in whose interests these rebellions had been raised, was now at his mercy. Not content with a savage persecution of Monmouth's partisans, who were condemned and executed by scores in the course of Judge Jeffreys' Bloody Assize, the king took steps to give the Catholics a legal equality with Protestants, in the expectation that it would then be possible to place the administration entirely in the hands of his co-religionists. The Test Act of the last reign had provided that every public servant should make a declaration against transubstantiation, and receive the Sacrament according to the Anglican rite. In defiance of the Act, James gave military commissions to Catholics, and met the remonstrances of Parliament by a prorogation. The judges decided a test case in favour of the king's power to dispense from the operation of the penal laws; whereupon James issued a declaration of indulgence in favour of both Catholics and Protestant dissenters.

This arbitrary suspension of the laws provoked a storm of indignation. Even the Dissenters sided with the opposition, for Louis XIV., by his recent Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had aroused suspicions of a general Catholic conspiracy against Protestants. Petitions against the declaration poured in upon the king. He endeavoured to repress the agitation by means of the law courts. The Archbishop Sancroft and six of his suffragans, who had joined



AFTER THE RYE HOUSE PLOT. THE TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION OF LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL

On his way to Newmarket, Charles usually passed a farmhouse near Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, and to the enemies of the king this seemed a favourable place to bring about his death. But in June, 1683, the plot known as the Rye House Plot was discovered, and among the notable people accused of implication in the conspiracy was Lord William Russell, who was brought to trial on June 13th, 1683. He offered only a feeble defence; the jury returned a verdict of guilty, and Russell was executed at Lincoln's Inn Fields on July 20th.

From the picture by Sir George Hayter

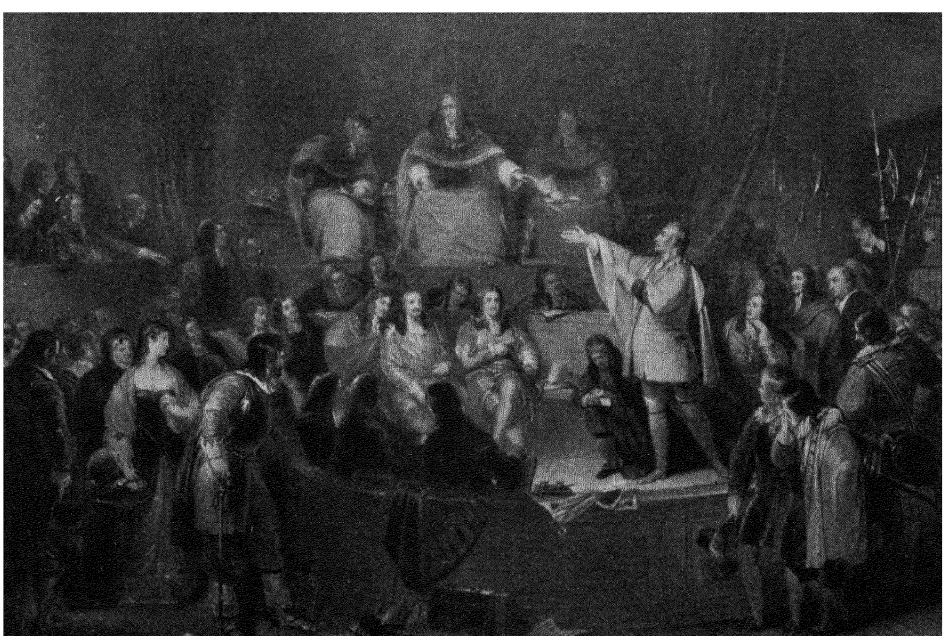
with him in signing such a petition, were put on their trial for seditious libel. But they were acquitted by the jury, and received a popular ovation when they left the court. There were fears that James would now resort to force, for he had brought over Catholic troops from Ireland, and had quartered them at Hounslow in the neighbourhood of London. But the majority were prepared to wait in patience for the accession of Mary of Orange, a Protestant princess and the wife of the man who had so successfully upheld the cause of the Dutch Protestants against Louis XIV.



SIR ISAAC NEWTON

This great na[illegible] much to widen the [illegible] The fall of an apple in his garden in 1665 started the train of thought that led to the discovery of universal gravitation

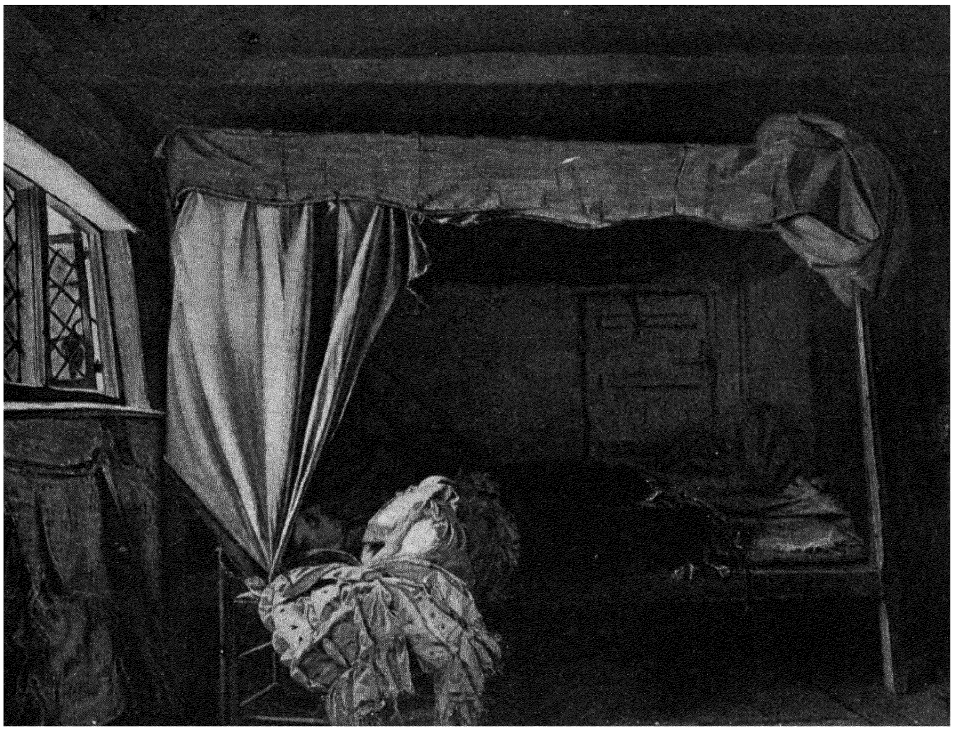
These hopes received a rude shock when it was announced that the queen, Mary of Modena, had given birth to a son The Princess of Orange and her husband professed to regard the child as supposititious, a belief for which no plausible foundation could be discovered. But admitting his legitimacy, it was still certain that he would be educated as a Catholic, and the nation was thus confronted with the prospect of a dynasty hostile to the Anglican Church. The Church had restored Charles II.; it now expelled his brother. The survivors of the Whig party found themselves at the head of so numerous a following that they had no hesitation in summoning William of Orange to come and seize the throne by force. The stadtholder was willing enough to seize the opportunity of bringing England into the European league which he had built up against the [illegible] designs of France. But Holland was already at war with France, and it was difficult to leave the theatre of military operations. Only the mistakes of James and Louis made it possible for the prince to cross the Channel. James in his blind infatuation refused the troops which were offered by his ally: Louis, instead of directing his march against the Netherlands.



THE TRIAL OF ALCERNON SIDNEY ON A CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON IN 1683

Algernon Sidney was brought to trial at the King's Bench Bar, four months after the execution of Lord William Russell, for a treasonable libel wherein he asserted the power to be originally in the people and delegated by them to the Parliament, to whom the king was subject, and might be called to account Though he had not printed, published or circulated his writing, he was condemned to death, and executed on Tower Hill on December 7th, 1683.

From the picture by F Stephanoff



THE MISERABLE END OF THE GAY DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

Foremost among the courtiers who surrounded Charles II and participated in his vices was George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, whose gay life came to an unlooked-for end Broken in health and in fortune by his career of extravagance and dissipation, the reckless nobleman retired to a country mansion at Helmsley, in Yorkshire, and in that neighbourhood, in the house of a tenant, he died in 1684 Fever was ' ' a result of sitting on damp ground after a long run with the hounds, and Buckingham seems to have and unattended, without a friend near him.

From the picture by A. J. Egg, R.A.

allowed his attention to be diverted to the Rhine. The Prince of Orange was therefore able to leave Holland unprotected; he landed at Torbay without molestation, and began his march on London. Everywhere he was greeted with enthusiasm. James was deserted by soldiers, officers, Ministers, and private friends. He attempted to leave the kingdom by stealth, but was apprehended by a mob of hostile Kentishmen and brought back a prisoner to London. It was only with the connivance and at the sugges-



supporters. Both Houses resolved that the throne was vacant and that a Catholic succession was incompatible with the national safety. There were some who wished to restore James on conditions; and others who would have preferred to leave him the kingly title, appointing William of Orange as regent with the full powers of a king. But these proposals, the work of Tories, were speedily dismissed. The Whigs desired to name Mary as queen and leave her husband in the position of a prince consort,

discuss the future settlement. For the moment the Stuart cause had few which the principal abuses of the prerogative for which the last two Stuarts had



THE DYING KING SCENE IN THE ANTE-CHAMBER AT WHITEHALL DURING THE LAST MOMENTS OF CHARLES II.

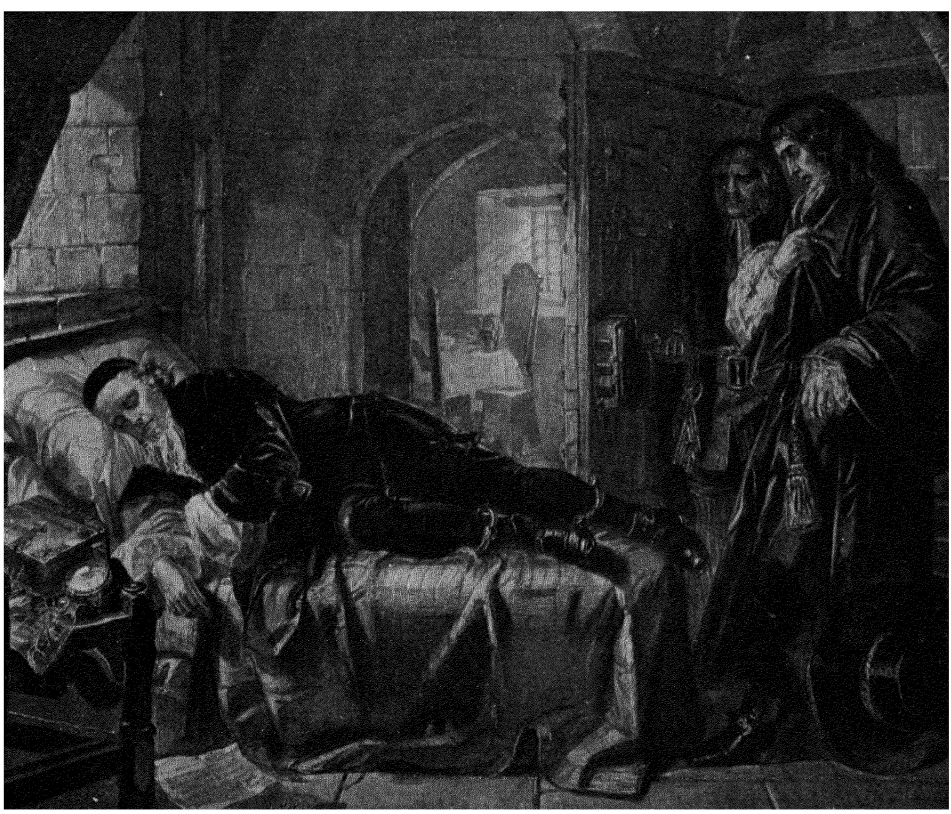
After reigning for twenty-four years, Charles II. died in 1685, in his fifty-fifth year. The king had always enjoyed excellent health, and his death, which followed an illness lasting for only five days, came upon the nation with surprise. The above picture shows the scene in the ante-chamber to the king's apartments at Whitehall during the dying moments of Charles

From the picture by E. M Ward, R A., in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool

been responsible were enumerated and condemned. The Declaration—afterwards confirmed, with modifications, as the Bill of Rights—settled the crown on William and Mary, with remainder to the survivor; then on the heirs of Mary, then on Mary's sister Anne and her heirs, and in the last resort upon the heirs of William. These arrangements emphasised the elective character of the royal dignity and the supremacy of Parliament. It is, however, remarkable that no steps were taken to provide new means of asserting parliamentary control. The Revolution was but the first step in the process of constitutional reform, which continues for more than a century after 1688. From 1689 until the death of William III. in 1702 the strife between the king and Parliament was bitter and almost continuous. The Dutch prince was, in his own fashion, not less arbitrary than the Stuarts, and his pretensions might have produced his expulsion if [illegible] have spared him; for even the Whigs, to whom he owed the throne, complained that he would not be entirely guided by their advice. He was determined to be the slave of no one party in the state, and in foreign policy to act as his own minister. Whatever the motives of this independence, the results were good. He saved the Tory party from proscription; he would not allow the Dissenters to be cheated of the toleration which they had loyally refused



ROBERT BOYLE
The father of English chemistry, Robert Boyle distinguished himself in that branch of science; he was the inventor of a compressed air pump Born in 1627, he died in 1691.



THE NOBLE REBEL · THE LAST HOURS OF ARGYLE BEFORE HIS EXECUTION
The Earl of Argyle, associating himself with the Monmouth rebellion, put himself at the head of a Scottish rising, but his followers, dismayed at the increasing force of the enemy, gradually fell away from him Falling into the hands of his enemies, the brave nobleman was convicted of high treason and beheaded at Edinburgh on June 30th, 1685.
From the fresco by L M Ward, R A , in the Houses of Parliament

to accept from James II ; and although his persistent hostility to France was censured, the event proved that he had gauged the ambitions of Louis XIV. more correctly than English politicians

His path, however, was smoothed by the existence of perils which he alone could face. There was a rebellion in Scotland which promised, but for the death of the leader Dundee, to spread through all the Highlands Dundee fell in the hour of victory at Killiecrankie in 1689, but the Highlands were not pacified for another two years The resentment caused by the massacre of Glencoe in 1692, and by the commercial jealousy of England towards the rising merchant class of Scotland, made the northern kingdom a source of constant anxiety. In Ireland there was a more prolonged war. The Catholics rallied to James II Londonderry, the chief stronghold of the Ulster Protestants, had to endure a three months' siege; the signal victory which William achieved over French and Irish forces at the Boyne in 1690 drove James II. from the island but left his supporters in the field. It was only late in 1691 that the Irish Catholics laid down their arms and the French auxiliaries of Sarsfield departed, under the Treaty of Limerick



KING JAMES II
He was the second son of Charles I, and succeeded his brother, Charles II, in 1685 Quite alienating himself from his people, and losing his throne, he ultimately fled to France

At sea, the French fleet which Colbert's genius had produced challenged the English naval supremacy. Admiral Torrington was disgracefully beaten off Beachy Head in 1690, and the south coast experienced a foretaste of the terrors of invasion. But this danger, too, was met. The great victory of Russell at La Hogue in 1691 not only averted invasion—it inflicted a blow on the French fleet which Louis could not or would not afford to repair. Henceforth the ambitions of the Grand Monarque were concentrated upon the land war. In this, too, England's interests were nearly concerned, since the dynastic revolution had linked her fortunes with those of the Low Countries, and she was now a party to the League of Augsburg This danger lasted longer than the rest. The final settlement was delayed till 1697. But in that year, by the Treaty of Ryswick, France recognised the Revolution settlement of the succession

Meanwhile the position of William in England grew more precarious A number of the prominent Whig lords had long corresponded with the exiled king in his refuge at St. Germains Parliament persistently opposed the maintenance of a standing army, and would pass only an annual Mutiny Bill, voting the necessary supplies from year to year. In spite of the financial reforms of Godolphin and Montague, the credit of the government was bad. The foundation of the Bank of England in 1694, one of the most notable measures of the reign, was a device of Montague for raising a loan which otherwise could have been obtained only with difficulty; and the growth of the national debt, though an inevitable consequence of the French war, provided the opponents of the new régime with an effective argument. The Toleration Act in 1689 was but a mutilated measure ; William was foiled by the Houses in his scheme for abolishing the tests, so far as they affected Protestants. The Triennial



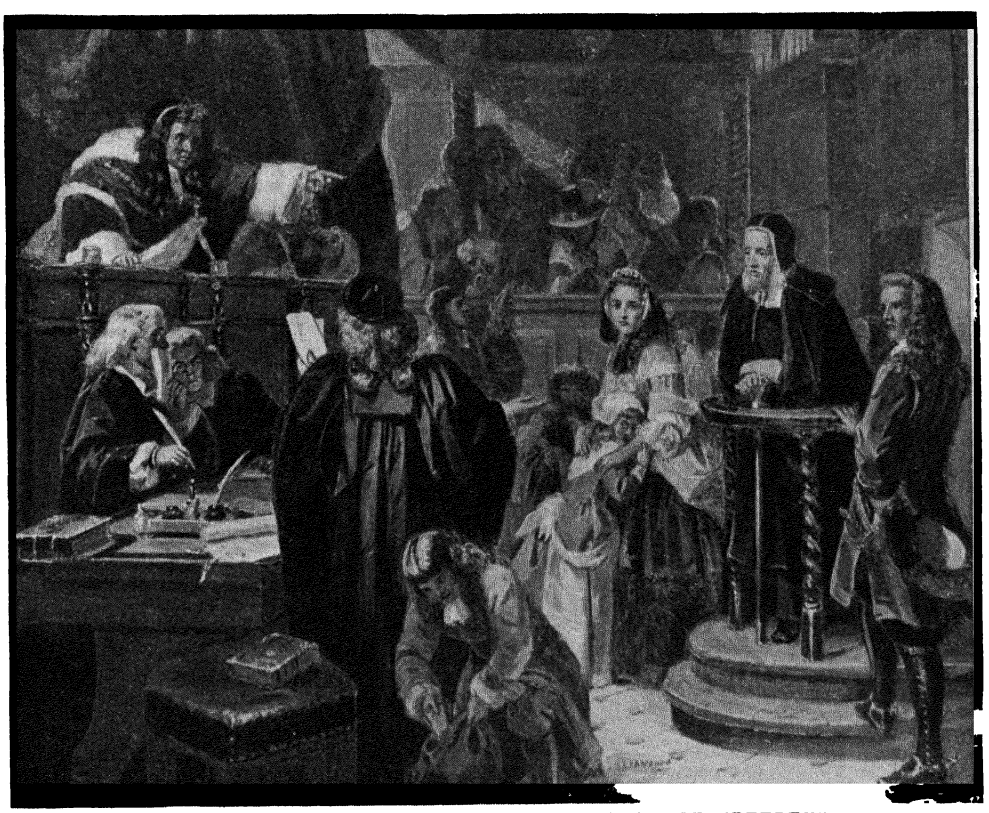
THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH
Said to be the illegitimate son of Charles II, he was created Duke of Monmouth in 1663 When King James II came to the throne, Monmouth asserted his own right to the crown, but was defeated and beheaded.

Act of 1694, providing that a new Parliament should be summoned at least every three years, was a limitation of the prerogative which the king accepted with great reluctance. After the death, in 1694, of his wife, whose personal popularity had stood him in good stead, William was compelled to put himself in the hands of the Whigs. More than once he was driven in these years to protect himself by the use of the veto, and by threatening that he would retire to Holland if further pressed. After the Treaty of Ryswick he reluctantly acquiesced in a considerable reduction of the army and dismissed his favourite Dutch Guards; but, in spite of these concessions, the opposition insulted him by examining and partially cancelling the grants of confiscated lands which he had bestowed upon his partisans in England and Ireland. His cold manner, his foreign extraction, his preference for Dutch friends, and his indifference to English party questions, were contributory causes to his unpopularity. But with the Tories the chief motive of attack was their repentance for the desertion of James, while the Whigs felt that Parliament had not attained that paramount position to which it was rightfully entitled. The Act of Settlement in 1701, which was primarily intended to bring the Hanoverians into the succession after Anne and her heirs, expressed in a series of new limitations the mistrust which



THE INFAMOUS JEFFREYS

A monster in human shape, Judge Jeffreys earned a reputation for cruelty which can find no parallel in history. He died in the Tower, where he lay a prisoner, in 1689.



RICHARD BAXTER BEFORE THE DREAD JUDGE JEFFREYS

Lord Chief Justice in the reign of James II, Judge Jeffreys delighted in cruelty, and so inhuman was his treatment of the unhappy people dragged before him that his name became a byword throughout the land. He sent hundreds to death in connection with the Monmouth rebellion in the West of England. This picture represents the learned Dissenter, Richard Baxter, before the bar of the dreaded judge, who, with the view of gaining favour with the newly-ascended monarch, James II, is heaping insults upon the head of the preacher, whom he afterwards committed to prison.



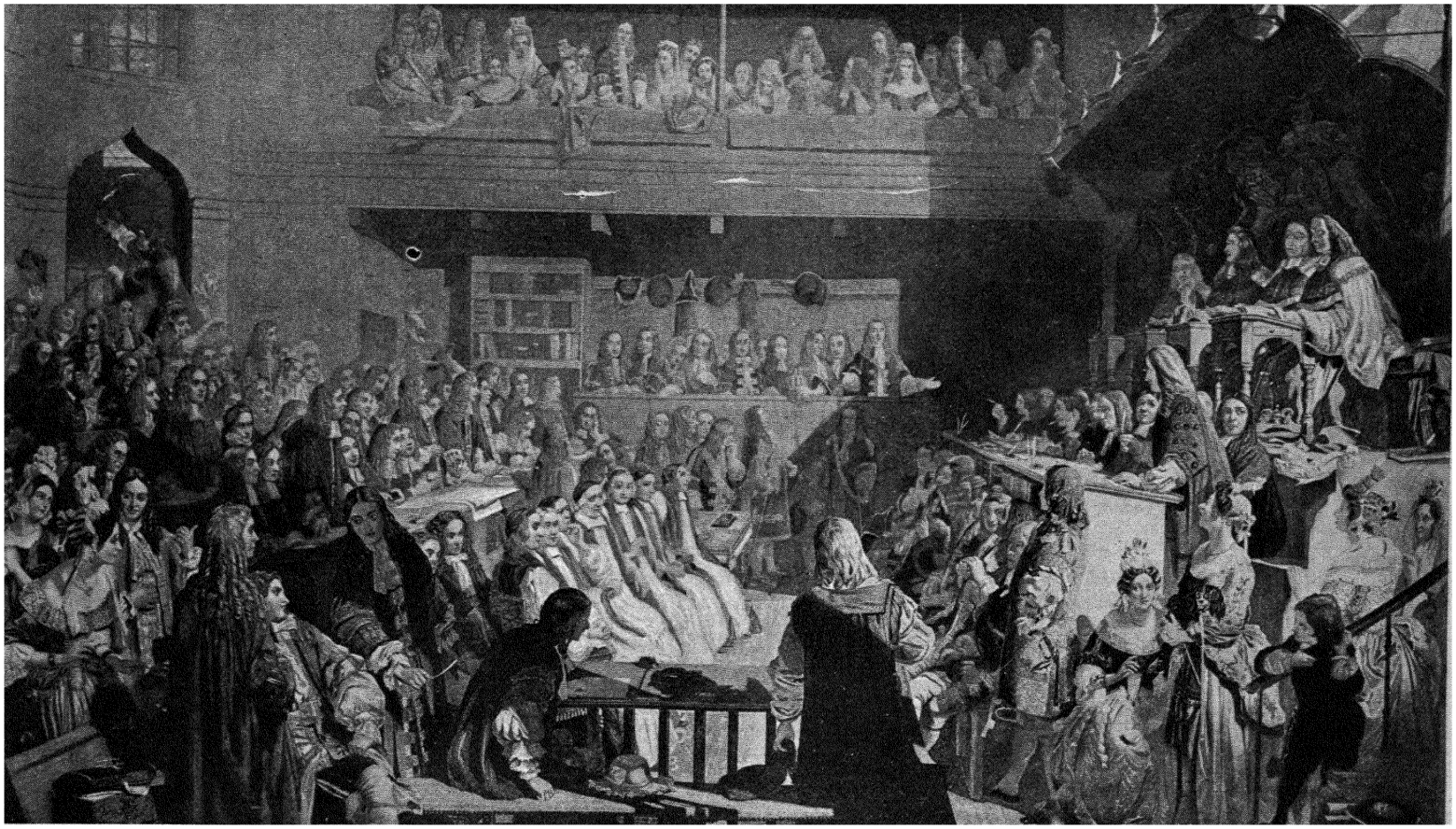
GENERAL VIEW OF LONDON AND THE THAMES FROM A PLAN OF THE YEAR 1666

This shows the river from Whitehall to a point in line with the Guildhall. Names of buildings on the north of the river are given in the upper and those on the south in the lower line



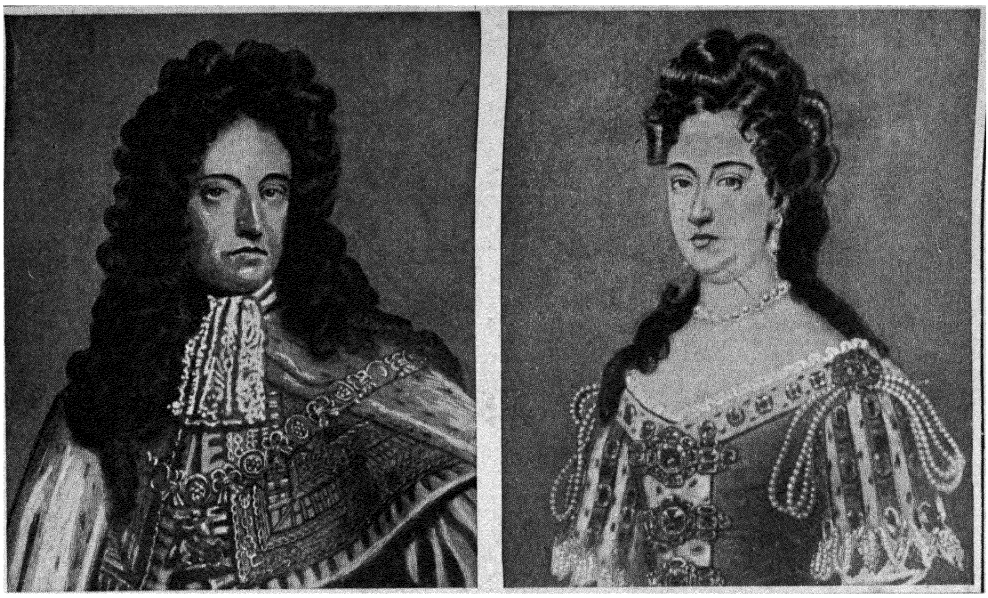
GENERAL VIEW OF LONDON AND THE THAMES FROM A PLAN OF THE YEAR 1666

This section continues that on the preceding page from the Guildhall, part of which is seen on the extreme left at the top of the picture, to a point some distance east of the Tower



KING JAMES DEFIED BY THE CLERGY—THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS IN 1688

Desirous of restoring popery to his realms, King James, on April 27th, 1688, published a new Declaration of Indulgence, which he commanded the clergy to read from their pulpits. As this order practically called upon them to co-operate in the overthrow of their own Church, they declined to read the Declaration, and seven bishops, who had presented a written resolution of protest to the king, were thrown into the Tower. These leaders of the Church—Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Ken of Bath and Wells; Turner of Ely; Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol were brought to trial before the King's Bench on June 29th, and being found "Not Guilty" were acquitted.



KING WILLIAM III. AND QUEEN MARY

When the nation became weary of the tyranny of King James II., an invitation to come to England and redress their grievances was extended to William III of Orange, Stadtholder of the United Provinces, whose wife was the daughter of the English king. He landed at Torbay on November 5th, 1688, with an English and Dutch army of [illegible] men, all parties quickly flocked to his standard, and the throne, which after the overthrow and flight of James was declared vacant by the Convention Parliament, was offered to William and Mary

From the portraits by Sir Godfrey Kneller

the Whigs felt for the prerogative These precautionary measures were somewhat modified in the next reign, 1706, but the Act in its final shape demanded that the sovereign should adhere to the Church of England; that no war should be opened for the defence of foreign territory without the consent of Parliament; that no alien should sit in Parliament or the Privy Council; that the judges should hold office during good behaviour.

In the last months of William's life a closer union between himself and his subjects was created by the opening of a new French war It was ostensibly undertaken to prevent the European balance from being overthrown by the union of the French and Spanish Crowns in the Bourbon family. This was a danger which William had long foreseen and feared. The schemes of partition by which he had attempted to avert it have been elsewhere described. The smaller powers of the Continent concurred from the first in the general principle that the balance of power should be maintained by a division of the Spanish heritage. English politicians were not agreed as to the necessity of enforcing such an arrangement by an armed demonstration; Somers and Montague, the chief of the king's advisers, narrowly escaped an impeachment for their share in the treaties of partition. But the merchants were clearer-sighted than the politicians. It was soon perceived that a Bourbon dynasty in Spain would strain every nerve to exclude English trade from the Spanish ports in the New World.



VISCOUNT DUNDEE

He relentlessly carried out the royal instructions for the suppression of the Covenanters in Scotland, and was fatally wounded at the battle of Killiecrankie in 1689

There was considerable excitement when Louis accepted the Spanish inheritance for Philip of Anjou in November, 1700. But it was an accident that induced the whole nation to take up the quarrel of the mercantile interest James II. died in September, 1701. On his death-bed he received a visit from the King of France, and the latter, in a moment of chivalrous impulse, announced his intention of [illegible] the exile's son as the lawful King of England. This was an open insult to England and a violation of the Peace of Ryswick. In Parliament and in the nation it produced



A RIVAL FOR THE THRONE: JAMES II. RECEIVING THE NEWS OF THE LANDING OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE

By his attempts to restore the Roman Catholic religion in the kingdom, King James gradually lost his popularity When news reached the king of the landing of William, Prince of Orange. he was surrounded by his courtiers in an apartment in Whitehall Palace, and his agitation so overcame him that the letter containing the information fell from his hands.

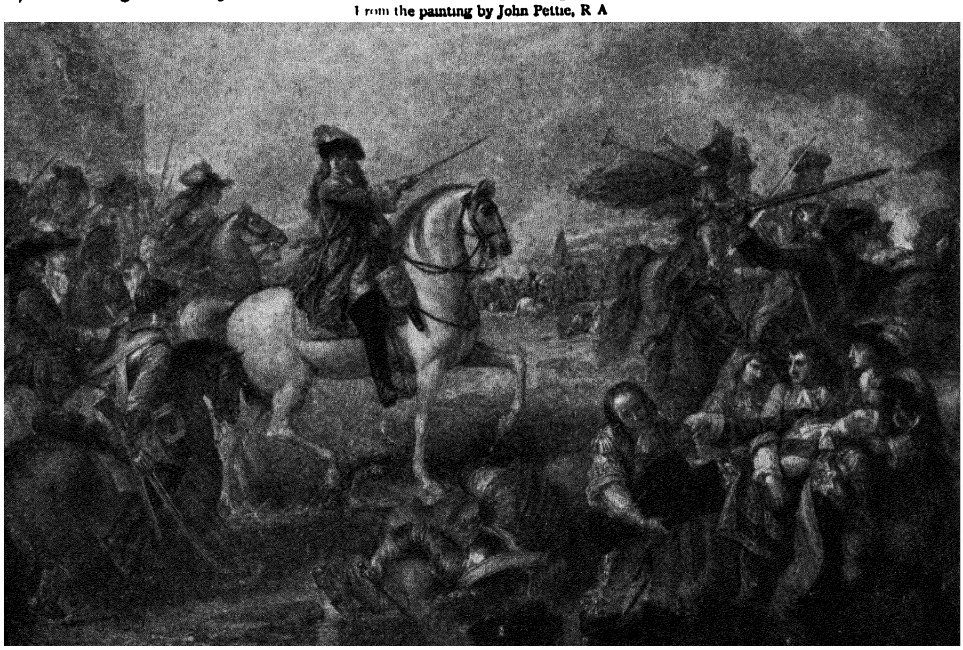
From the painting by E M Ward, R A , in the National Gallery



MONMOUTH'S BID FOR THE THRONE: THE REBEL BEFORE THE KING

After the death of Charles II., in whose reign he had been exiled, the Duke of Monmouth, natural nephew of King James II., returned to England, and placing himself at the head of a rebellion against the reigning sovereign, soon had a following of 6,000 men Meeting the king's forces at Sedgemoor, in Somersetshire, he was defeated after a desperate struggle and took refuge in flight Discovered later on disguised as a peasant, Monmouth, with his arms bound behind him, was brought before James and threw himself at the king's feet. He ended his life on the scaffold.

From the painting by John Pettie, R A



THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE, THAT SEALED THE FATE OF JAMES II.

Forsaken by his people, who turned with enthusiasm to welcome William of Orange, James II fled to Ireland, where he could still count upon the support of the Roman Catholics. On July 1st, 1690, was fought the famous battle of the Boyne between the armies of King William III and the ex-King James, his father-in-law. The troops of the latter gave way before the powerful onslaught of the new king's forces, and when James, viewing the battle from a neighbouring hill, witnessed the defeat of his cause, he rode towards Dublin. A few days later he escaped to France.

From the painting by Benjamin West, R A., by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co.



A LOST CAUSE THE FLIGHT OF JAMES II AFTER THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE, IN 1690
From the painting by Andrew C. Gow R.A., in the Tate Gallery

an outburst of passionate indignation which the excuses offered, upon maturer deliberation, by the King of France were powerless to calm. William at once proceeded to utilise the favourable opportunity. His life was cut short by a fall from his horse in the spring of 1702; but the Grand Alliance was already formed, and his position as the general of the allies devolved upon a successor who was thoroughly fitted to continue his work both in diplomacy and on the field of battle. It may even be questioned whether William could have achieved the great success which fell to the lot of the Duke of Marlborough.



EARL OF GODOLPHIN
Though this nobleman stood by James when the Prince of Orange landed in England, the new king reinstated him as First Commissioner of the Treasury; he also held office under Anne. He died in 1712.

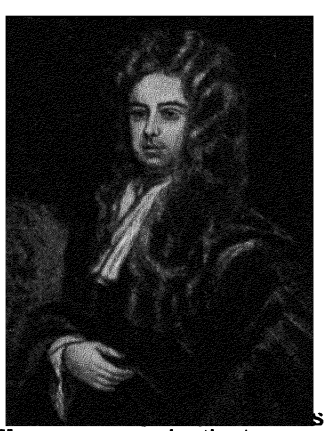
The new queen had been a cipher at the courts of her father, her sister, and her brother-in-law, and a cipher she remained, except for the fact that upon her favour the ascendancy of Marlborough depended. Marlborough's wife was for many years the chief confidant of Anne. The husband and wife had sacrificed all other considerations to identify themselves with the fortunes of the future queen, and they now reaped their reward. Marlborough became captain-general of the military forces; his friend Godolphin received the white staff of the treasurer and the supreme control of home affairs. Tories by conviction they sacrificed their party feeling to the exigencies of the war. Their Ministry contained from the first a number of the Whigs, with whom the war was especially popular because declared by William; and after 1708 the two chief Ministers decided to rely altogether on that party. The military events of the struggle with France are related elsewhere. It lasted with little interruption until 1711. The Low Countries, the valley of the Danube, the Spanish peninsula and the Lombard plain were the chief theatres of the war; but the decisive operations were confined to

the first two of these, and are closely associated with the name of Marlborough. The balance of power, which meant little to England, gave Marlborough more concern than her commercial interests, which meant much. He showed a greater anxiety to damage the French than to benefit his own countrymen, and he continued the war long after Louis had signified his willingness to concede everything that England had a right to expect. That Marlborough made war in order to make money was a vulgar slander. The sums which he received from contractors and foreign powers were perquisites of a kind which all generals of the age felt themselves at liberty to take. But the duke undoubtedly reflected that his position would be precarious when peace was once concluded, and it is probable that he would have been more pacific if his doubts on this head could have been satisfactorily set at rest.



CHARLES MONTAGUE
A Chancellor of the Exchequer and a great financier, he instituted the Bank of England, he later became Earl of Halifax, and died in 1715.

It was a court revolution which led at length to England's withdrawal from the war. When the Tories had parted company with Marlborough they gradually coalesced to form a compact opposition, of which Harley was the manager and Henry St. John the controlling mind. Both had been members of the Marlborough and Godolphin Ministry; both were evicted in 1708 to make room for Whigs. Thirsting for vengeance, they turned to Anne, in whom they saw the key of the situation. An ardent Anglican, the queen had quarrelled with the Whigs because they offered opposition to the Occasional Conformity Bill (1702–1706), a measure designed to prevent Dissenters from evading the sacramental tests.



He was a recognised authority on civil and constitutional law, in 1692 he became Attorney-General, and was Lord Chancellor from 1697 till 1700.

Repeated quarrels with the Duchess of Marlborough had strained the queen's friendship to breaking point. A new favourite and kinswoman of Harley was therefore able to undermine the position of the war party, which was, in the meantime, discredited with the electorate by the furious attacks of Swift and other Tory pamphleteers. The Whigs, to crown all, made the mistake of prosecuting a popular Tory preacher, one Dr. Sacheverell, who had used his sermons as a vehicle for criticisms of the Revolution and the defence of the doctrine of Non-resistance. The majority of the electorate were High Churchmen, and in theory devoted to the principles of the divine right of kings. The Triennial Act made it impossible to prevent Parliament from changing in composition with all the changes of popular opinion. The elections of 1710 produced a Tory House of Commons; and although, in the undeveloped state of political theory, the queen would have been justified in standing by Marlborough and the Whigs, the elections gave her the opportunity of asserting her personal and religious prejudices. Harley, now Earl of Oxford, and St. John, now Viscount Bolingbroke, came into office. Marlborough was recalled in 1711, deprived of all his offices, and threatened with charges of embezzlement.

The change of government entailed a change of foreign policy. The Tories had for some time past denounced the war as needless, unwarrantable, and ruinously expensive. They could not continue it without employing Marlborough, and they were eager to appropriate the fruits of his victories. Accordingly they opened negotiations behind the backs of the other parties to the Grand Alliance. In their eagerness for a settlement they overreached themselves. The King of France took advantage of their haste to demand terms more favourable than those which he had offered two years previously, and the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 conceded nearly all that

he demanded. The territories ceded to England were inconsiderable, and the trade privileges—the Asiento Contract for the monopoly of supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves, and the right of sending one merchant ship a year to Portobello—were equally insignificant. It was natural that such terms should produce intense dissatisfaction with the government which accepted them. Bolingbroke hoped to appease the mercantile classes by arranging a supplementary treaty of commerce with France; he actually obtained the assent of Louis to a reciprocal reduction of tariffs. But the interests threatened made their protests heard in Parliament, and the commercial treaty was rejected. It was suspected that the Ministers forced on the peace negotiations in order to leave their hands free for Jacobite intrigues. This was not altogether true. The Tories knew, indeed, that the Elector of Hanover, who would succeed Anne under the Act of Parliament, regarded them with implacable suspicion. But it would have been madness to think of forcing the Pretender upon the country. His religion alone put him out of the question as a possible successor. Bolingbroke accepted the Hanoverians as an unpalatable necessity; he used the time of grace to strengthen the Tory hold upon central and local administration. He hoped, by a skilful use of patronage, to fortify his position so strongly that the elector would be forced to accept a Tory Ministry. The death of the queen occurred before Bolingbroke had time to complete the execution of his designs. Up to the last he had been hampered by the vacillation of Oxford, who would have preferred to make terms with the Whigs. Oxford was at length dismissed, but only a few days before the queen's death. The accession of George I. was followed by a proscription of the Tory party. They were accused of corresponding with the Pretender. Bolingbroke fled the country, Oxford was impeached and imprisoned. All offices were put into the hands of the Whigs, and the monopoly thus acquired by one party in the state was retained until 1761.



QUEEN ANNE, LAST OF THE STUART SOVEREIGNS
The daughter of James II, she was the last of the Stuart sovereigns, succeeding to the throne in 1702, on the death of William III., who died without issue. Her husband, to whom she was married in 1683, was Prince George of Denmark. The political troubles of the time gave the queen little rest, and she died on August 1st, 1714.

The union with Scotland, though an episode but slightly connected with the general course of events, is, from our modern point of view, the most momentous result of Queen Anne's reign. The union of the Parliaments had been projected by James I, and, for a moment, realised by Cromwell. Cromwell's experiment had been accompanied by the establishment of free trade between the two countries, a measure which went far towards making the Scots content with the loss of national autonomy. But Cromwell's policy was reversed at the Restoration. Lauderdale and the other members of the clique which managed Scotland for the last two Stuarts were opposed to any measure of union, because it would diminish their power and emoluments; nor was it difficult to create a prejudice against union in the mind of the Scottish Parliament. But the commercial classes suffered by their exclusion from English and colonial trade; the

failure of the Darien scheme in 1695, a project for establishing a Scottish colony on the isthmus of Panama, proved that the Scots could not hope to obtain a share in the trade of the New World except under the shelter of the English flag. Many causes combined to prevent them from accepting the union as a commercial necessity. The Glencoe massacre in 1693, a romantic loyalty to the house of Stuart, resentment against the jealous spirit which England had shown in all commercial dealings, the fear of increased taxation, the certainty of diminished national dignity, were obstacles which it took years to overcome. In 1703 the English Act of Succession, which disposed of the crown of Scotland without reference to the wishes of the Scottish people, provoked a storm. Scotland retaliated by an Act of Security in 1704, which provided that on the death of Anne the Scottish succession should be settled by the national legislature, and that the successor to the English crown should be ineligible unless Scotland were in the meantime admitted to full rights of trade and navigation. The English Parliament was thus taught the necessity of securing union by the grant of free trade. The great difficulty that lay in the way was to induce the Scottish Parliament to vote for its own annihilation.

Fortunately there had been no general election since the Revolution, the Anglophile element was larger in the legislature than in the nation. A judicious use of such inducements as peerages strengthened the party of the union. The fears of Presbyterians were removed by emphatic assurances that their Church should under no circumstances be disestablished. The Highland chiefs were pacified by the guarantee of their hereditary jurisdictions. In the matter of taxation Scotland was liberally treated, and she received a sum of £400,000 with which to pay off her debt and to compensate the sufferers of the Darien scheme. Last, and most important, equality in trade and navigation was granted to Scotland. On these terms the Act of Union was passed in 1707. It provided for the representation of Scotland in the united Parliament by forty-five commoners and sixteen elected peers, for the fusion of the executives, for the lasting union of the crowns.

H. W. C. DAVIS



THE EARL OF OXFORD AND VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE
Skilled in parliamentary law, Robert Harley was appointed Speaker in 1701; in 1710 he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was created Earl of Oxford. On a charge of high treason in connection with the Treaty of Utrecht he was committed to the Tower, but was released in 1717. Henry St. John was created Viscount Bolingbroke in 1712. He held office in various ministries



THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH AND SARAH JENNINGS
The military exploits of the Duke of Marlborough have been described in the preceding chapter. His wife, Sarah Jennings, had almost boundless influence over Queen Anne, which she employed to procure the professional advancement of her husband. Her power came to an end in 1711, when she was superseded in the queen's favour by her own cousin, Mrs. Masham.



DENMARK'S DESPOTIC MONARCHY
THE NATION'S FAILURE TO ATTAIN GREATNESS

AT the close of the Swedish war in 1660, Denmark was in a sad plight. She had lost some of her most valuable provinces; her finances were in complete chaos; the whole country had been pillaged and laid waste; poverty and distress reigned everywhere. As a first step towards remedial measures a diet was summoned to Copenhagen in 1660, where representatives of the nobility, the clergy, and the burgess class met together. The burgesses and the clergy had for some time been growing more and more embittered against the nobles. They were indignant at their selfishness and despised them for the poor rôle they had played during the war, while the burgesses, and especially those of Copenhagen, were proud of their valiant defence of the capital. At first all efforts to improve the condition of the country were frustrated by the opposition of the nobles, who were unwilling to surrender any privilege or to pay any tax. Then the burgesses and the clergy, who had capable leaders in the persons of the burgomaster Nansen and Bishop Svane, joined forces.

Denmark's Unpatriotic Nobility

Seeing that the privileges of the nobility would have to be abolished before any progress could be made, Nansen and Svane, in collusion with the king—who was apparently neutral, though both he and the queen in reality kept secretly in touch with the non-privileged classes—brought forward, in October 1660, the proposal to constitute Denmark a hereditary monarchy. The burgesses and clergy immediately accepted the proposal; and though the Rigsraad opposed, it was forced to give way, whereupon the ceremony of taking the oath of allegiance to the hereditary sovereign was celebrated with great splendour. The conditions of Frederic's election to the throne were now annulled, and the next step was to work out a new constitution The diet was, however, unable to come to an agreement, and Svane therefore proposed that the king should be empowered to draw up the constitution. Owing to the king's great popularity, which he had gained during the siege of Copenhagen by his courage and self-sacrifice, the proposal was readily accepted.



KING CHRISTIAN V

The first king of the Oldenburg Dynasty, Christian V. succeeded to the throne of Denmark in 1670, and reigned with a fair measure of success He died in the year 1699.

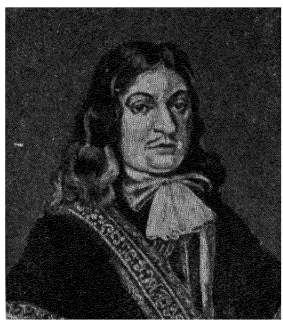
Soon afterwards the diet was dissolved, and the king issued a document in which he claimed absolute power for himself. This document was circulated for signature by the representatives, and a despotic monarchy was thus approved by the nation. By the "Kongelov," or King's Law, of November 14th, 1665, which was to be looked on as an unalterable and fundamental law for both of Frederic's kingdoms, the king was placed above human laws and given the supreme power in all affairs of both Church and State. The only conditions imposed upon him were that he must be a member of the Lutheran Church and that he might neither divide his possessions nor alter the constitution.

The King Above Human Laws

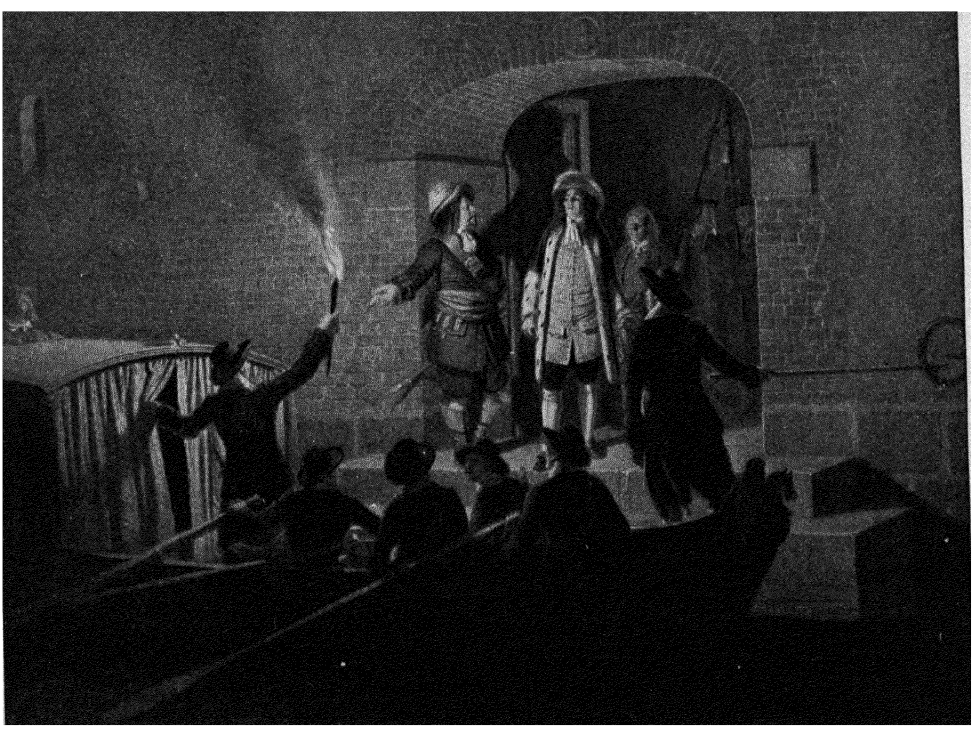
The new constitution resulted in a change of administration. The Rigsraad was dissolved and the management of affairs transferred to six government boards, whose presidents formed the king's council of state. Feudal tenure was abolished, and the country was divided into districts managed by paid officials, the "Amtmoend." The parishes were deprived of their rights of patronage and the town councils and [illegible] were appointed by the Crown. By reason of these changes the nobles lost not only their political power, but, owing to the confiscation of their fiefs, their most important sources of revenue, and were no longer

entirely exempted from taxation. Finding themselves unable to accommodate themselves to the new order of things, they gradually withdrew from the court and the state service.

The old nobility had played its part and made way for a new court nobility, consisting for the most part of Germans. To this new nobility, whose function it was to lend splendour to the throne and support to the king, were accorded even greater privileges than to the old. On his estates the nobleman was almost a king; he administered justice, had the rights of ecclesiastical patronage, levied taxes, and raised troops. The Danish despotism was, on the whole, a benevolent one, for the king looked upon himself as the father of his people, and was always anxious for their welfare. Among other things the kings of this period deserve great credit for their legislation—the Danish and Norwegian Laws of 1683 and 1687 enacted by Christian V.—and their administration of justice. They also supported the University, encouraged popular education, and worked for the improvement of economic conditions, especially in the spheres of commerce and manufacture. But their legislation was not always a success; they frequently lacked the necessary insight. Moreover, they were biassed by the prejudices of their time. Unable to refrain from interfering in all directions and making rules and laws for all circumstances, they prevented a free and natural development, and the effect of this was especially marked in the case of manufactures, which they endeavoured, in a strictly protectionist spirit, to assist by



ADMIRAL NIELS JUEL
He commanded the naval forces of Denmark in the "Scanian War," and, defeating the Swedes, landed in Scania, where he and his men were welcomed as liberators.



THE FALL OF THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR: GRIFFENFELD ON HIS WAY TO PRISON
Count Griffenfeld, whose real name was Peder Schumacher, was Minister of Foreign Affairs under Christian V., and rising rapidly from one dignity to another he eventually became Lord High Chancellor. He opposed the war with Sweden, in spite of the fact that the king was in favour of it, and soon after the outbreak of hostilities his enemies brought about his fall in 1676. Accused of high treason, he was condemned to death, but on the scaffold this sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. After twenty-two years in prison he was set free, but died shortly afterwards.
From the painting by F C Lund

high tariffs and all kinds of prohibitions with regard to imports. It was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that this policy was changed. The maintenance of a costly court, the expenditure on the army and navy, which the sovereigns always strove to keep in an effective condition, and the financial assistance given to manufacturers and trading companies, swallowed up large sums of money; and in order to meet this drain—the taxes, heavy as they were, being insufficient for the purpose—the government was compelled to have recourse to various measures, not always of the wisest, such as hiring out their troops to foreign princes, selling the churches, and the demesnes, etc. But it was all of no avail. the financial position in the eighteenth century was anything but satisfactory, and the kings frequently found themselves in difficulties.



FREDERIC IV OF DENMARK
He succeeded his father, Christian V, in 1699, and the earlier part of his reign was taken up with war against Sweden. Copenhagen was rebuilt by Frederic, who was a good friend of the peasants.

It was long before the kings of Denmark could resign themselves to the loss of Scania, and Frederic's son, Christian V. (1670–1699), renewed the war with Sweden (the "Scanian War," 1675–1679). The Minister of Foreign Affairs was at this time Count Griffenfeld. His real name was Peder Schumacher, and he was the son of a German wine-merchant in Copenhagen. He had the good fortune to attract the notice of Frederic III. and to win his confidence, was made Royal Librarian in 1663, and in 1665 was commissioned to draw up the king's Law. Under Christian V. he rose rapidly from one dignity to another, was ennobled in 1671, and made Lord High Chancellor in 1673. He was a gifted and well-informed man, energetic and capable in his administrative work, and it was he who carried through the changes resulting from the new form of government and established absolutism on a firm basis. As Minister of Foreign Affairs he was opposed to the war and wished to maintain peace between the Scandinavian states. But at court there was a war party, which was hostile to Griffenfeld, and the king himself was in favour of war. After war broke out his enemies compassed Griffenfeld's fall in March, 1676. In spite of his great gifts he had grave failings. He was mercenary, not above bribery, and arrogant. He was accused of high treason, and the king, weary of tutelage, withdrew his favour. He was condemned to death, but on the scaffold this sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. After spending twenty-two years in prison he was set free, but died soon afterwards on March 12th, 1699.

The war with Sweden did not fulfil the cherished hopes of the Danish king, although Sweden, as the ally of France, was at the same time involved in war with Brandenburg. At the end of the century Christian's son, Frederic IV. (1699–1730), concluded an alliance with Russia and the combined kingdom of Saxony and Poland against Sweden. This led to the great Scandinavian war of 1700–1721. Frederic began operations by an attack on Duke Frederic IV. of Gottorp, brother-in-law of the King of Sweden, but was obliged by Charles, who had effected a landing on Zealand, to make peace in 1700.

When, however, Charles was defeated in 1709 at Poltava by Peter the Great, Frederic renewed his alliance with Peter and Augustus II, declared war against Sweden, and landed in Scania. He was, nevertheless, compelled to retire after suffering heavy losses, and had to renounce his claim to Scania, while Sweden paid him an indemnity of 600,000 thalers, surrendered the exemption from tolls in the Sound granted her at Brömsebro, and undertook not to assist the Duke of Gottorp to recover his possessions in Schleswig, which Frederic had confiscated on account of the duke's breach of neutrality during the war. By the Treaty of Frederiksborg the long-standing disputes between Denmark and Sweden were brought to an end Denmark's struggle to become a great power had brought her nothing but loss. Sweden's power had also been broken in the last war, but Denmark gained nothing thereby. The chief power in the Baltic now passed into the hands of two new powers, Russia and Prussia.



THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR

SWEDEN'S BRAVE STAND UNDER CHARLES XII.

THE Regency which became responsible for the government of Sweden on the death of Charles X. did little to improve the state of the country, and totally neglected the education of the young king The resumption of crown lands was not continued; the regents considered only their own interests and those of the nobles. In their foreign policy they were irresolute and lacking in independence, and even accepted bribes from foreign powers. The Estates were at variance.

At the beginning of 1668 Sweden joined the Triple Alliance against France. Soon after, however, Louis XIV. succeeded in dissolving this alliance and in attracting Sweden to his side by the promise of large subsidies. When Louis made an attack on Holland, in 1672, Sweden was also implicated in the war. As Louis hoped, the Swedes attacked Brandenburg at the moment when the elector was fighting against the French on the Rhine. Every such attempt of the Swedish government to aggrandise itself at the expense of Brandenburg was bound to fail because there was no personality at the head of the government combining, as did Charles Gustavus, political talent with military experience, capacity, and boldness.

The Great Elector's Finest Exploit

This attack became the occasion for the Great Elector's most brilliant and most popular exploit—the battle of Fehrbellin. "It was not a cheerful moment in the prince's life, a life that was a constant succession of care and struggle, disappointment and danger; his eldest son had just died; one of his campaigns had come to a disastrous termination, and his every opponent was pointing to him as the cause of the disaster; he was tormented by the gout and could not leave his bed; his wife was nearing her confinement; the subsidies had not come which he required for the pay of his brave troops, upon whom, as ever, depended the future of his house and his position in the Councils of the German princes, yet, in spite of all, there was no weakness and no timidity." Frederic William relied so firmly upon himself and his comrades that he must have seen that the Swedes had delivered themselves into his hands. It was soon clear to him that he could expect but little help from the imperial court. Negotiations with Holland were protracted to a wearisome length, although William of Orange kept true faith with the Elector. Denmark was ready to help, but wanted money; only Brunswick was ready and willing to bring up help at once.

Swedish Defeat at Bellin

Frederic William did not wait. With 5,000 horse, 8,000 dragoons, 1,200 infantry, and fourteen guns he hastened into the territory occupied by Sweden, surprised Colonel von Wangelin in Rathenow, and pressed so hard upon General Waldemar Wrangel, the brother of the field-marshal of Charles Gustavus, that he was obliged to give battle at the Ferry of Bellin. The battle opened with a splendid cavalry charge led by Prince Frederic of Hesse-Homburg with an impetuosity perhaps excessive, but, fortunately for the elector, successful in its purpose, for the Swedes, though they made a brave defence, were no match for the troops of Brandenburg.

The old Marshal Derfflinger, whose Upper Austrian origin did not prevent him from showing the utmost fidelity to the Margrave of Brandenburg, completed the defeat of Wrangel by his clever tactical dispositions, and so overwhelming was that defeat that the marches were freed from the enemy by this one blow. The German people felt that this victory of the Brandenburgers was a national exploit, a relief from the weight of a foreign domination which had been borne with growing discontent even by the strongest partisans of Protestantism. Brandenburg was considered for the first

Germany's Pride in the Elector

time as an integral part of the nation and its elector was looked upon as the man and the prince for whom the heart of Germany had long been yearning. In numerous pamphlets Protestant writers defended his action in defeating the Swedes, who were no longer the champions of the faith. The defeat encouraged the Danes also to declare war against Sweden. For three successive years the Swedes suffered disaster upon disaster. At the battle of Bornholm, on June 11th, 1676, their fleet was almost entirely destroyed by the allied Dutch and Danish, among whom a few Brandenburg ships were to be found; a Danish army occupied Schonen; the elector penetrated to the coast line, and at length, on December 22nd, 1677, took Stettin after a siege which was carried on with splendid tenacity by both sides. The Swedish kingdom was saved from destruction only by the battle of Lund, which the young but discreet King Charles XI. won against the Danes.

Succession of Swedish Disasters

The negotiations which Louis XIV. had in the meantime entered upon at Nimeguen concluded the war in the north by the Peace of Saint-Germain with Brandenburg on June 29th, 1679, and the Peace of Lund with Denmark on September 26th, 1679. The elector had to give up Pomerania. Sweden sustained only the loss of her provinces on the east bank of the Oder. The war had, however, greatly injured the domestic prosperity of Sweden.



CHARLES XI OF SWEDEN
The only child of Charles X. he was under a council of regency until 1672. He fought with success against the invading Danes, and proved himself a wise and able ruler

The country was impoverished and involved in debt, the provinces on the frontiers were devastated, and the state was helpless to cope with the general distress. The king and his confidential advisers were agreed that the one effectual remedy was to remodel the political and social organisation of the country. The first task of Charles was to reduce the power of the council and the upper nobility; he succeeded in accomplishing this with the help of the other Estates and of the gentry.

The Estates sanctioned a new constitution in 1680 and 1682, by which Sweden was practically transformed into an absolute monarchy. The Riksdag became a royal council, which the king summoned at his pleasure; the king had the power to enact laws without consulting the Riksdag.

The Estates still kept some control over the granting of taxes. At the same time the members of the regency were called to give an account of their administration by decree of the Estates in 1680, who also directed their efforts to a second resumption. The regents were sentenced to pay heavy fines, the resumption of crown lands was effected on a much greater scale, and with the utmost rigour, not only in Sweden itself but also in the Baltic provinces and in the older Danish and Norwegian provinces. These measures resulted in completely revolutionising the conditions of land ownership, and destroyed the power of the nobility by levelling the barriers of privilege which had separated the counts and barons from the inferior nobility, and by securing freedom for the peasants. Property was more evenly divided, and the public revenues increased enormously. The resumption of crown lands had, however, this drawback, that great indignation was aroused in many places by the severe and arbitrary measures through which it was effected. In the Baltic provinces the king's conduct almost occasioned a revolt; there his contempt for private rights was the cause of a fatal resentment.

The abundant means which Charles XI. now had at his disposal were appropriated exclusively to improving the political, military, and economic condition of his country. The land was strengthened against attack by the formation of a navy, and the erection of fortresses and a new naval port at Karlskrona. The reorganisation of the army, which had been begun by Charles IX. and Gustavus Adolphus, and which has partially remained in effect up to the present day, was completed. It was decided that in future the soldiers should be billeted on the estates of the peasants, who in return were exempted from military service in times of peace. Certain crown estates were freed from taxation on condition that they defrayed the expenses of the cavalry, while the

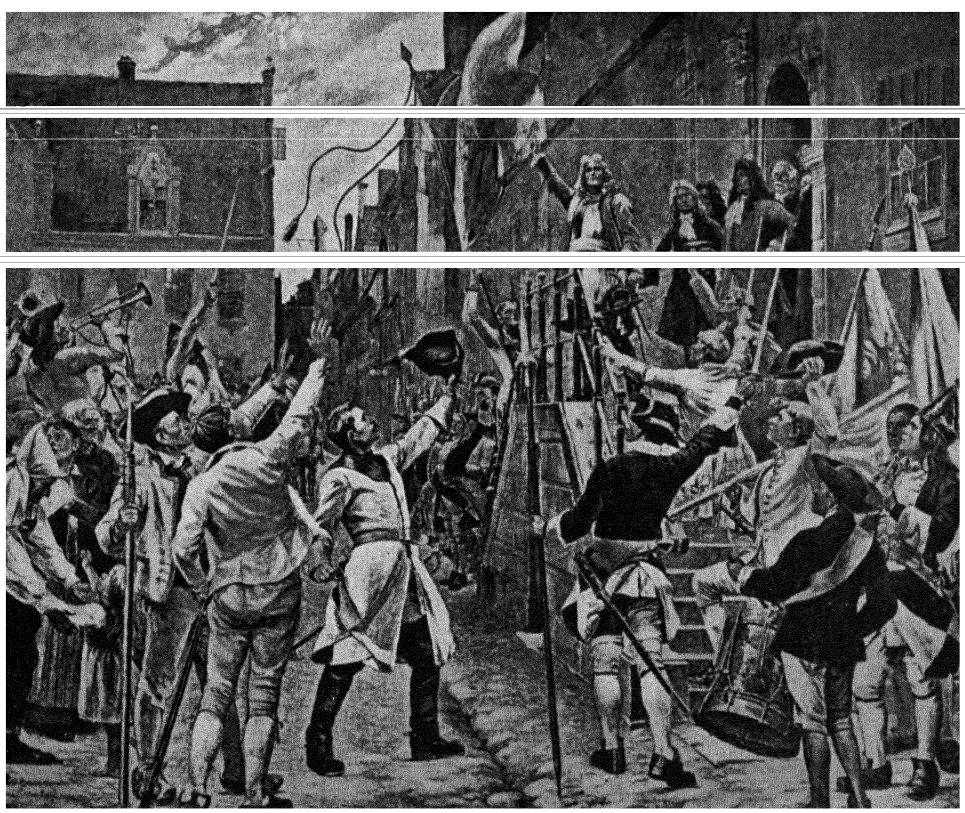
The Swedish Army Reorganised

officers received their maintenance from the crown lands. At the same time Swedish soldiers were levied to defend the foreign provinces. The finances and the administration were subjected to the careful revision which they so urgently required. Charles also turned his attention to all branches of industry. Although his own education had been so deficient, he knew the value of learning, and interested himself especially in the education of the people. He strongly impressed upon the clergy the necessity of teaching the peasants to read.



CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN
Succeeding his father in 1697, he was faced by an alliance of Russia, Denmark, and Poland, and thus there began the great Northern War, which lasted from 1700 to 1721.

New life was also infused into every branch of literature. As early as the sixteenth century the literary activity of Sweden, which up to that time had been unimportant, received an impetus from the Reformation, especially as the kings of the House of Vasa took a keen interest in the development of the language and literature and tried to advance scholarship in every way. The earliest Swedish literature was entirely designed for edification, and consisted of devotional and theological controversial treatises. The most celebrated writers were the reformers Olaus and Laurentius Petri, who also made some attempts at writing history from the Protestant standpoint; while the Catholic point of view was represented by the ex-bishops Johannes and Olaus Magnus. These last wrote in Latin, which remained for a long time the language of literary men. In the seventeenth century literature lost its devotional character and became more remarkable for beauty of thought and diction. This transformation



THE CAPTURE OF THE TOWN OF MALMÖ BY COUNT MAGNUS STENBOCK
A distinguished general, Count Magnus Stenbock took part in the earlier campaigns of Charles XII, and had a large share in the victories of the Swedish arms. In 1709 he captured the town of Ma[illegible] successes. He ended his life in a Danish dungeon in 1717, after being defeated by [illegible]

was due chiefly to G. Stjernhjelm, who died in 1672, "the father of Swedish poetry," who modelled his writings on the ancient classics and popularised the old metres.

After the death of Charles XI., on April 15th, 1697, his son, Charles XII., became king, and although not yet fifteen years old was declared of age at the end of 1697.

Characteristics of the New King Charles XII.

Charles had enjoyed a good education. Like his father he was noted for an earnest piety and strict morality; his mode of life was temperate and simple. As a child he exhibited that love of honour and audacity, along with that obstinacy and perversity, which characterised him throughout his life. It was generally considered that he possessed only moderate abilities, because he seemed to devote his time only to bear hunts and other equally dangerous pastimes. Accordingly his neighbours, who were jealous of the power of Sweden, thought that this was the best opportunity to recover what they had lost. Russia, Denmark, and Poland formed an alliance, and immediately began the great Northern War (1700–1721)

Once again in this struggle the Swedish military success flared up like some brilliant firework. At one time it might have been thought that under a new hero-king the Gothic peoples were to regain the high prestige which Gustavus II. Adolphus and Charles X. Gustavus had won for them.

But fate decided otherwise; in Sweden's stead a new great power arose in Eastern Europe, a Slav kingdom under the guidance of the Russians, the neighbours of the Poles—a people gifted with admirable political capacities. Having no suspicion of their historical destiny, the Russians, through the agency of a wise prince, were raised in the course of but one generation to a position which enabled them to participate in the constitutional progress which Central and Western Europe had gradually achieved, and to

The Rapid Progress of the Russians

create a vigorous constitutional organisation for themselves. It is true that, even to the present day, their state is based on the will of the Tsar; the limited capacity of the Slavs for constitutional progress is obvious in the case of the mightiest kingdoms of Slavonic nationality.

Take away the personality of Peter the Great, and who can conceive the transition from unimportant Muscovy to the Russian Empire? Who can separate the fate of the monarchy which he created from the actions of his successors? Palace revolutions, revolts, military conspiracies, assassinations—these have been the deeds of special parties in particular cases; they were in no case the expression of national will. The progress of an administration, which could have advanced but very slowly during two centuries if it had not served to strengthen dynastical power, has invariably consisted of borrowings from foreign constitutions.

It was foreigners who were Peter's teachers and demonstrators; in foreign countries he acquired the ideas upon which he constructed his state. The mingling of Romanoff blood with that of Holstein-Oldenburg and Askanien-Thuringen preserved the ruling house from a relapse into the Muscovite character of a Fedor, Ivan, or Alexei, and gave it a European stamp. It was its princes that have made Russia the European power in which the Slav nations have become great and strong. The useful qualities of the Russians have been their capacity for subordination, their obedience, and their invincible confidence in the Tsar

Peter the Great's Work for Russia

as God's vicegerent upon earth. These characteristics have made them superior to the Poles; by these they have been made equal to their great share in the world's history, which the Tsar Peter I. recognised as theirs, and took upon himself and laid upon his successors.

The immediate result of this recognition, which was matured during Peter's travels in Western Europe, was his share in the attack directed against Sweden by Frederic Augustus of Saxony-Poland, which gave him the opportunity of gaining a seaboard on the Baltic. In spite of his victory at Asov in 1696, which his conquest of the Crimea would have enabled him to turn to account by employing means similar to those with which he had to fight the Swedes, he was ready to conclude peace with the Porte on July 2nd, 1700, in order to have a free hand for his undertakings in the north, for he was well aware that connection with the east was of no use to him, but that the opening up of communication with the west would secure the stability of his internal reforms and advance the entry of Russia into the ranks of the European powers.

Denmark attacked Holstein; the Duke of Holstein, Frederic IV., had married Hedwig Sophia, the sister of Charles.



THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF KING CHARLES XII OF SWEDEN, IN DECEMBER, 1718

Skilled in the art of war, Charles XII of Sweden was engaged throughout his entire reign in battles with the enemies of his country. He was undaunted by defeat, and when overcome by Prussia and her allies in 1715, he immediately organised a new army and fleet. Invading Norway for the second time in 1718, he was killed on December 11th while besieging the fortress of Frederiksten, near Frederikshald. He became the favourite national hero on account of his heroism and his marvellous victories, his morality and his contempt of death.

Peter attacked Esthonia, and Augustus sent an army against Livonia. Charles refused all attempts at reconciliation, and declared that he would not enter upon an unjust war nor would he end a just one before he had humbled his enemies. He first of all directed his attention to Denmark. King Frederic IV.

Poland's King Dethroned

was compelled by the Peace of Travendal, on August 18th, 1700, to retire from the alliance and to acknowledge the independence of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. In the same year he inflicted a severe defeat upon Peter at Narva on November 30th; but instead of following up his victory he first attempted to crush his cousin Augustus, whom he bitterly hated. He [illegible] advanced through Courland and Lithuania and conquered Warsaw and Cracow. Augustus was declared to have forfeited the crown of Poland and Stanislas Leszczynski was proclaimed king in 1704.

In the meantime Peter had been successful in the Baltic provinces, and had founded St. Petersburg in [illegible]. Charles, however, remained several years in Poland in order to establish Stanislas in his kingdom, and then pressed on into Saxony, where Augustus the Strong was compelled by the Peace of Altranstadt in 1706 to renounce the Polish crown for himself and his descendants, to acknowledge Stanislas, and to withdraw from all his alliances. Charles stood now at the height of his glory. Louis XIV. made every endeavour to gain his assistance in the War of the Spanish Succession.

Charles, however, wished to overthrow Peter, the Tsar of Russia. But instead of advancing to St. Petersburg he marched towards the Ukraine to ally himself with the Cossack hetman Ivan Mazeppa, and afterwards to proceed to Moscow. Without waiting for reinforcements, which were on the way, he entered South Russia. The

Defeat and Flight of Charles XII.

Russians had in the meantime laid waste the country and defeated the general, Lewenhaupt, who was to have brought up the Swedish reinforcements; Mazeppa, however, whose treachery was discovered, came as a fugitive to the Swedish army. In spite of this Charles continued his march, and arrived at Poltava in spring. Peter hurried to the relief of the town, and gained a brilliant victory over Charles on July 8th, 1709; the king escaped with difficulty, and fled with 500 followers across the Dnieper and the Bug into Turkish territory. The battle of Poltava decided the fate of the North; Russia had taken the place of Sweden as a great power

The power of Sweden had begun to decline even before 1709. After the battle of Poltava, Frederic III. and Augustus II. renewed their alliance with Russia. Augustus drove Stanislas out of Poland. The Danes landed in Scania, which, however, they were soon compelled to leave. Peter, who had completed the conquest of the Baltic provinces, devastated Finland, while his fleet threatened the coast of Sweden. The majority of the German possessions had been lost. In this desperate situation the Council of State, in spite of the prohibition of the king, summoned the Riksdag, where dethronement was seriously considered. On hearing this, Charles, who had been in Turkey for five years, decided to return home. As "Captain Peter Frisch" he rode in sixteen days through Hungary and Germany, and arrived on November 22nd, 1714, at Stralsund, which was the last possession of the Swedes in Pomerania.

Charles the National Hero of Sweden

In the meantime Prussia, which was anxious to obtain Pomerania, and Hanover, which had bought Bremen and Verden—a conquest from the Danes—had attached themselves to the enemies of Sweden. After a heroic defence Charles was obliged to surrender Stralsund, which was besieged by the allies, and return to Sweden.

He assembled an army, which he took to Norway, in 1716, but he was compelled to return to Sweden. Two years later he made a second attempt to conquer Norway, and advanced against the fortress of Frederiksten near Frederikshald in Southern Norway. There, on the evening of December 11th, 1718, a bullet from the fortress put an end to his restless life. The siege was at once raised, and his brother-in-law, Frederic of Hesse, led the army back to Sweden. In spite of the misfortunes into which Sweden was plunged by his obstinacy Charles became the favourite national hero on account of his morality and his heroism, his contempt of death, and his marvellous victories. During his stay on the continent, and also after his return home, he worked zealously at reforming the government, and these reforms bear witness to his impartial sagacity.

HANS VON ZWIEDINECK-SUDENHORST



THE ENDING OF THE OLD ORDER

THE FIFTY YEARS AFTER LOUIS XIV.

THE BOURBON POWERS AND GREAT BRITAIN

THE Treaty of Utrecht and the death of Louis XIV. mark a definite epoch. For half a century France had pursued an aggressive policy which, if completely successful, would have made her the dictator of Europe. In spite of the disasters of the last great war, Louis so far achieved his primary object that a Bourbon instead of a Hapsburg was seated on the Spanish throne; the old-time fear of a great Hapsburg domination in Europe had given place to the fear of a Bourbon domination. But a Bourbon Union would never come forward as the champion of the papacy; the transition was completed by which commerce was to replace religion as the explicit motive in the contests of nations. Again, in achieving the hegemony of Europe, France had of necessity found the Hapsburgs her great rivals in maintaining the hegemony, it was now Great Britain which threatened her power.

It was largely the accident of the ejection of the Stuarts from England, the accession of the Dutch stadtholder, and the support Louis gave to his exiled cousins, that had involved France and England in war; for the next century the most fundamental antagonism was to be that between French or Bourbon and British interests. There remained, indeed, sundry bones of contention, mainly in Italy and the Mediterranean, between Austria and Spain—the German Hapsburg power may now be definitely associated with the name of Austria—but the vital struggle was to be concerned with trans-oceanic supremacy. At the outset, however, the new conditions were not realised. The death of Louis, in 1715, placed on the throne his great-grandchild, Louis XV., a sickly infant. In spite of renunciations, no one could feel any certainty that his uncle, now Philip V. of Spain, would not, after all, assert his claim to the succession if the child died; while under the existing instruments, Philip, Duke of Orleans, now regent, was the heir-presumptive. Orleans wanted his claim secured as against Spain; the Hanoverian king of Great Britain wanted his secured against a Stuart restoration by French help; so the two governments mutually agreed to support each other. The dynastic connection between the two Bourbon thrones did not become a bond of political union till the prospect of an attempt to make them one had disappeared; and even then the helm of state in France, as in Britain, was in the hands of a Minister who had no mind to decide political issues by the arbitrament of war.

A New Era in Europe

The Troubled Condition Of Europe

The recent struggle had borne much less heavily on the island power than on either France or Spain, but, for all three, peace and financial reorganisation were needed. In England both these ends were procured with success; for five-and-twenty years her warfare consisted in an abortive Jacobite rising and in occasional naval demonstrations, in the course of one of which she incidentally annihilated the Spanish fleet. From 1720 to 1739 Walpole persistently maintained a policy which treated the financial prosperity of the country as outweighing all other considerations, and the national wealth was immensely increased. In Spain, on the other hand, the marriage of King Philip

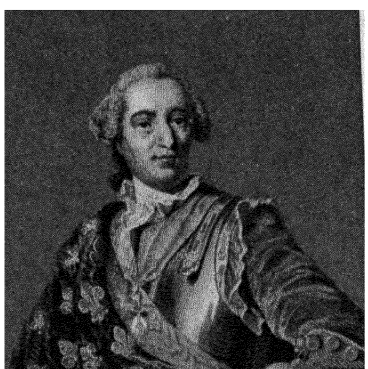
to Elizabeth Farnese introduced a spirited foreign policy directed primarily against Austria in Italy. The Minister Alberoni endeavoured at the same time to revive the Spanish sea power, but his efforts were wrecked by a premature collision with the British squadron in the Mediterranean, off Cape Passaro. In consequence of this war, the Sicilies passed under [illegible] dominion in 1720, though a few years later, in the course of territorial exchanges springing from the war of the Polish succession, a branch of the Spanish Bourbons was established on the Neapolitan throne. But this general misdirection of Spanish activities did not tend to strengthen resources which required to be carefully husbanded.

Britain's Check To Spain's Naval Ambitions

Meanwhile, France, like Great Britain, was avoiding wars of an exhausting kind. The Orleans régime was demoralising to the character of the upper classes from its extreme licentiousness; the noblesse was very distinctly on a downward grade, and in this respect matters were not improved when the king himself was old enough to become the real centre of the court. About 1727, the septuagenarian Cardinal Fleury became first Minister. In conjunction with Walpole, Fleury directed his efforts to maintaining European peace, but he was less successful than the English Minister in keeping his country entirely clear of war. He, however, accomplished the rapprochement with Spain which was expressed in the secret Family Compact of 1733, directed against Austria and Great Britain, of which the primary design, based on the knowledge of Walpole's intense aversion to war, was to act diplomatically or otherwise against Austria, and then take in hand an isolated England.

It was fortunate for the latter that the fundamental necessity of overwhelming her sea-power escaped the Bourbon plotters. Consequently, when the violence of popular excitement forced the governments of Great Britain and Spain into war against their will in 1739, Great Britain was always able to hold her own, with the more security, because this naval "War of Jenkins' Ear" was soon merged into a Continental struggle—the "War of the Austrian Succession," which absorbed most of the energies of France, wherefrom the naval power reaped the usual advantage.

The opportunity for attacking Austria came first through the question of the succession to the crown of Poland. The monarchy of that country was elective. Stanislas Leszczynski, the father of the French king's wife, was the popular candidate; Augustus of Saxony, the son of the last king, was favoured by Austria and Russia. Louis consequently had a personal interest in the question, while Spain had none, so far as Poland was concerned; but the Bourbons might gain something from a war with Austria, which, if it did nothing else, would loosen the bond between Austria and Great Britain, since Walpole might be safely relied upon to abstain from active intervention.



LOUIS XV. OF FRANCE
He was little more than an infant when the death of his great-grandfather, Louis XIV., in 1714 left to him the throne of France. He lived a life of excess and debauchery, and he died from an attack of smallpox in 1774.

The war was carried on without energy or marked ability in any quarter, but not without a considerable drain on the resources of the armies of all the combatants, while Walpole, content to exercise mere diplomatic pressure, husbanded the national wealth of Great Britain. The ultimate result was that the Austrian candidate got Poland, and Austria got from the powers a perfectly valueless guarantee of the "Pragmatic Sanction," which was to secure the whole of the Hapsburg dominions to the emperor's daughter Maria Theresa. In Italy, however, she transferred the Sicilies to a Bourbon dynasty, and received Parma and Piacenza; Tuscany was transferred to the Duke of Lorraine, Maria Theresa's husband. He in exchange handed Lorraine over to Stanislas by way of compensation for the loss of Poland, and France got so much of clear profit, since this meant that she acquired Lorraine The time was certainly not yet ripe for

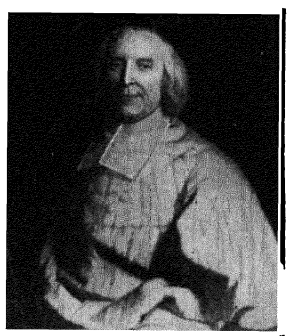
Bartering European Territory

the Bourbons to make an open attack on Great Britain; but events proved too strong for the governments concerned. The colonial and commercial policy initiated by Colbert early in the reign of Louis XIV. had planted French settlements in rivalry to those of the British, both in India and in North America. That the competition in India would be brought to the decision of the sword had hardly occurred to French or English statesmen, though in America that event was growing more and more conspicuously imminent. Holland had already fallen out of the race, and an acute observer might have recognised that a decisive struggle between France and Great Britain was as inevitable as any political event can be. On the other hand, the causes of friction between Spain and England were more obvious and palpable, though in their nature there was nothing new. From the days of Elizabeth, Spain had maintained her monopoly in South America by restrictions and regulations which English sailors had always endeavoured to evade or defy. There was an eternal cross-fire of charges and counter-charges, of illegal trading by Englishmen, of illegal exercise of powers by Spanish officials.



DUKE OF ORLEANS
Philip of Orleans became regent when the crown of France fell to Louis XV, and remained in that office till his death in 1723

The diplomatists in 1739 found themselves face to face with an outburst of popular sentiment in both countries which they were wholly unable to control. Walpole, in spite of his apprehension that Spain would be joined by France—information had reached him of the Family Compact—and his conviction that the combination would be too strong for Great Britain, was forced to declare war, amid national jubilation. Great as a peace Minister, he was wholly unfitted to grapple with the conduct of a war, and the naval operations were marked by an inefficiency which was not absolutely disastrous only because the Spanish inefficiency was equally conspicuous. The process of "muddling along" gradually brought to the front commanders who were able to make use of the incomparably superior material of the British Navy, and to ensure its ascendancy; but it was well for England that Fleury had neglected to make the French fleet capable of effective intervention.



CARDINAL FLEURY
When Louis XV. took the government into his own hands, Fleury became his chief adviser. Against his will, he was drawn into the War of the Austrian Succession.

In fact, French attention was absorbed by events in another quarter. The Emperor Charles VI. died; according to the Pragmatic Sanction, his daughter was to succeed to all the Hapsburg dominions, and it had been the emperor's aim to secure the election to the imperial crown also for her husband. But the Elector of Bavaria claimed the succession to Bohemia and became a candidate for the empire. The rending of Austria would provide spoils for various powers, who found no difficulty in producing technical excuses for breaking their pledges. The attack was opened by Frederic of Prussia, who seized Silesia on a flimsy pretext. France promised her support to the Bavarian Elector. British and Hanoverian interests alike brought Hanoverian troops and British subsidies to the support of Maria Theresa; Spain, of course, took her stand on the other side.

The events of the war need not be detailed. From a British point of view, the complete success with which Commodore Martin imposed neutrality upon Naples, and the gallantly fought battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, are its most interesting episodes, apart from the last Jacobite rising in 1745, which is described elsewhere. The heterogeneous combination against Austria had no common aims. Frederic of Prussia left the allies when Maria Theresa abandoned Silesia to him. In the early campaigns neither French nor Bavarian armies generally [illegible] themselves, though in the later stages of the war the French Marshal Maurice of Saxony, commonly known as Marshal Saxe, showed himself perhaps the ablest of the commanders after Frederic of Prussia. It is curious to observe that until 1744



THE BATTLE OF FONTENOY IN THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

In this battle, fought on May 1 th, 1745, at the Belgian village of Fontenoy, near Tournay, the French, under Marshal Saxe, were opposed by a smaller allied army of British, Dutch and Austrians, under the Duke of Cumberland When several direct attacks against the French had failed, Cumberland formed most of his British and Hanoverian troops into a single column 4,000 strong and advanced He was, however, not supported by the Dutch, and was compelled to retire, having lost 4,000 men.

From the painting by Felix Philippoteaux in the Victoria and Albert Museum

France and Great Britain were not nominally at war with each other, while each took the field as "auxiliary" of one of the principal combatants. In that year Frederic again joined the allies, to desert them again before the close of 1745.

The French arms were persistently successful under Marshal Saxe in the Netherlands, and those of Austria in Italy. The assertion of British naval predominance brought about the capture of Louisburg on the St. Lawrence, and would probably have had decisive effects on the struggle which Dupleix had begun in India if the powers, all alike weary of the war, had not terminated it in 1748 by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Frederic had won Silesia, and Maria Theresa had lost it. Otherwise, the peace practically restored all conquests on all hands. There had been an enormous expenditure of life and of money with insignificant result. Before a decade had passed, another conflagration was raging which concluded very differently. The War of the Austrian Succession had decided nothing except the facts that Prussia was a first-class military power, and that there would be no more attacks on the established dynasty in England. The combinations of the Powers, however, were to be on entirely new lines. In the first place, Spain retired altogether under a pacific king, Ferdinand; the [illegible] influence of Elizabeth Farnese came to an end with his accession. In the second place, the exhibition of Prussia's developed power had created alarm and jealousy, while the loss of Silesia had filled Maria Theresa with vengeful feelings, and Frederic's personality had excited the keen animosity of two other important dames—the Tsarina, and Mme de Pompadour, who now ruled Louis.

The Balance of Power in Europe

In the third place, the issue between French and British, both in India and in America, grew more and more acute. Hence it became certain that when war did break out France and Great Britain would be on opposite sides, and Austria and Prussia would be on opposite sides. How the partners would pair off, however, remained uncertain. But while Great Britain, under the incompetent Newcastle, merely drifted into alliance with Frederic, Austria deliberately sought the French alliance, in defiance of all tradition, while Louis was influenced thereto partly by the Pompadour, partly by the superstition that he could square the account with Heaven for his private vices by supporting the Catholic Austria against the Protestant Prussia. Here we are concerned mainly with those aspects of the Seven Years War which especially affected the Franco-British rivalry; and even among these, the events which took place actually in India or in America have been or will be treated at length in other parts of this work. But while the details in various fields of the great struggle can best be thus dealt with in isolation, we shall also find it most convenient to set forth here the relation in which the several contests stood to each other.

Rivalries of French and British

French and British had to finish in India a duel, the result of which had already become a foregone conclusion, while the French and British governments had been at peace and the rival companies were fighting out their quarrel as auxiliaries of rival native potentates. Nothing but the mastery of the seas could now have given the victory to France. The genius of Montcalm and the lack of organised cohesion among the British Colonies in America made the issue there more doubtful, until British naval superiority cut the French off from aid out of France.

The one chance for France in the duel was to devote her whole energies to matching her rival on the sea. But her energies were divided, while those of Great Britain were concentrated. England's wealth enabled her to supply her ally Frederic with the sinews of war of which he was sorely in need. Thus aided, his genius enabled him to make head against the seemingly overwhelming circle of his foes; France exhausted her resources in launching against him the great armies which were shattered by him or by his lieutenant Ferdinand of Brunswick at Rosbach and Crefeldt and Minden. The quality of the French armies, and especially of its aristocratic commanders, had grievously degenerated since the days of Louis XIV. On the other hand, when the stupid incompetence under which Great Britain entered on the war was replaced by the inspiring genius of Pitt, officers and men by land and by sea showed themselves worthy of the highest traditions of the nation. France had created a navy during the years of peace, but the two great fleets from Toulon and Brest were both annihilated in 1759 off Lagos and at Quiberon; the British

Pitt's Inspiring Genius

squadrons swept the seas unchallenged. Even if Wolfe had failed before Quebec, British reinforcements would ultimately have prevailed over Montcalm in his isolation. When it was altogether too late, a new king in Spain returned to the principles of the Bourbon Family Compact in support of France, but the only effect was to place the Spanish settlements at the mercy of British fleets. It seemed merely a question of time before every French or Spanish island should fall a prey to the mistress of the seas, when the new king, George III., and his Minister, Bute, resolved to terminate the war at the price of the most recent conquests, and to leave their stubborn Prussian ally deserted—for which he never forgave them. Fortunately, however, some of his foes had already retired, and the rest were too exhausted to continue a struggle in which their superior numbers had been repeatedly overmatched by Frederic's genius.

Britain the Mistress of the Seas

The character of the Seven Years War, which opened with the successful attack of the French upon Minorca in 1756, and ended with the Treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg in 1763, was determined mainly by two factors. First, Great Britain deliberately and consciously fought, not for the balance of power in Europe, which had dominated international politics since the days of Wolsey, but for trans-oceanic empire, conditioned by naval supremacy; whereas France divided her energies.

In the second place, the problem of the balance of power had itself changed, because the Hapsburgs no longer dominated Central Europe; Prussia had appeared as an effective rival—so effective that France was ready to help her old rival to recover her old predominance in order to crush the new Power. But a third feature was that Russia now began to play a much more direct and prominent part in the affairs of Western Europe than she had hitherto done—a position from which she was not again to recede. Incidentally also the fact was marked that Spain, Holland, and Sweden would thenceforth be unable to take more than subordinate places.

Russia's Advance in Power

The result of the war was decisive in favour of Great Britain as concerned the supremacy of the British race—though subsequently divided—beyond and upon the seas; and in favour of Prussia as securing her equality with Austria; while France was further than ever from that hegemony of the west which Louis XIV. had seemed to attain. The "Grand Monarque" appeared to have achieved his object when the Spanish crown was accepted for his grandson Philip on the death of Charles "the Bewitched" of Spain, and he could declare that "the Pyrenees no longer existed."

The war of the succession would have taken a different course if he had not proceeded to convert England into a most energetic, instead of a very doubtful opponent, by his recognition of the Chevalier as James III., an act which dispelled the apathy of England as a nation to the war, for the recollection of their unhappy condition under James II. and his predecessor, Charles, made the people determined to resist to the utmost any attempt to restore the Stuarts to power; and, disastrous as the war proved, it left the Bourbons in possession of Spain as well as of France. Circumstances, however, prevented the Bourbon combination from becoming a consolidated force. The Bourbon was King of Spain, but its ruler was Elizabeth Farnese, whose horizon was limited by her Italian ambitions and her desire to secure a great inheritance not for her stepsons, the heirs of the Spanish throne, but for her own offspring. A Spain perpetually plunging into every war which gave her a pretext for attacking Austria had no chance of restoring her finances and reorganising her administration so as to play an ambitious part with any effect. It was not till Elizabeth's stepson Ferdinand ascended the throne, and her influence was lost, that Spain, in a decade of peace, was able to make real material progress. Hence, the Family Compact was, in fact, infinitely less dangerous to either of the powers against which it was aimed than it might have been made by cool-headed statesmanship.

Spain's Peaceful Progress

But the main fabric which Louis XIV. had built up, grandiose, magnificent to outward view, was deficient in real strength. Building on Richelieu's foundations, he had concentrated the state in the monarchy. The power of the crown was absolute beyond all European precedent, and administration had been in the hands of men selected by their king—whether judiciously or otherwise—on account of their fitness, not on account of their birth. Louis XIV. had, in fact, inclined to follow the precedent of the Tudors in England, in giving a preference to servants who did not belong to the



FAVOURITES OF LOUIS XV.: THE YOUNG FRENCH KING IN THE COMPANY OF HIS FRIENDS

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old aristocracy. Under his successor, Louis the Well-beloved, the aristocracy, to a great extent, recovered their hold on administration, whereby efficiency was greatly impaired. Thus, the chiefs of the armies which took the field against Frederic II. and Ferdinand of Brunswick were of a type utterly inferior to that of the antagonists of William III. and Marlborough. Again, sheer absolutism can be successful only when the monarch himself is either a man of high capacities or is endowed with a happy faculty for selecting able Ministers. Louis XIV. was tolerably qualified in both respects, Louis XV. in neither. It is true that France owed a good deal to Fleury, though the close of his career was marked by ill-success very much like Walpole's in England; but Louis was a mere boy when he bestowed the office of first Minister on his aged tutor, whom he had enough intelligence to love and respect.

France's Debt to Fleury

After Fleury died, at the age of ninety-three, Louis tried to emulate his great-grandfather and be his own first Minister, of which the practical outcome was that the king's mistress—the most important of the series was the Pompadour—was virtually the mistress of France; though the king might, and frequently did, carry on political intriguing of his own behind her back, while she was intriguing behind the backs of Ministers. It was a curious freak of popular favour which gave him the title of Bien-aimé, the "Well-beloved," on his recovery from an illness, while he was still a young man—in his later years the epithet would have been fitted to him only in bitter irony. The crown, with no diminution of its absolutism, was already being rendered contemptible; the series of national fiascoes and disasters which reached their culminating stage between 1758 and 1763 ruined its prestige. In France, even the large element of bombast and theatricality which characterised Louis XIV. had rather increased than diminished the force with which the Monarchy appealed to the popular imagination; but the splendours of Louis XV. were palpable tinsel. The prestige of the aristocracy, which had stood high under the old king, when merit was in demand, was destroyed by the incompetence, and more than incompetence, of conspicuous members of the order, when merit ceased to count.

The Tinsel Splendours of Louis XV.

The better men among the noblesse were alive to the decadence, but were unable to counteract it. The reign of Louis the Well-beloved was sapping the foundations both of monarchy and of aristocracy, and was making France ready for the Revolution.



THE VICTORIOUS FRENCH AFTER [illegible] F FONTENOY

Marshal Saxe, who is shown seated on his white palfrey in the picture, was in command of the French army at the battle of Fontenoy in 1745, against which the Duke of Cumberland and his British and Hanoverian troops marched in vain.

From the painting by Horace Vernet



GREAT BRITAIN UNDER THE WHIGS
AND THE EARLIER GEORGIAN PERIOD

THE German prince who succeeded Anne on the British throne, and his son after him, were men of narrow understanding, unpopular in their adopted country, and more interested in the fortunes of Hanover than in those of the kingdom to which they were indebted for wealth and consideration. Owing to ignorance of the English language they dropped the custom of personal attendance at the meetings of the Cabinet, which thus acquired a new independence and consideration. Their power was shown chiefly in the choice of Ministers. Although the practical impossibility of ruling without a parliamentary majority was now admitted, the king had still considerable freedom in choosing between the rival leaders of the predominant party. At an early date the Whigs broke up into groups, which were held together by family influence or personal considerations. By a skilful use of the jealousies which separated these groups, the king could often assert his personal ideas. George I. did not care. He disliked the English; he asked nothing better than to be left to his mistresses and his potations. He would have nothing to do with the Tories; but he was content with any Whig Ministers who could secure him in the enjoyment of an ample civil list, and his family in the succession to the Crown. Such a Ministry, however, he did not obtain at the first attempt. That formed in 1714, under the leadership of Townsend and Stanhope, contained but one man of marked ability; and Robert Walpole was at first only the Paymaster of the Forces. He rose, however, in 1715, to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the real brain of the administration.

The King's Dislike of the English

The stolid acquiescence of the country at large in the establishment of the Hanoverian dynasty was sufficiently demonstrated by the apathy with which an attempt at a Jacobite restoration was received in this year. The death of Louis XIV. destroyed any possible prospects of French assistance; nevertheless, the Earl of Mar raised some of the clans in Scotland, and some county gentlemen, headed by Thomas Forster and the Earl of Derwentwater raised the Jacobite standard in England. The English rising collapsed ignominiously at Preston; on the same day Mar fought a drawn battle with Argyle at Sheriff Muir, after which the Scottish rising also fell to pieces.

Collapse of Jacobite Risings

The Cabinet, having weathered the insurrection, provided against any sudden reaction of popular feeling in England and Scotland by the Septennial Act in 1716, which extended the maximum duration of Parliament from three years to seven. The Act was so worded as to cover the Parliament by which it was passed, and a general election was thus postponed to quieter times. But a personal quarrel between Walpole and Stanhope led to Walpole's secession; he became the leader of the Parliamentary Opposition.

In 1720 the Government was fatally compromised by the failure of the South Sea Bubble, a scheme for vesting the English rights of trade with the Spanish colonies in a single chartered company. The South Sea Bubble was the outcome of one of those manias for speculation to which commercial communities are particularly liable in the first stages of their development, and France suffered in this same year from a financial crisis produced by the collapse of Laws' Mississippi Company. But the English Government, or certain members of it, had connived at the tricks by which the price of the South-Sea stock was inflated to excess; their conduct incurred the greater odium because the company had been founded under the protection and guarantee of the State. They fell ignominiously; and Walpole, admittedly the first

Walpole's Genius in Time of Panic



KING GEORGE I. IN HIS CORONATION ROBES

A great-grandson of James I of England, George I., who had been Elector of Hanover since 1698, was proclaimed King of Great Britain, according to the Act of Settlement, on the death of Queen Anne in 1714 Though king he took little part in the government of the country, the affairs of which were in the able hands of Sir Robert Walpole, and, his affections remaining with Hanover, he lived there as much as possible. He died at Osnabruck in 1727

financier of the age, was called into power that he might minimise the consequences of the crisis. The skill with which he wound up the company assured his popularity.

Walpole earned further gratitude from the commercial classes by a policy of peace and retrenchment, and by reforming to some extent the customs tariff. The country had inherited from the past a number of import duties of which the majority impeded trade without increasing the revenue. By abolishing these Walpole took the first step towards free trade. His power was in danger at the death of the old king, in 1727, for although the Prince of Wales and Walpole had acted together when Walpole was in opposition, their friendship had been destroyed by Walpole's rise to power. But there was no other Whig who fulfilled the necessary conditions for the first place in the Cabinet. Walpole was continued in office, not through choice, but of necessity, until he succeeded in capturing the ear of

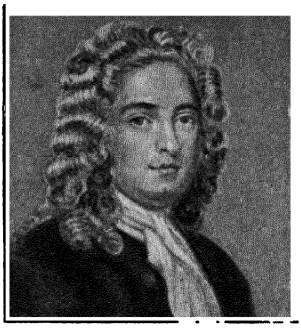


THE BURSTING OF THE SOUTH-SEA BUBBLE THE SCENE IN CHANGE ALLEY DURING THE FINANCIAL BOOM

The South-Sea Bubble was the name given to a scheme propounded by a company of merchants, embodied as the South-Sea Company, to buy up all the debts due by the government to other companies; and, as the company itself had not sufficient capital for that purpose, the government empowered it to raise the means by opening lists of subscriptions, or share lists, for carrying out a scheme for trading to the South Seas It seemed a most promising enterprise, and all classes, in the hope of obtaining a good return, invested their money with the company. Then the grand scheme collapsed a financial panic followed, and only the genius of Walpole restored public confidence. Many of the company's directors were punished.

From the painting by E M Ward, R A , in the National Gallery

Caroline, the queen of George II. The king's marital infidelities were gross and numerous; but the influence of the queen was supreme in political affairs, and her alliance with Walpole, continued without a break until her death in 1737, secured the Minister against court intrigues. Walpole is the first Prime Minister in the modern sense of the word. In practice he discarded the theory that all Ministers of the Crown were on an equality, and entitled to differ as they pleased upon political questions. In his Cabinet Walpole would have none but subordinates. One by one his ablest colleagues were forced to leave the Ministry because they would not bow to his wishes, and in time the novel spectacle was to be seen of a Whig government suffering from the attacks of a Whig Opposition Carteret and Pulteney, the chief of these disappointed rivals, were abler speakers and more brilliant politicians than the Minister But Walpole rested secure in the confidence of the commercial classes and in the possession of a parliamentary majority. He has been reproached with inventing a system of parliamentary corruption The charge is unfair, for the House of Commons had been corrupt before the Revolution, and still more so in the reign of William III. Walpole's bribery was more remarkable for success than for originality, and the sums which he spent on this purpose have been grossly exaggerated.



THE GREAT WALPOLE
Sir Robert Walpole was the first Prime Minister in the modern sense of the word. When he retired in 1742 he was created Earl of Orford

Even in the early eighteenth century the opinions of the House of Commons were largely influenced by the state of public feeling. The votes for which Walpole paid in cash and places were only his while he remained popular out of doors. In the end he lost his majority through the opposition of the merchant class, whose Minister he had been in a peculiar sense. For this class peace and retrenchment might do much, but a part of what they desired could be secured only by war.



GEORGE II. OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
The earlier years of the reign of this monarch have been described as "the most prosperous period that England had ever known" He succeeded his father, in 1727, as King of Great Britain and Ireland, and died suddenly at Kensington on October 25th, 1760
After the painting by R I Pine

Spain resented the commercial clauses in the Treaty of Utrecht, the more so because English traders in American waters contrived to extract from the treaty larger advantages than the framers of the treaty had ever contemplated. Stanhope and Sunderland had guarded against Spanish designs by a Triple Alliance with France and Holland, in 1716. Walpole



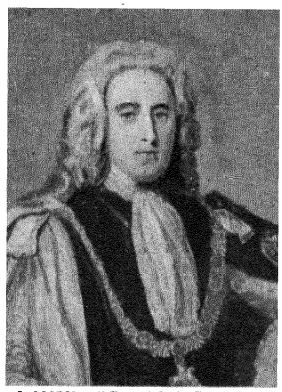
4513 THE LAST BRITISH SOVEREIGN IN BATTLE: KING GEORGE II. AT THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN, IN THE YEAR 1743

Britain was involved in the War of the Austrian Succession, and at the battle of Dettingen, June 16th, 1743, George II was at the head of the British and Hanoverian troops, this being the last occasion on which a British sovereign commanded an army in the field. The victory of the British arms was more creditable to the gallantry of the king than to his military skill

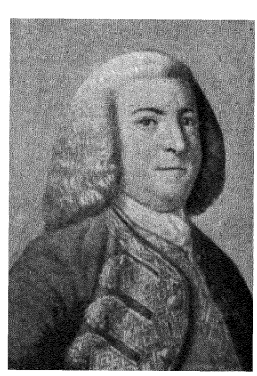
From the painting by Robert Hillingford

endeavoured to continue this policy, and believed that he might count implicitly upon the pacific intentions of the French Minister, Cardinal Fleury. But Fleury's influence was not always supreme in the councils of Louis XV., and in 1733 a family compact was secretly concluded between the Bourbons of Spain and France with the direct object of curtailing the maritime supremacy of England.

The result of the compact was soon apparent in more vigorous attempts on the part of Spain to repress the trade which English smugglers had developed with the Spanish colonies. The Spanish government began to assert the right of searching English ships on the high seas, and treated suspected crews with unjustifiable severity. The story of a certain Captain Jenkins, who had lost an ear in an affray with Spanish coastguards, raised a tempest of indignation in the country. Walpole, though convinced that the war would be disastrous, since he believed that the country would be unable to cope with the expected combination of the French and Spanish powers, bowed to the will of the country and undertook the management of the war. But he was vigorously denounced in the Press by Bolingbroke, whom, with rare forbearance, he had permitted to return to England, and in Parliament by the rival Whigs whom he had evicted from office. He showed no ability as a War Minister, his great mainstay, Queen Caroline, was dead; the hostile forces were united in their animosity towards him. For these reasons his party dissolved. He resigned in 1741; and the management of the war devolved on his successor, Carteret (1742–1744).



DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
A supporter of Walpole, he succeeded his brother, Henry Pelham, as Premier in 1754. He retired in 1756, but became Prime Minister again in 1757, and died in 1768



CAPTAIN ANSON
Like another Drake, this famous voyager circumnavigated the globe, plundering the Spanish colonies and merchant fleets. In 1761 he became Admiral of the Fleet

The retirement of Walpole inaugurates a new phase in our foreign policy, we may call it the colonial phase. Colonies, sea power, and sea trade had been among the objects for which England fought in the Stuart and revolutionary epochs; but the usual tendency had been to regard these objects as subordinate to the time-honoured aim of preserving the European balance. In the period now to be surveyed the balance is still a consideration; with Carteret and George II. it was the decisive consideration. But it rapidly fell into the background, and the attention of the middle classes and of the ablest Ministers was soon concentrated upon North America and India. In British history the period of colonial wars includes a struggle between the component parts of the constitution. There is an attempt to reverse the Revolution settlement and to restore the old predominance of the king over Parliament. This struggle is in part responsible for the reverses which Britain experienced in the colonial period; and the loss of America caused it to be terminated in favour of Parliament. There is, therefore, a close connection between foreign policy and domestic history, but it is a connection which becomes intimate only when the struggle with France is far advanced. At the beginning of the period British history is merely the history of a war.

Carteret, the successor of Walpole, was unique among the politicians of the day in his mastery of the German situation. This gained him the ear of George II., and the two combined to involve the country in the War of the Austrian Succession. Public feeling was with them because they took the side opposed to that of France. But their object was to shield Hanover against France and Prussia, to preserve the integrity of the Austrian dominions, and to maintain the balance in Germany, the nation, on the other hand, regarded the war chiefly in its colonial bearings. Hence the subsidies which the Minister lavished upon German princes soon occasioned biting criticisms, and William Pitt won his spurs by attacking Carteret in the House of Commons. "This great,

this powerful, this formidable kingdom," said the future confederate of Frederic II., "is now considered only as a province to a despicable electorate." The victory of Dettingen, in 1743, more creditable to the personal gallantry of George II than to his skill as a general did not pacify the Opposition. Carteret, though a brilliant debater, failed to convince the country that his plans were sound, and failed also to redeem their defects by [illegible] successful generals. He was forced to retire in 1744, and the management of affairs passed to his former colleagues, the Pelhams. The Pelhams were poor diplomats, and as War Ministers beneath contempt. But their enormous influence and their skill in party [illegible] enabled them to keep a working majority.



THE OLD PRETENDER

The son of James II. of England and of his second queen, Mary of Modena, James Francis Edward failed in his efforts to win back the throne from which his father had been driven.

Henry Pelham, the Prime Minister, took into the government all the Tories who might have been dangerous. The opposition which he had to encounter came chiefly from his fellow Ministers, and mattered little, since his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, kept the Commons well in hand. The chief care of the brothers was to extricate themselves from the war. They helped Austria with subsidies alone, and, in 1745, concluded a separate peace with Prussia which compelled Maria Theresa to acquiesce in the loss of Silesia.

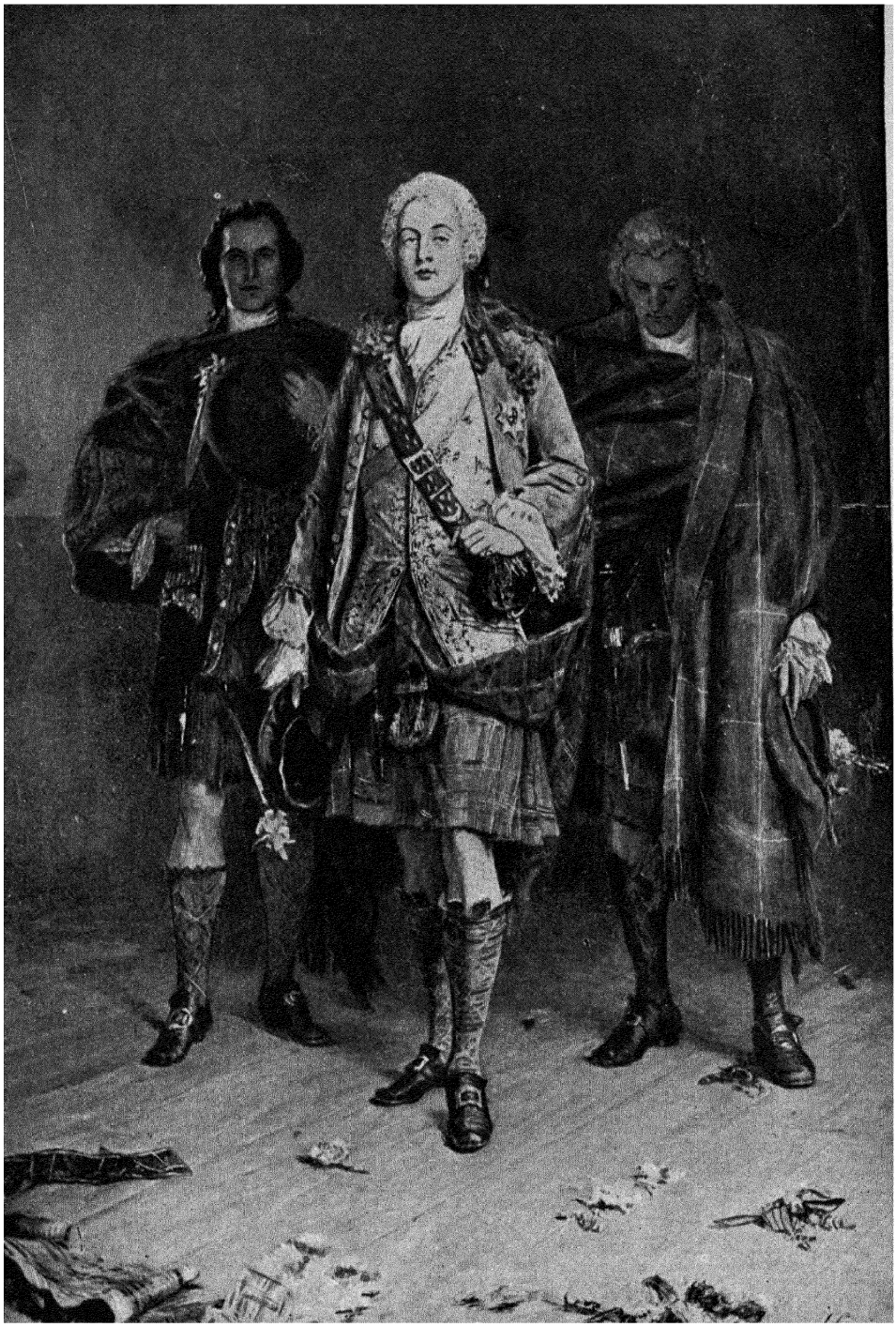


"THE YOUNG PRETENDER"

Prince Charles Edward Stuart, son of "the Old Pretender," was quite as unsuccessful as his father in his attempts upon the Crown, though he aroused the love and enthusiasm of the Scottish people.

But the war with France continued, and went badly. An English army was defeated at Fontenoy in 1745, and the Duke of Cumberland shared with the allies the humiliation of Lauffeld in 1747; nor were the successes of the navy conspicuous. The remarkable voyage in which Captain Anson (1740-1744) circumnavigated the globe, like another Drake plundering the Spanish colonies and merchant fleets was a feat of more brilliance than profit to the country. Under the Pelhams nothing was effected at sea except the capture of Cape Breton, in 1745, and the destruction of two French squadrons. The commerce of France suffered by the war, but her losses were of a temporary character. Both army and navy had deteriorated under the peace administration of Walpole, and the government was further hampered by the Scottish rebellion. Hence, little was gained by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. England and France resigned their conquests, the Pretender was expelled from France, and the French recognised the Hanoverian Succession. It was a truce rather than a peace. But the Pelhams made the mistake of counting upon a lengthy peace, and began to reduce the strength of the army and navy.

In Great Britain, the most important feature of a war, otherwise lacking in significant results, was the episode of "the Forty-five." Jacobitism made its last serious attempt in that year, led by the young "Pretender" (*i.e.*, claimant), Charles Edward Stuart. Without hope of foreign aid, the prince landed almost alone, in the west of Scotland. The passionate loyalty of chiefs and clansmen placed him at the head of an army of Highlanders. Edinburgh fell into his hands; the camp of the government commander, Sir John Cope, was surprised and his forces were put to ignominious rout. A few weeks later, Charles was over the Border, marching on London, where wild panic prevailed. But when he reached Derby, counsels of prudence or despair triumphed. The English Jacobites had not risen; the gathering armies of the government were bound to annihilate his force if he advanced unless something like a miracle happened. From the moment the retreat began, the cause was hopelessly lost.



CHARLES EDWARD STUART, "BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE"

There is no more romantic story in history than that of the young Stuart prince who fought in vain for the throne of his forefathers If the devotion and enthusiasm of friends could have achieved the triumph of his cause, then "Bonnie Prince Charlie" would have succeeded, but the nation as a whole had no desire to bring back the Stuart dynasty. Prince Charles landed in Scotland from France in 1745, held court at Holyrood, defeated Cope at Prestonpans, and with 6,500 men marched into England At Culloden on April 16th, 1746, his cause received its death-blow.

From the painting by John Pettie R.A., photographed by Caswell Smith

In spite of a severe defeat inflicted on General Hawley, at Falkirk, Charles had to withdraw into the Highlands. Thither the Duke of Cumberland pursued him, the last hopes of the Stuarts were extinguished on the Field of Culloden, and with them the last hopes of the Scottish patriots who still hankered for separation from England. The government, indeed, aroused considerable indignation even among loyalists by the severity of the treatment which it meted out to the rebels. But the Highlands, where alone a new rebellion might be

From 1746 the history of Scotland was one of increasing prosperity and of brilliant intellectual development. The historian and philosopher Hume; Adam Smith the founder of economic science, James Thomson, the poet of Nature; Macpherson, the editor and forger of the Ossianic poems—these are perhaps the best known figures of this northern renaissance. But they were supported by other writers and thinkers of more than respectable merit, and the day was not far distant when Burns and Scott were to express in their different manners the quintessence of the national character.



AFTER CULLODEN PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD A FUGITIVE IN THE HIGHLANDS

Defeated by the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden, "the Young Pretender" fled to the Western Highlands, where, surrounded by loyal friends, chief among whom was the heroine Flora Macdonald, he evaded capture. After five months' wandering, he escaped to France. The above picture represents the Stuart prince sleeping in a cave on the hillside, while his faithful Highlanders stand by on guard, a reward of £30,000 having been offered for his capture.

apprehended, were disarmed; and the power of the chiefs was undermined by an act abolishing their jurisdictions.

The clansmen murmured against the new rule of peace and law, but the only possible escape lay in emigration to the New World, or enlistment under the colours of the British army. Both courses were extensively adopted, and if, on the one hand, emigrants contributed to the bitterness of the feud between England and the colonies, on the other hand, the Highland regiments, raised by the elder Pitt, became a most valuable element in the British army.

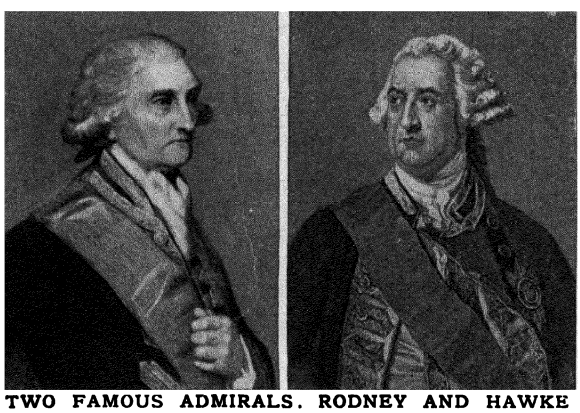
The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle separated England from Austria, the one ally to whom she had been bound by all the ties of interest; for Maria Theresa bitterly resented the pressure which the Pelhams had put upon her to secure her concurrence in the European settlement. And France presumed upon English isolation. Both in North America and in India the pioneers of French colonisation waged unremitting war upon the interests of England. In the New World attempts were made to form a cordon of French forts extending from Canada to Louisiana,

in order that the British might be confined to the eastern littoral, and the colonists of Nova Scotia had cause to complain of French aggressions. Meanwhile Dupleix, the French representative in India, used the feuds and dynastic wars of native states to extend his country's influence throughout the Province of Madras. In 1751 there was open war between the British and French for the ascendancy in the Carnatic. The crisis brought Robert Clive to the front, and after his achievement at Arcot British predominance in the south of India was very soon assured. This success, however, momentous as it proved in the future, did not allay the anxiety of the British Parliament. The interests of commerce formed at this time the all-engrossing topic of debate. There was a general feeling of insecurity. Ministers did not command the confidence of the country, or even of the members who voted for their measures. Many critics asserted that the Whig system of government by corruption had sapped the national morale and energy. Nothing, it was thought, but a great war, conducted by a man of genius, could save the country from the fatal lethargy which had overtaken it. War broke out in America in 1754, and found Ministers unprepared. The death of Henry Pelham left Newcastle confused and irresolute. He could barely manage the selfish groups into which the Whig party was dissolving. The war he was incapable of managing. His nominee General Braddock was defeated and killed on the way to Fort Duquesne in 1755, the Ohio and Mississippi seemed to be lost for ever. Outside Parliament there was the greatest readiness to help the Ministry by private effort. A loan of £1,000,000 was subscribed three times over as soon as floated, large bounties were paid for recruits out of voluntary subscriptions. Newcastle hit by accident upon the popular means of satisfying popular demands. In 1756, by concluding with Prussia an agreement which was really, though not avowedly, directed against France, he prepared an adequate resistance to the coalition of France and Austria, which was forming under the auspices of Kaunitz. But the failure of Byng at Minorca, the capture of Oswego Fort by Montcalm, the fall of Calcutta before Surajah Dowlah in 1756, were events which seemed to stamp his administration as hopelessly inefficient, and to seal the doom of the colonial policy.

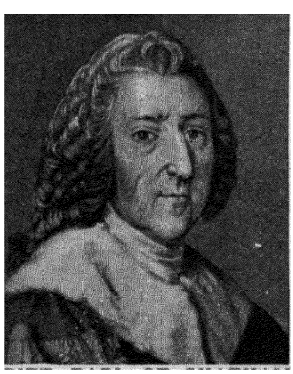
At this juncture he discovered in William Pitt the necessary War Minister. Pitt had been Paymaster of the Forces for a time, but his voice had been chiefly heard in opposition. He was without private influence or official experience; he was known chiefly as a brilliant debater and rhetorician. But he commanded the confidence of the people, and soon showed that



ADAM SMITH
A Scottish political economist, he won fame by his "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations"—a book which influenced the legislation of the period.



TWO FAMOUS ADMIRALS. RODNEY AND HAWKE
These brave seamen reasserted the maritime supremacy of England by the victories of Quiberon and Lagos, the destruction of Cherbourg, and the bombardment of Havre. Rodney was created a peer with a pension of £2,000 a year. Lord Hawke, in 1766, was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty and in 1768 became Admiral of the Fleet



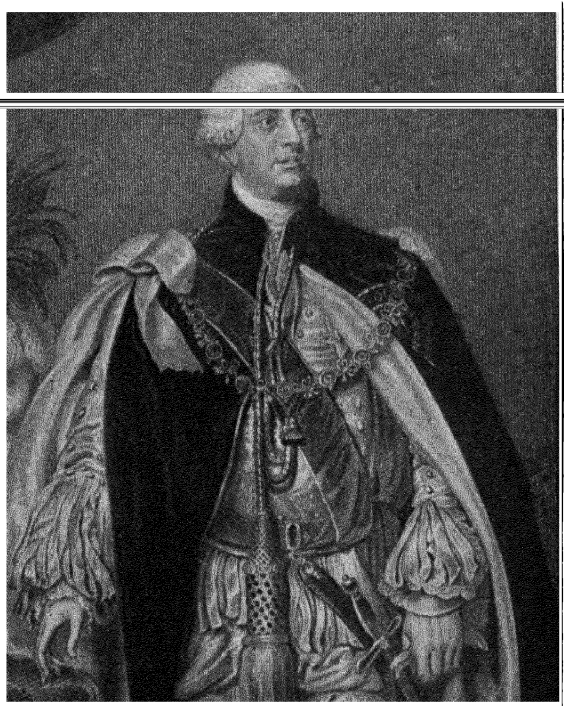
PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM
William Pitt, the great statesman, made his mark in the government of England during a critical period of its history. He was raised to the peerage as Lord Chatham in 1766.



ADMIRAL RODNEY BOMBARDING THE FRENCH TOWN OF HAVRE IN 1759

Anchoring before Havre in the month of July, Admiral Rodney bombarded the town, setting it on fire in several places

their confidence was justified. Ruling the House of Commons by the influence which he borrowed from Newcastle, he was, nevertheless, a democratic leader, who boasted that he had received his mandate from the country, and would render his account to the people rather than to the Crown. His successes were doubly welcome because they were felt to be won in the face of a corrupt party system and an unsympathetic sovereign. Pitt had two great and obvious



KING GEORGE III.

Born in London in 1738, he succeeded to the throne in 1760, and, not content to leave the affairs of the country in the hands of his ministers, took a leading part in its government. He has been described as "brave, honest, and religious," and as representing the "type of the ordinary Englishman." In 1811 he became permanently insane.

defects as a statesman — he was impatient of detail and he spent money with unnecessary profusion. He had an invincible love of the theatrical, which appeared not merely in his private behaviour, but also in his public policy. On the other hand, he grasped the European situation at a glance, and the help, both in money and in men, which he lavished upon Frederic the Great proved the soundest of investments. Pitt boasted, and with good reason, that he would conquer America on the

banks of the Elbe; for France found herself involved in a desperate Continental war which left her powerless to watch the interests of Canada. The Indian victories of Clive and Eyre Coote (1757–1761) owed little to Pitt's direct assistance; but it was the European war which enabled Clive to crush Surajah Dowlah, and Coote to destroy the settlement of Pondicherry in 1761.

The events of Pitt's war ministry can be mentioned only in the briefest way. Hawke and Rodney and Boscawen reasserted the maritime supremacy of England by the victories of Quiberon and Lagos, the destruction of Cherbourg, and the bombardment of Havre. In 1762 the French West Indies were one by one annexed, and the accession of Spain to the side of France was avenged by the capture of Havana and the Philippines. On land Wolfe and Amherst were no less successful in their attacks upon Canada. The former perished, in the moment of victory, at Quebec in 1759, but the reduction of the colony was completed by his colleague in the following year.



QUEEN CHARLOTTE

In 1761, the year after he ascended the throne of Great Britain and Ireland, George III. married Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, whose portrait is given above.

But Pitt's successes were brought prematurely to an end by a change of sovereigns. The old king died in 1760, and the successor, his George III., mounted the throne with a fixed resolve to free the prerogative from the trammels of the Whig ascendancy. The principles of Toryism, discredited in the country and banished from Parliament, had found an asylum in the royal family. The new king had been trained in the theories of Bolingbroke, who from his retirement had consistently preached the specious doctrine that a king should be above all parties, and should choose his Ministers without reference to their connections. The odium which corruption had brought upon the party system emboldened George III. to apply these lessons without loss of time. He sowed dissension in the Cabinet of Pitt and Newcastle, persuaded the majority to vote against the opening of war with Spain, and in 1761 drove Pitt to seek refuge for his mortification in retirement Newcastle was ousted in 1762 and the king's tutor, Lord Bute, was called to the head of the administration.



LORD BUTE

After the retirement of Pitt and Newcastle, the King's tutor, Lord Bute, was called to the head of the administration, and his first act was to renounce the Prussian alliance and to conclude the Treaty of Paris. He died in 1792.

Bute's first act was to renounce the Prussian alliance and to conclude the Treaty of Paris in 1763. The treaty could not fail to be advantageous, but less was gained than the successes of Pitt had entitled the country to expect. Havana and the Philippines were restored to Spain, as having been taken after the conclusion of peace; Guadeloupe, the wealthiest of the West Indies, and Pondicherry, the chief of France's Indian settlements, were abandoned without any valid reason. France surrendered Canada, Cape Breton, Grenada, the Leeward Islands, and Minorca; but she retained St. Pierre and the Miquelons, with valuable fishing rights on the Newfoundland coast, and on the mainland she kept her foothold in Louisiana. The peace was sharply criticised in England. Bute and the queen-mother, upon whose favour he mainly depended, became the most unpopular persons in the country. Bute retired, and a new double constitutional struggle was inaugurated between the king and Ministers, and between mother country and colonies.

ARTHUR D. INNES



THE GREAT HAPSBURG MONARCHY AND THE SUCCESSION OF MARIA THERESA

THE decision of the question of the Spanish succession, the conquest of Hungary, the fact that since the Peace of Westphalia the so-called German inheritance had unceasingly shown a tendency to separation from the empire, made it imperative that there should be some formal constitution of the Hapsburg possessions, a first tentative effort for the formation of a comprehensive state. There was no Austrian state in existence, there was merely a family property, a union of kingdoms and countries, with or without constitutional ties, with or without common interests, brought into mutual relation only through the person of the monarch, possessing the most varied privileges and burdened with the most diverse obligations. The circumstances which had favoured the formation of a great dynastic power proved so many obstacles to the creation of a united kingdom. Many attempts have been made to date the first [illegible] of the kingdom. The permanent union of Bohemia and Hungary to the German Alpine territory, dating from 1526, has been considered a starting point; so have the attempts made at the outset of the seventeenth century to form a general conference of Landtag delegates. The recognition of the hereditary monarchy of the Hapsburgs in the lands of the Hungarian crown in 1687 has been indicated as showing the need for closer connection between the several parts of the Hapsburg estate. But all these phenomena are to be explained as results of the growing power of the nobles, and have, moreover, merely proved the general fact that the formation of independent kingdoms from the several parts of the Hapsburg territory was an impossibility.

The Starting Point of the Hapsburgs

The resumption of the plan of uniting Bohemia, Moravia, and the Silesian principalities under a foreign rule split upon the rock of religious discord, and the Catholic powers were obliged to intervene to secure the hereditary rights of Ferdinand II. The battle of the White Mountain put an end to the Bohemian constitution; that is, to the idea of the Bohemian countries as an independent unity, with their own government, their own military and financial system. Bohemia was then closely united to the German Empire through the person of the prince. Had the Palatinate ruler maintained his ground, he would have been reduced to strengthening to the best of his power the ties which united Germany to the empire and to securing the support of the Protestant orders by making concessions to the empire. In that case the Germanisation of the Czechs would have been brought about through the identity of their Church with that of the pure German countries.

Battle of the White Mountain

The Catholic reaction had been carried out against the revolutionary Protestant parties without any consideration for the direction taken by the tide of national movements. Catholicism neither needed nor desired assistance from German sources, as its strength was based upon the Romance and Slavonic, not upon the German peoples. The conquest of Hungary would certainly have been impossible without the help of Germany and her armed provinces; but the empire had allowed the House of Hapsburg without protest to grasp the advantages gained, because it was itself unable to extend its supremacy over so large and so far distant a country, owing to the lack of an organised administration and of a standing imperial army. The means employed by Brandenburg-Prussia for the amalgamation of its different provinces into one state were impracticable for the House of Hapsburg. It was impossible to introduce a uniform administration for Hungary, Bohemia, and a dozen German duchies and counties with the same rapidity and success as Prussia had attained. The royal House

Obstacles to Hapsburg Administration

of Austria was involved to a far greater extent than were the Hohenzollerns in every European quarrel and complication. For many decades it could have found no opportunity to turn its attention to domestic organisation, leaving aside questions of European importance and abandoning a foreign policy which made for disunion and disruption. Only critics without historical training, who would judge the past by the alien conceptions of the present, would suppose that a dominating position could ever have been attained by the so-called idea of constitutional totality in old Austria, conceived from the point of view of a Roman emperor, who was at the same time King of Hungary, and thought it his duty to uphold his claims of succession to Spain and Naples, to Milan and to the Netherlands.

The Victorious Army of Prince Eugene

A common unity is to be seen for the first time in the army of Prince Eugene. However, it was not the Austrian, but the "emperor's" army which he led from victory to victory. This, compared with the "imperial" army, was a uniform whole, whether fighting in Italy or in the Netherlands. Within the empire it was often subdivided. Troops from special provinces and districts were joined to its regiments, and were commanded by generals who were paid by the empire and not by the emperor. The armed provinces of the empire were far readier to protest against the division of their contingents than was the emperor in the case of his own forces; consequently we can speak of the Brandenburg-Prussian, of the Bavarian, even of the Hanoverian army before we can employ the term "Austrian" army. The diplomatic service of the German Hapsburgs acted in the name of the emperor, as more privileges were thus to be enjoyed. As regards revenue, receipts came in from the most varied sources—feudal aids, grants from the Landtag, subsidies, tithes, general taxes—so that it would have been impossible to draw up a separate balance-sheet for the state revenue of Austria alone.

An Insoluble Problem in Statecraft

The creation of a state without national union, without even a leadership supported by a majority capable of great exertions, could not possibly be the work of a few generations; it is a problem in statecraft which has remained insoluble to the present day. The first steps which brought the solution somewhat nearer could proceed only from the ruling house itself; they consist in the constitutional recognition of the ruling power as a unity and in the securing of the succession in order to obviate disruption.

Ferdinand I. could see no special danger to the power of the ruling house in the disruption and dissolution of his dominion into separate principalities; he considered that the position of the imperial monarch was of overpowering predominance. The master of the inner Austria territories, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, the Count of Tyrol and the possessor of the Swabian and Upper Rhine frontiers, could only pursue the policy marked out by their imperial brother or cousin. The "fraternal quarrel," the party differences between Rudolf and Matthias, show the possibility of strong opposition between the members of one and the same house. Spanish interest in the strength of the German family, and also the interest which the Catholic Church had in the maintenance of Catholicism in the Alpine and household territories, were the motive causes of the supremacy of Ferdinand II. over the possessions of the German House of Hapsburg. The special position of the Tyrol under his brother Leopold was a concession to personal and private rights of inheritance, an indulgence which left no permanent effect upon the constitution, as the Tyrol branch became extinct in the second generation.

The Causes of Ferdinand's Supremacy

Neither Ferdinand II. nor Ferdinand III. had the opportunity of settling the succession to the collective inheritance according to family regulations, as they had only one successor capable of government. Leopold I., however, contributed to the regulation of the succession when he and his eldest son Joseph renounced the Spanish succession in favour of the second son, the Archduke Charles. The emperor then made an openly expressed agreement with his sons, that the succession in the two lines should go by primogeniture; that is to say, that Charles and his descendants should inherit the undivided German Hapsburg lands upon the extinction of the male line in Joseph's family, and similarly Joseph and his descent were to have the whole Spanish monarchy should the Spanish line now founded by Charles become extinct. Should the male

issue fail in both lines simultaneously—that is, before the descendants of either could succeed—then the right of primogeniture was to pass to the daughters in Joseph's line, these also preceding Charles's female issue as regards the Spanish succession.

This pact as to the mutual succession was attested by the three parties concerned on September 12th, 1703, and declared by them to be the expression of a custom previously subsisting in the House of Hapsburg. It was further extended by the will of Leopold I., dated April 26th, 1705, by which he secured his son Charles in the possession of the Tyrol and the land on its frontier, though "without the right of making alliance or war." in case nothing should come down to him of the whole of the Spanish succession. The Emperor Joseph I. died in the prime of life without male issue and without making definite arrangements for his daughters. According to the Pact of 1703, Charles VI. was sole heir to all the Hapsburg possessions, both German and Spanish. He actually entered into possession of both, inasmuch as he extended his power over a considerable portion of the Spanish dominion. Joseph's daughters yielded precedence to his own. For the former, the emperor was bound merely to provide according to the custom of his family.



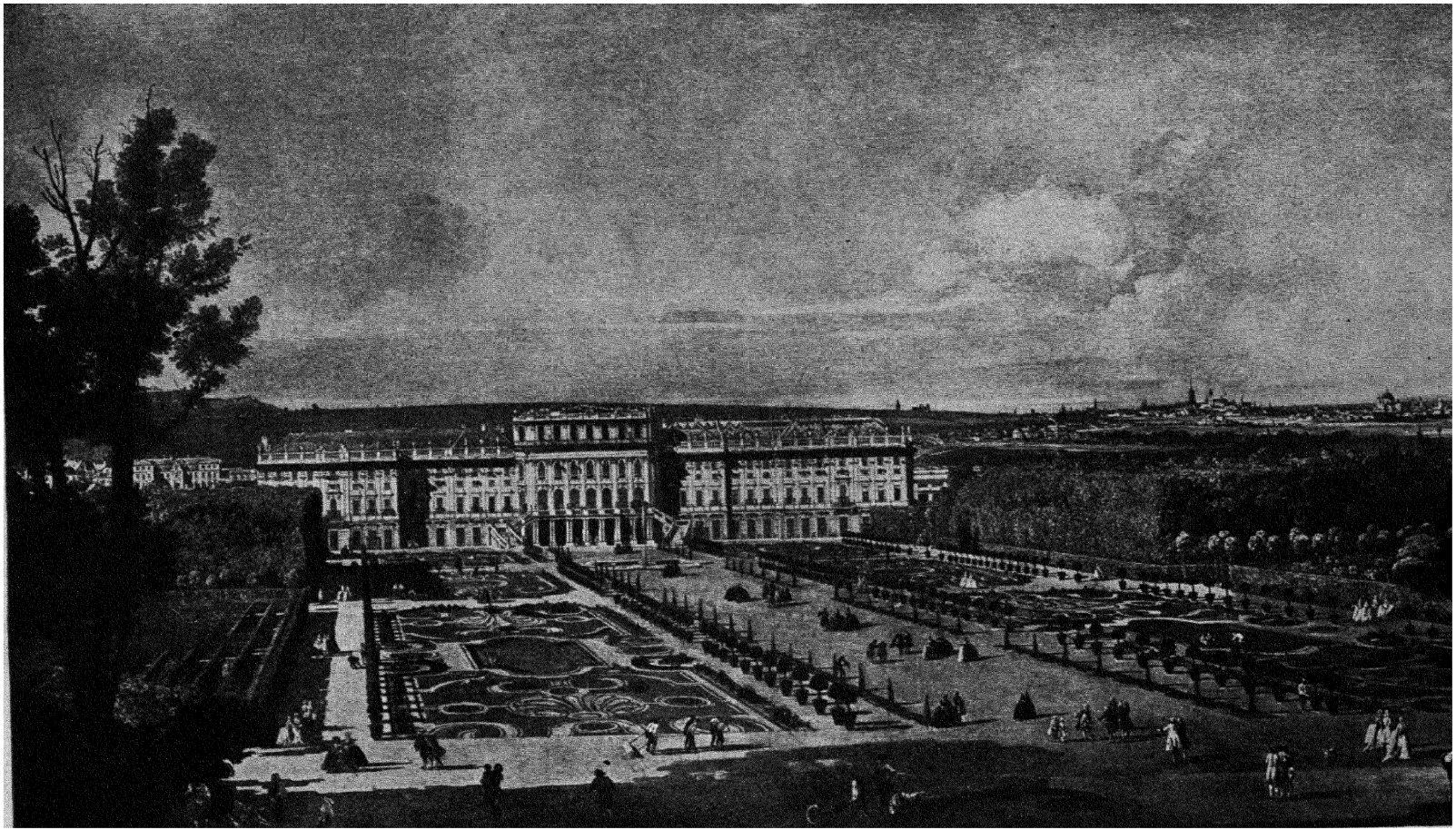
EMPEROR CHARLES VI
He was declared emperor in 1711 on the death of his brother, Joseph I., and added considerably to his territories. The Pragmatic Sanction was the object of his policy.

Joseph's sudden death had thrown the imperial Privy Council into some perplexity as to the fate of his kingdom. They sent a request to Charles, who was still in Spain, asking him for a definite explanation. This explanation was not given until April 19th, 1713, before an assembly of court dignitaries and of the highest officials of Lower Austria. The emperor had the "Pact of mutual succession" read aloud, and then delivered a speech, wherein he laid down that by the arrangement all kingdoms and territories possessed by the Emperors Leopold and Joseph passed to himself, and that "these territories should remain undivided, passing to the male issue of his body in primogeniture so long as such issue should exist, upon the extinction of the said male issue the succession should pass, undivided in like manner and according to the order and right of primogeniture, to the legitimate surviving daughters." Only upon the failure of such legitimate issue of the ruling emperor was the right of succession to pass to the daughters of Joseph, also by primogeniture. This transaction and the emperor's explanation were embodied in a protocol known as the Pragmatic Sanction of the Emperor Charles VI., which is to be considered as one of the constitutional foundations of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The comparatively few words which express the contents of the document determine the permanent union of the territory of the German Hapsburgs in the form of a great power, which union is founded upon the exercise of a uniform government throughout the kingdoms and provinces which compose that territory. The uniformity consists not only in the supremacy of the one monarch, but also in his exercise of the governmental powers vested in himself. These powers proceed, it is true, from his relations with individual kingdoms and provinces, but they are conjoined in personal executive power possessed by the monarch, and are expressed in decrees of uniform applicability. "The right of war, of peace and of alliance"—that is to say, the entire foreign policy—is subject to the exclusive will of the general ruler of the whole area; he alone has the right to raise an army by means of the supplies granted by the kingdoms and provinces, and with this his army to defend the interests of his house and of all the territories in the possession of that house.

Territories Claimed by Charles VI.

The Famous Pragmatic Sanction

The uniformity and universality of the ruling power cease at this point. Nothing is recognised by the Pragmatic Sanction as common to or binding upon the whole state except that which can be immediately deduced from the sovereignty; hence the dynastic powers of the German Hapsburgs were not constituted as a state by the Pragmatic Sanction, although they did constitute a "great power," in view of the influence which they were able to exercise upon the course of European affairs.



MARIA THERESA'S BEAUTIFUL PALACE AS IT WAS IN HER TIME, WITH VIEW OF VIENNA IN THE DISTANCE

From the painting by Belotto

In the solemn declaration of Charles VI. no account was taken of the relations of the sovereignty to individual provinces, for this would have implied the raising of constitutional questions and complications; naturally, the destiny of the whole empire could not be made contingent upon the ultimate issue of these. The numerous provincial bodies politic were by no means on an equality in point of strength, and a compacted agreement with them would not have produced a statute of so fundamental a nature as could be brought about by a simple expression of will on the part of a number of kings, dukes, and princes. By far the easier course was to obtain a supplementary consent from the several Landtags to the emperor's declaration which was laid before them. Negotiations for this purpose were begun in the year 1720, on the infant Archduke Leopold's death. He was the emperor's son, born in 1716, and there was no other male issue surviving.

When the Pragmatic Sanction was delivered to the Landtags, letters were also sent, speaking for the first time of the "object" of the Sanction. Upon the "union" of the kingdom and provinces (so ran the wording) depended the prosperity of the kingdom and the "peace of the populations, provinces, and vassals." Within the government area the proposal was issued for the calling of a "congress of the provinces." The Landtag of Lower Austria urged the advisability of an "hereditary alliance," whereby the provinces as a whole should mutually guarantee their interdependence. Although Prince Eugene was apparently in favour of this method of introducing the general representation of the provinces, yet the government declined to agree, for fear of encroachment and confusion. Proceedings of this kind might arouse misgivings in such cases as that of Hungary, for since 1712 the Croatian provinces had begun to form a closer connection with the provinces of Inner Austria, with which they had many political and economic interests in common, particularly the question of resistance to the Turks; and in this way their constitutional ties with Hungary threatened to grow relaxed.

A "Congress of the Provinces"



THE EMPRESS MARIA THERESA
The daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., she was appointed by her father heir to his hereditary thrones, and at his death, in 1740, became Queen of Hungary and of Bohemia and Archduchess of Austria. She died in 1780.

In Bohemia and in the other hereditary provinces assent to the P[illegible] was given without difficulty, stress only being laid upon the maintenance of "privileges" and of provincial regulations. In Bohemia it was thought unnecessary to make special mention of the peculiar rights of either one of the two nationalities under the empire, but the town of Eger, before which care had been taken to lay the proposals for regulating the succession, associated itself and its territory with the assent given by the Bohemian Landtag, "without detriment to the privileges granted in respect of the Eger pawnmoney by the Roman emperors and the kings of Bohemia." The Tyrol provinces regretted that they were deprived of the prospect of having a resident prince of their own, and demanded that the future [illegible]d should be of "German blood."

Assent to the Pragmatic Sanction

In Hungary, provincial representation was a national and constitutional institution, and had lost but little of the power which it had possessed in previous centuries; hence the discussions in the Landtag of 1722–1723 have a greater importance than any which took place elsewhere in the Hapsburg territories. As early as 1712 Hungary had demanded that every province of the empire should enter into a special convention to recognise their common ruler under any circumstances, and to contribute a fixed sum for the maintenance of the military frontier guards and the garrisons in the Hungarian fortresses, since Hungary was conscious of its position as buffer state between the Turks and the hereditary territories and Bohemia, and therefore desired a guarantee of continued support. Moreover, in the statute wherein the Landtag formulated its decision upon the question of the succession the condition was laid down

that the heir or heiress of the Hapsburg House, whom they were ready to recognise as monarch, was to enter upon the possession of an "indissoluble whole," composed of the totality of the Hapsburg territories. No portion of the hereditary territory was to be alienated by division or in any other manner; it was to form a hereditary whole, including the kingdom of Hungary and its adjoining territory. Thus the Hungarian Landtag of 1722–1723 displayed a dualism in its conclusions, and described its relations to the ruling house and to the non-Hungarian possessions of that house with a clearness and accuracy which gave it an indisputable advantage in all constitutional difficulties over the Germanic-Slavonic-Roman territorial group, which had hitherto been heavily burdened by the difficulty of assimilating certain districts.

Conditions of the Hapsburg Succession

In Hungary the constitutional value of the Pragmatic Sanction was far more highly estimated than in the other countries, whose representatives had accepted the rules for the succession without being fully informed of the importance of the step they were taking, and had missed the opportunity of anticipating the agreement with Hungary by first procuring a settlement of their own affairs and mutual rights and duties. In this case they would have been able to propose conditions to the Hungarian state, under which they would have been prepared to guarantee the desired support. In like manner, unfamiliarity with the historical development of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, an astonishing lack of general political education and of real constitutional knowledge, is the reason why the German liberals of the nineteenth century have made claims upon the common kingdom which it can never hope to meet by reason of its origin and organisation.

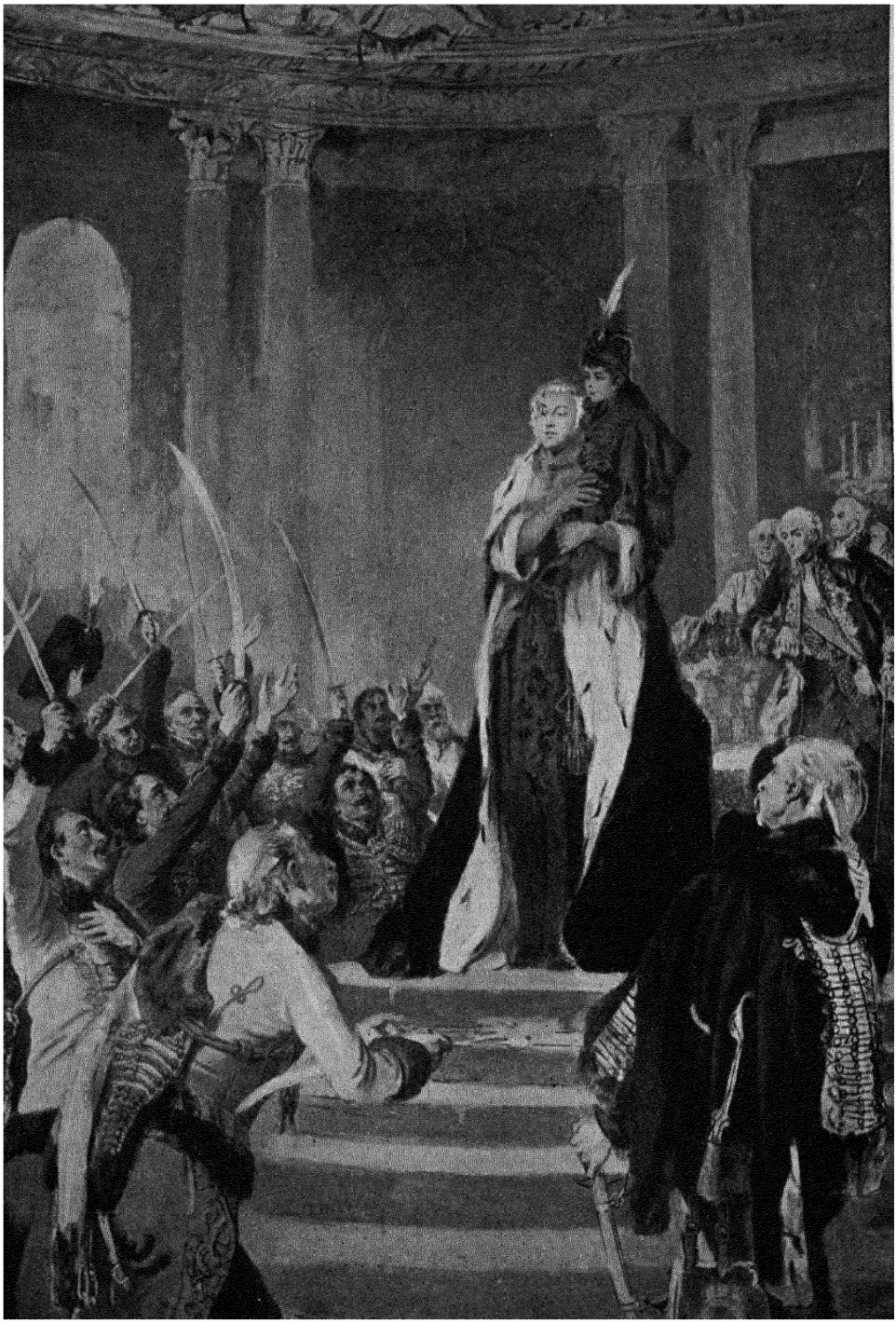
Charles VI. and his council were not inclined to attach too much importance to the expressions of assent received from the Landtags of the hereditary territories. They were by no means penetrated with the idea that the unity of the kingdom and the provinces was wholly indispensable. From the territories over which they ruled they did not think it possible to evolve a state capable of developing sufficient strength to secure its existence against aggression. Only one man believed in this possibility, even as he believed in the high capacity of the imperial army—namely, Prince Eugene, known as the "Savoyard," although he was a true Austrian. It was against his desire that the emperor had subordinated his entire policy to the one object of securing the recognition of his rules for the succession by the European powers. From the Peace of Rastat onwards there was no congress, no treaty, no conclusion of peace—and there was a remarkable number of these during his reign—into which he did not foist some clause upon this point.

Eugene's Faith in the Future

The guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction by the empire was of the highest importance, because the withdrawal of the German-Austrian territory from the empire was thus made possible, and the Hapsburg House gained the right of uniting into a constitutional whole such of its possessions as belonged to the empire, the imperial provinces, and the kingdom of Bohemia, which was "conjoined" to the empire with its neighbouring territory, together with an independent state, such as Hungary. During the negotiations carried on in Regensburg upon this subject the German Empire declared itself entirely on the side of the imperial house, recognised the necessity for the existence of an Austrian monarchy, and showed the connection of the empire with it. "This declaration of assent may be considered as the first compact of the German Empire with Austria, for the Reichstag treats with the House of Hapsburg as with an independent power, for the maintenance of which the empire came forward in its own clearly recognised interests."

Austria and the German Empire

The credit of securing this guarantee belongs to Frederic William I., King of Prussia, who had become the emperor's ally by the compacts of Königswusterhausen on October 12th, 1726, and of Berlin on December 23rd, 1728. It was through his powerful influence that the proposals were carried in the Reichstag in spite of the opposition of Bavaria and Saxony. The tour which he made in 1730 round certain German coasts which had as yet taken no share in the discussions was undertaken with the object of gaining their support for the emperor and of recommending them to concur in the guarantee. Bavaria and Saxony opposed it in vain. Notwithstanding the wavering attitude



MARIA THERESA APPEALING FOR HELP TO THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT

The death of the Emperor Charles VI. was followed by the accession of his daughter Maria Theresa to the Hapsburg territories and by the claims of other powers for a share in these great possessions. Terrified at the approach of the allied army to Vienna, Maria Theresa, with her infant son, who afterwards became Joseph II., fled to Hungary, where she was received with enthusiasm. Appearing before the Hungarian Parliament at Presburg with her son in her arms, she called upon the nation to defend her against her enemies, and, stirred by her appeal, the whole assembly rose, and, drawing their swords, exclaimed, "Our lives and our blood for your Majesty! We will die for our king, Maria Theresa!"

From the picture by Laslett J. Pott

of the Palatinate, they were unable to secure a majority in the college of electors; consequently, the only course open to them was to protest against the resolution of the Reichstag and to declare that it was not binding upon themselves.

Opposition to Female Succession

In consequence, the imperial government could certainly conclude that, notwithstanding the numerous arts of diplomacy which they employed to secure the guarantees, a struggle against the female succession in the House of Hapsburg would inevitably ensue, for the two protesting electors proceeded to lay claim to certain portions of the inheritance upon the strength of their connection with the imperial family. Joseph I.'s eldest daughter, Maria Josepha, had married Frederic Augustus II. of Saxony on August 20th, 1719, and her sister, Maria Amalia, had married Charles Albert of Bavaria on October 30th, 1722. Hence the obvious course of a clever politician would have been to cleave at all costs to the strongest supporter, Prussia, and to bind that country to the interests of the imperial house even at the price of voluntary concessions.

But Austria during the last few years had been slackening the bond between herself and Prussia. Though she had to thank Prussia, and no one else, for the passing of the guarantees, she declined to continue the support which she had previously promised to the king in the matter of the Juliers-Cleves inheritance. To ask that the Austrian statesmen of the period should have clearly foreseen that the foundation of an independent monarchy was incompatible with a permanent sovereignty of the empire would be to ask overmuch of them, although we now can see that to break away from the narrow limits of the provinces of the empire and at the same time to claim supremacy among them was impossible. The time had come when it would be necessary to struggle for influence with the rising military power of the North German state. But from the standpoint of practical politics it may be asserted that the neglect of Prussia was inspired by false conceptions of the strength of the respective parties, and that the loss of the Prussian support was not to be counterbalanced by the dearly bought assent of France to the guarantee. With the death of the Emperor Charles VI., on October 20th, 1740, that royal family became extinct which had been founded by Rudolf I. and carried by Charles V. to the highest pitch of earthly power. The countries which the Pragmatic Sanction had declared to be a political whole were now obliged to act for the maintenance of that measure. It was now to be decided whether the position of the German Hapsburg house should be assumed by the Hapsburg-Lorraine family, which rested on the alliance —May 13th, 1717—of the eldest daughter of Charles VI., Maria Theresa, with Francis, Duke of Lorraine; whether that family should continue to hold in connection the territory of the Hapsburgs in all that wide extent which had made it the equal of powers founded upon a national basis.

The Death of Emperor Charles VI.

The division of the territory was demanded by the Elector of Bavaria, Charles Albert, over whose youth the Emperors Leopold and Joseph had watched with true paternal care during the proscription of his father Max Emanuel. In 1722 he had been privileged to marry the latter emperor's second daughter. He based his claims upon numerous points of relation to the family, the importance of which seemed to be increased by a falsification in the will of Ferdinand I. of Bavaria. He claimed all the family territory, and declared Maria Theresa to be Queen of Hungary only.

Claims on the Hapsburg Territories

The threats of Charles Albert would have been of little moment if Bavaria had not had numerous supporters in Austria itself, and if Maria Theresa had had only this opponent to deal with. But a far more dangerous enemy arose in the person of King Frederic II. of Prussia, who succeeded to the throne in the year of Charles VI.'s death. He denied the validity of the guarantee given by Prussia, as the deceased emperor had not made the return which he had promised. He claimed compensation for the principality of Jägerndorf, which had been lost to his family owing to the collapse of the Winter kingdom, and also for the Schwiebus district, which his grandfather, Ferdinand I., had been forced to cede.

In either case the question of the justice of the claim was to him a matter of indifference. Frederic grasped at the chance of recovering these districts for which there had been so much strife, for he considered that he required Lower Silesia to

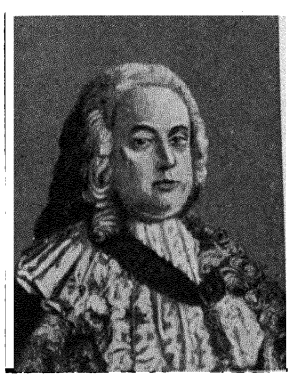
round off his possessions on the Oder, and had no intention of letting slip an opportunity so favourable for his own aggrandisement. He offered Maria Theresa his support against Bavaria, and was ready to vote for the election of her husband as emperor; further, he was prepared to guarantee her German possessions and to pay a subsidy of 2,000,000 thalers for military preparations if Silesia as far as Breslau was ceded to him. It was not an impossible bargain for Austria, and a far-sighted politician would probably have recommended it; but Frederic did not wait for any acceptance. In the middle of December, 1740, he poured 20,000 men into Silesia. At no matter what cost, the Austrian court declined to recognise the legality of an act of mere marauding on a grand scale.



CHARLES ALBERT VII. He was elected and crowned Holy Roman Emperor on January 24th, 1742, although he possessed no territory. He died in 1745.

The young Archduchess and Queen of Hungary, with all the warmth of that ardent character which makes her so attractive a personality, assented to the counsel of the passionate Bartenstein, who declared against the Prussian proposals. She was actuated by indignation against infidelity, real or supposed, by a natural dislike to giving up land or property, and, finally, by the firm conviction that it was her duty to cling to the heritage which she had taken up at all costs. The Hapsburgs were never covetous, but were obstinate in their defence of their rights.

Maria Theresa's stand against Prussia is an act rather of moral worth than of political importance. Her courage and her obstinacy, which proceeded from an invincible trust in God, enabled her people the more readily to see in her house the natural continuation of the old royal family whose sorrows and joys they had shared for the last 500 years. They shared also in her unjustifiable hatred against Frederic, and gave her their genuine sympathy as to one oppressed and persecuted. German from the crown of her head to the sole of her foot, with all the virtues of the German wife and mother, a mistress both dignified and gentle, a stern commander at need, of strong determination, thorough and true in hate and love alike, endowed with that splendid beauty which stirs enthusiasm, it was not only in her native land that she won her people's hearts; even by hostile nations she was speedily known as the "Great Empress." Uncertainty and vacillation, the two deadly enemies to monarchical power, were unknown to her. She may have been deceived as to the forces which she had at her disposition, but she was well aware of the special characteristics of her empire. It was plain to her that Hungary's independent administration must be preserved, whereas the administrative power was to be centralised in the "German and Bohemian hereditary land." Though consenting to coronation, she did not permit the Bohemian constitutional privileges to grow larger, and kept a careful watch upon the uniformity and equality of the administration. Her full appreciation of the value of proper administration fitted her to walk in the ways which lead to the forming of states. With Maria Theresa begins the difficult transition from dynastic to constitutional power, which has continued to our own time. It should have come to an earlier conclusion, but the unjustifiable concessions made by liberalism to the form of the constitution have hindered its consummation.



GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY Francis of Lorraine, afterwards the Grand Duke of Tuscany, married Maria Theresa in 1736, and in 1745 was elected Holy Roman Emperor.

Under Maria Theresa the relations of the ruling house to Bohemia partook for the second time of the character of a supremacy based on conquest. The kingdom had to be conquered by force of arms after it had already submitted to the imperial government. In November, 1741, the Elector of Bavaria invaded Bohemia from Upper Austria, of which he had already gained possession. Prague surrendered almost without resistance, and there he received homage to himself as

king on November 25th. The constitutional representatives of Bohemia then surrendered the rights of the Hapsburg House without scruple. No fewer than 400 members of the Bohemian orders—among them men who bore honoured names—took the oath of allegiance in person, although no irresistible pressure was put upon them. The Bavarian "peoples" would have been considerably embarrassed if the Bohemian nobles, who were ever ready to boast of their dependency upon the imperial house, had remained in their castles and organised a guerrilla warfare instead of hastening to Prague to kiss the hand of the Elector of Bavaria.

It was not until Maria Theresa had made peace with Prussia that she found her power equal to driving the Bavarians out of the country, together with the French, who were supporting them. These latter felt no pricks of conscience in thus breaking the guarantee which they had given to the Pragmatic Sanction. Beaten in the two battles of Mollwitz, on April 10th, 1741, and of Chotusitz, north of Caslan, on May 17th, 1742, she agreed to give up Silesia with the exception of the principalities of Troppau and Teschen and the larger part of Jagerndorf. On the other hand, she was also obliged to sacrifice Glatz—of importance as being indispensable to the agreement with Frederic. However, the treaties of peace concluded at Breslau on June 11th and at Berlin on June 28th, 1742, were not made in an honourable spirit.



PRINCE VON KAUNITZ

Minister under the Empress Maria Theresa, Kaunitz failed to advance the development of the Austrian state and only checked it by renewing hostilities with Prussia.

Hardly had Maria enjoyed the benefits of the pacification, reconquered Bavaria, and convinced the world that her empire was a living reality, when she began to make plans for revenge upon Prussia. She was not attracted by the possibility of gaining Bavaria in place of Silesia, a proposition which might have been mentioned early in the negotiations, the motive being the utter cowardice of Charles Albert VII., who had been elected and crowned Roman Emperor on January 24th, 1742, although he possessed no territory—Maria Theresa's husband would have had to cede Tuscany to the Wittelsbacher as his share of the bargain. By the Peace of Fussen, on April 22nd, 1745, she gave back Bavaria together with the upper Palatinate to the Elector Maximilian Joseph III., the son of the Emperor Charles VII., who had died on January 20th, 1745. She recognised the imperial position of his father, and entered into [illegible] with Saxony, Russia, and France.

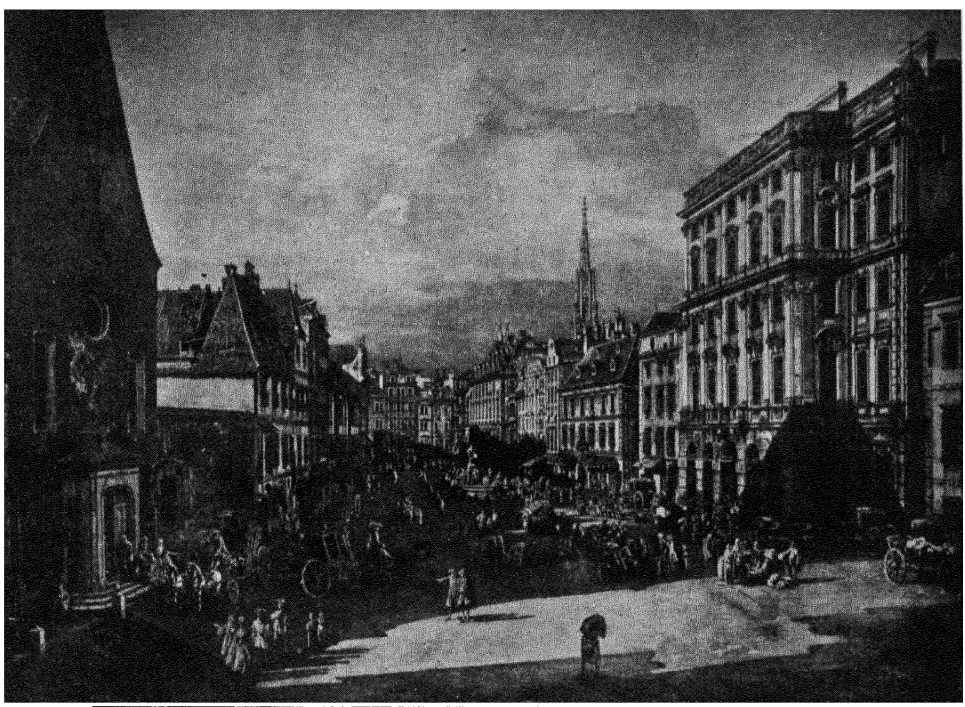
Frederic II. had been already convinced that Austria's alliance with these powers would cost him not only Silesia but also his position in Europe, and made, therefore, his second invasion at the end of August, 1744. At Hohenfriedeberg, on June 4th, and at Soor, on September 30th, 1745, he beat the Austrians, and also the Saxons at Kesselsdorf on December 15th, 1745, and secured his possession of his acquisitions by the second treaty of peace, which was concluded in Dresden on Christmas Day, 1745. Austria gained thereby the recognition of Maria Theresa's husband, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francis, as Roman Emperor. His election had taken place on October 4th, and the consent of the Bohemian electorate was obtained through Brandenburg-Prussia.

The Queen of Hungary and Bohemia thus became empress as the consort of the emperor. In the eyes of posterity the imperial dignity which encircles her is not merely the reflection of the somewhat tarnished crown with which she saw her husband adorned in Frankfort. During her reign a remarkable phenomenon comes to pass, in that her empire gained a title wholly different from that which usually attaches to the word. Maria Theresa really begins the succession of the Austrian emperors, and with her is bound up the conception of an Austrian state.

If after the second Silesian war Austria had considered her quarrel with Prussia as terminated she would have been able to make far greater progress in respect of her internal development. Apart from this fact, a renewal of the alliance with Prussia would have brought about the complete downfall of the Bourbons, and perhaps have made possible the acquisition of Naples. The Minister Kaunitz, upon one occasion—in 1751—put forward these ideas, but relinquished them in face of the opposition of the empress. The policy of

Kaunitz was as disastrous as that of Metternich. Not only did Kaunitz fail to advance the development of the Austrian state, but he checked and interrupted it by renewing hostilities with Prussia. How much might have been attained with the resources which were squandered and wasted in the Seven Years War, under such adroit and prosperous guidance as Maria Theresa displayed in the regulation of her home affairs! In any case, it would not have been necessary to subordinate every requirement of Hungary to the settlement of constitutional relations with neighbouring countries, and with Croatia in particular. The commercial undertakings of Charles VI. might have been renewed. The persecution of the Protestants in the Alpine territories, which were already sufficiently depopulated, whereby valuable productive forces were destroyed, would not have been thought necessary by Maria Theresa had she not thought to discover supporters of the hated Prussian king even among her co-religionists at home

Maria Theresa was, in fact, so completely possessed by her antipathy for Frederic that it absolutely dominated every other political consideration. The historic antagonism of Hapsburg and Bourbon was lost in the personal antagonism of the two German sovereigns. The empress had found herself compelled to acquiesce in the act of deliberate robbery by which Silesia had been torn from her dominion; but she could not forgive it. The formation of a league for the overthrow of Prussia became a passion with her. There were German states which entirely sympathised, and the Russian Tsarina had her own grudge against Frederic, which made her a probable ally. Under existing conditions, neither Spain nor Sweden was likely to affect European military combinations materially, but it was certain that Great Britain and France would be drawn into the vortex. It is scarcely surprising that Maria Theresa sought the French in preference to the British alliance. As a military power on the Continent, France was prima facie the more effective; her armies counted for more than British subsidies, and the incapable Newcastle was at the head of the British Government. France joined the league, while Newcastle was surprised to find himself in the same galley with Frederic.

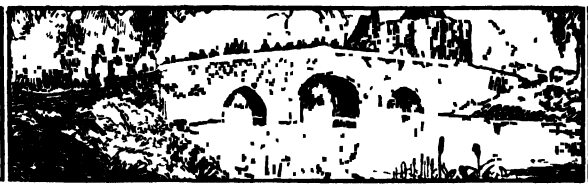


THE MARKET PLACE OF VIENNA IN THE TIME OF MARIA THERESA
From the painting by Belotto



FREDERIC WILLIAM I AND THE CROWN PRINCE MEETING BETWEEN FATHER AND SON

For a time the relations between Prussia's great king, Frederic William I., and the Crown Prince were not of the happiest, the treatment which the son received from his father being of a harsh and humiliating character. But a better understanding was arrived at, and in the above picture an affectionate meeting between father and son is depicted Towards the end of May, 1740, the king became so unwell that the Crown Prince was summoned, but before his arrival Frederic William had slightly recovered and was able to be wheeled out in front of the palace, where he witnessed the laying of the foundation stone of a new building. The king died three days later—on May 31st.



THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRUSSIA

THE KINGDOM UNDER FREDERIC WILLIAM I.

THE fate of a state is sometimes dependent upon the individuality of its princes Even in republics it is impossible for mediocrities to hold the reins of power without inflicting permanent loss upon the nation. Monarchies vary in importance with the capacities of their rulers. Prussia has to thank the Hohenzollerns for the rapidity of her rise. In modern times we look in vain for a family which had produced four important statesmen endowed with creative powers within two centuries. These were the Elector Frederic William and the first king of the same name, and the kings Frederic II. and William I.; and of these four Zollerns, the Great Elector and the great Fritz were men of genius.

It was a long time before Frederic William I. (1713–1740) gained the reputation of a really great king. The period of the Declaration, with its many false ideas upon the nature of the state, did not point him out for praise. It took his own son a considerable time to appreciate his merits. But we from our point of view can see clearly how much Prussia and the German nation owe to him. We see that he strengthened the state, without which there could have been no German unity, and made it able to struggle for its existence; that his son would never have become "the Great" had he not been educated as he was.

Prussia's Debt to her Great King

If it be true that the German schoolmasters prepared the way for the great victories of the nineteenth century, then Frederic William was their prototype—the greatest schoolmaster who ever educated a people and made them equal to the tasks of life. Education of this kind he had none. At the court of his parents there was no one to sympathise with the lofty aspirations which rose in him, and what he saw there filled him only with repugnance. The extravagance which he could not curb incited him to habits of economy, which his mother considered miserly, and condemned in no measured terms. In his early youth he had learned to keep an eye upon every department of business, a training which enabled him successfully to track embezzlement to its source. When he returned from the Netherland campaign of 1710, with energy and insight fully matured, he overthrew the system of Sayn-Wittgenstein and Wartenberg, whereby the public funds had been irresponsibly squandered. To his action is also to be ascribed the banishment of these two untrustworthy Ministers from court and country.

Frederic William as Reformer

When he entered his royal office, Frederic William I. astounded the whole world by the rapidity and the radical nature of his reforms. The Prussians looked upon him as a tyrant, the outside world laughed at him and considered him as scarce responsible for his actions. A strange kind of court, where the state horses were sold, the silver plate melted down, the highest dignitaries fined or treated as common criminals for inaccuracy in their accounts! Was it seemly for a king to rise betimes and spend hours over deeds and accounts, revise expenditure and drill recruits? Should he walk into the houses of the Berlin citizens at dinner-time, taste the food as it was placed on the table, and inquire how much each dish cost? The valuable results of his energy were lost sight of in the consideration of his more obvious demerits - a furious and unbridled temper, bursts of undiscriminating passion, an exasperating suspicion of members of the family as of officials—demerits concerning which the most sinister rumours went about. His wife, Sophia Dorothea of Hanover, was largely to blame for the false reports of Frederic William which were to be heard at almost every court in Europe. She objected to the primitive manners which

How the King was Slandered

the king favoured, and considered the lack of etiquette and the painful stinginess of the court economy as insulting and degrading to herself. The elder children, Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina who became Countess of Bayreuth in 1731, and the Crown Prince—born January 24th, 1712—

The King's Radical Reforms

were materially influenced by the exasperation of their mother at their father's apparent sternness and cruelty. However, at the end of the first decade of the new government it could not be denied that this extraordinary monarch with his corporal's cane had completed a great task. Debts had been paid, the treasury was full, a standing army was in existence the like of which was not to be seen anywhere in Europe, and a centralised system of government had been introduced, which was invariably reliable and accurate in its working and was equal to any demands upon it. The Prussian king was not confronted with such great difficulties as those which hampered Joseph II. in his no less ardent zeal for reform. But it must not be forgotten that the Great Elector had already done away with the claims and privileges of the provinces, that the position of the Hohenzollerns in Prussia was utterly unlike that of the Hapsburgs in Hungary, that the lords of Cleves and of the Mark could be routed with even less expenditure of force than was needed to deal with the Belgian communes, and, finally, that a common faith and nationality made a secure foundation for the construction of a uniform system of administration.



PRUSSIA'S GREAT KING
Prussia will ever be indebted to Frederic William I. He accomplished a great work and astounded the whole world by the rapidity and the radical nature of his reforms.

In spite of these advantages, Frederic William I.'s early attempts to introduce this wonderfully organised administration were not entirely successful. He made mistakes, and often saw his hopes frustrated. A separate financial department for civil and for military necessities proved to be an impracticable arrangement. "The fact that the duties of the officials were often coincident or conflicting occasioned confusion, and laid unnecessary burdens upon the subject." The king readily admitted this fact; he brought the causes of distress in the several districts before the notice of the government officials, and on December 20th, 1722, he resolved upon the constitution of a General Directory, which should henceforward control the whole of the financial business. The advantages of this centralisation soon became obvious to the taxpayers.

Especially beneficial in their effects were the clearness and simplicity of the judicial administration, and the certainty of obtaining justice, which was felt by every one of the king's subjects, no matter what his position. The confidence of the subject was gained by the keen supervision maintained by the king himself over every official and every department. He knew the needs of his people from his own experience and from his frequent interviews with representatives of the most varied classes of society. No social question was ever overlooked or neglected by him. He provided for the support of the poor, drove gipsies and vagabonds out of the country, opposed the encroachments of the privileged citizen classes in the towns, and freed handicrafts from the restrictions imposed by the guilds. What the common-sense and supervision of one man could do for the discovery and reform of abuses was done by this king; he had no theoretical training to guide him, but he had an unusual power of appreciating economic conditions, and was therefore able to free the productive forces of his realm from restrictions and to make them in the highest degree serviceable.

Frederic William was not a "soldier king," although he considered himself to be such, as indeed he was called by the numbers of curious visitors who arrived from all parts to see the giant grenadiers at Berlin and to marvel at the complicated manœuvres which were then practised by every arm of the service. At any rate, he attached the highest importance to the Prussian military forces. He knew perfectly well how it was that his grandfather had been able to turn an influential province into a European monarchy. He recognised that the new German kingdom must compensate for the small extent of its territory by the strength of its armament. As he desired a large and powerful

Prussia in Need of a Large Army

army, he concentrated his political talents upon questions of administration, for he saw correctly that a great military power can be founded only by a well-built and carefully administered state. His father had had scarcely 30,000 men under arms, and even with these had been able to play a very considerable part in the great War of Succession. But he dared not pursue his advantages to the uttermost, because he was unable to cope with an alliance of foreign powers. So early as 1725, Frederic William was able to call out an army of 64,000 men at shorter notice than any other power, and his troops were better equipped and trained than the Austrians or the French. At his death, the standing army consisted of 66 battalions of infantry, 114 squadrons with 18,560 horse, six companies of field artillery, four companies of garrison artillery, and 43 engineer officers. This was the army of a great power.

By the canton regulation of May 1st and September 15th, 1733, service in the royal regiments was made compulsory upon the larger part of the population, so that a supply of recruits and of material for further levies was guaranteed. Even in the first year of his reign Frederic II. was able to raise the number of battalions from sixty-six to eighty-three. And all these troops were armed on a uniform system, admirably drilled, trained in quick-firing, and able to be in marching order within twelve days. When Maria Theresa came to the throne the effective strength of the Austrian army was 107,000 infantry and 32,000 cavalry. But the concentration of these forces was a matter of great difficulty; the various items of equipment were by no means complete, the commissariat was hampered by lack of funds. Hence the Austrian forces were by no means superior to the Prussian.



PRUSSIA'S VIGOROUS KING, FREDERIC WILLIAM, VISITING A BOYS' SCHOOL
When Frederic William I. ascended the Prussian throne he immediately instituted reforms, some of which were so radical and thorough-going as to astonish the whole world. He made himself acquainted not only with the details of government but also with the condition of his people, visiting the homes of the Berlin citizens at dinner-time, tasting their food and inquiring what each dish cost. In the above picture the king is seen paying a visit to a boys' school.

However, Frederic William's attention was not concentrated solely upon increasing the numbers and improving the efficiency of his army; he was also able to secure a higher social position for his officers than was held by the officers of any other Continental army. He was the first officer upon the throne. In the Prussia of

his time the officer's uniform became the king's state dress, and gained a high prestige from that custom. Under him the nobility of his territories, especially those east of the Elbe, became permanently connected with the army, as only by military service could they come under the king's special notice or lay claims to special distinction. Notwithstanding the roughness with which Frederic William was pleased to express his sentiments, he raised the standard of honour among his officers, and strictly maintained it at a high level. The officer was obliged to obey his superior without question, but to this obedience the condition was attached that his "honour should remain intact." Such a spirit was infused into the rank and file that a soldier upon furlough would parade his connection with the army before his village companions with pride. The military forces which Frederic William left to his son were permeated by a strong sense of their common unity.

A New Spirit in the Army of Prussia

He never himself employed the weapon which he had forged. In 1715, when he began the Pomeranian campaign against Charles XII. of Sweden, in which he gained Further Pomerania as far as the Peene, Usedom, and Wollin, the principles of his military organisation had not brought forth their fruit and his great work had hardly been begun. In later years he succumbed to the influence of the diplomacy peculiar to the period, with its restless striving after alliance, its intricate complexity of compacts and guarantees; and even when his claims were entirely justified, he hesitated to throw his power into the political balance. We may well ask what would have been the position of the Great Elector in Europe if he had had money and troops at his disposal to the same extent as his grandson.

Frederic William's last days were saddened by a bitter disappointment. He had concluded the Convention of Berlin with Austria, which had been brought about by the dexterity of Count Seckendorff, on December 23rd, 1728, in the conviction that the interests of the Houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg were at one. He had fulfilled his promises, and it was through his efforts that the Pragmatic Sanction had been recognised throughout the empire. But the conviction was forced upon him that the emperor would not help him to his rights in the matter of the Juliers inheritance, the acquisition of Berg and Ravenstein. He was unable to free himself from the network of intrigue with which he was surrounded. However, after long doubts and years of devouring anxiety, he at length became convinced of the inspiriting fact that in his son he could behold "his future avenger."

Frederic William Saddened by Disappointment

The education of this son, the struggle with his weaknesses, real or imaginary, the painful cure which he imposed for the feeble spirit, the vacillating will of this youth, whose more refined disposition seemed to his father to arouse wishes incapable of accomplishment, even foolish and immoral—the whole of this story might form the basis for a powerful drama. It was not a cruel amusement in which the father indulged at the expense of a child whom he could not understand; it was the execution of a duty which he felt incumbent upon himself as king, which was forced upon him by his theory and conception of the monarch's position. The tendencies to distraction, to study of current literature and art, the desire for comfort and display, which Frederic William observed in the Crown Prince, filled him with anger, drove him to abuse and chastise the young man striving for independence, whom he thought it his duty to hate, though he had a warm love for him in the depths of his heart. His father's [illegible] treatment and the contempt which he showed towards him before all the courtiers and before his military suite drove Frederic to attempt flight at the beginning of August, 1730, in his eighteenth year.

The King's Harsh Treatment of his Son

Desertion was the king's name for this unfortunate plan, which was nothing more than an effort for self-help. A court-martial was appointed to determine the life or death of the future king. In durance vile, Frederic was obliged to await their decision upon his future. On November 6th, 1730, he was forced to behold the execution of his confidential friend, Hans Hermann of Katte, and to have upon his conscience the terrible burden of the death of a true, courageous, and devoted man.

After the inconceivable anguish of these events, it became possible for him to find consolation and renewed pleasure in life by working at the study of the administration in the Küstrin military and departmental offices. The king's

expectations of him are shown by his few words to the Seneschal von Wolden: "He is to do exactly as I desire, to get French and English ways out of his head, and anything else that is not Prussian; he is to be loyal to his lord and father, to have a German heart, to cease from foppery and from French, political, damnable falsity; he should pray diligently to God for His grace and keep the same ever before him, for then will God so dispose all things as to be opportune and eternally serviceable to him." The change in the king's temper, the renewal of his confidence in his son, was brought about by the latter's straightforward repentance and confession that he had done wrong and had led astray the accomplice in his attempted flight.

Then followed the heavy trial of marrying a wife he did not love, whom his father had chosen for him, the Duchess Elizabeth Christine of Brunswick-Bevern. This great sacrifice was made on June 12th, 1733. In the end he was able to live with his wife, if not in complete happiness, at any rate without disagreement, and at times with something of sympathy. His father, too, no longer opposed his mental development, his philosophical and scientific studies, his interest in art; for he recognised that Frederic was a thoroughly efficient officer and an excellent regimental commander. Upon his deathbed, on May 31st, 1740, Frederic William could say to the officers whom he had summoned to take leave of him: "Has not God been gracious to me, in giving me so brave and noble a son?" In the dreams which came to this son, when he found himself opposed to the armies of Europe, he once met his father, as Reinhold Koser relates, at Charlottenburg. He had been fighting against Marshal Daun. "Have I borne myself well?" he asked. And Frederic William replied: "Yes." "Well, then, I am satisfied; your approval is worth more to me than that of the whole world."

The King's Dying Tribute to his Son

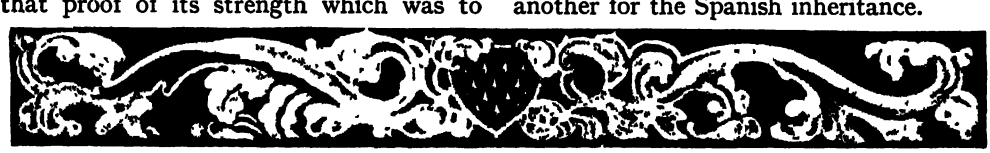
The foundations for the rise of Prussia to the status of a great power had been laid by Frederic William. Frederic II. (1740–1786) recognised the full extent of what had been done, and put the state to that proof of its strength which was to make its importance manifest to Europe at large. This importance consisted in its capacity for carrying out the intentions which had been declared in the foundation of its system—namely, effective resistance to a superior number of great powers. However, the immediate object was the aggrandisement of Prussia in the Oder district, the strengthening of the central district, in which the electorate itself had risen, the strengthening of the Marks on the Havel and the Spree, the securing of Berlin by pushing forward the frontier toward the south-east. There lay the Silesian principality with a Protestant population closely related to that of the Marks.

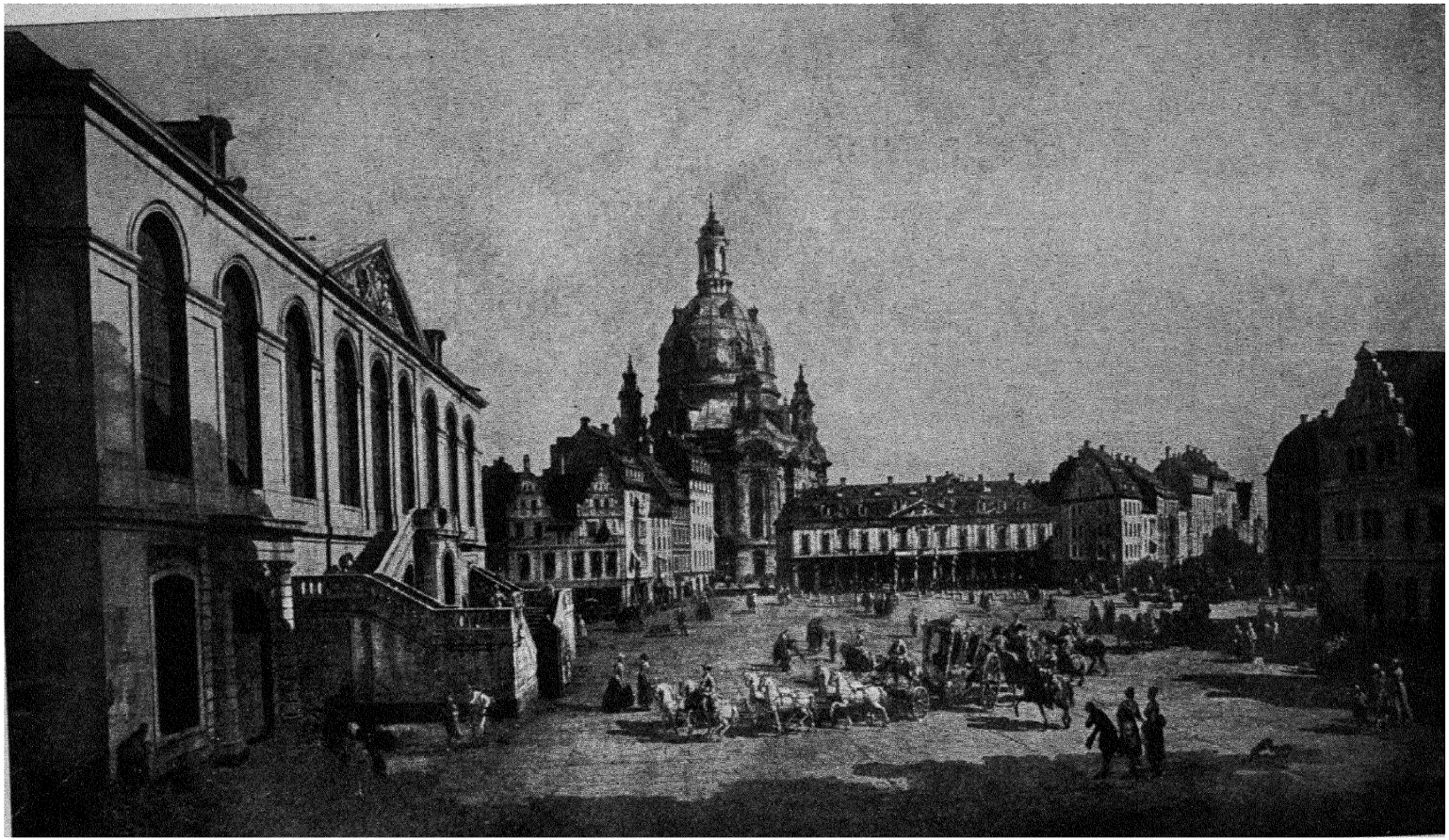
Steps in the Rise of Prussia

For 300 years the Hohenzollerns had been turning their eyes in this direction. In 1523 they had bought the Duchy of Jagerndorf; in 1537 they had concluded an hereditary alliance with Frederic II., the Duke of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, whereby the Great Elector in 1686 had fondly hoped to acquire the Schwiebus district. He had been deceived, as his son had promised to restore this insignificant strip of territory to Austria after his father's death.

In 1694 Austria insisted upon her rights, and did not spare the elector—to whom she was afterwards obliged to concede the title of king—the shame of this compulsory transference. She was formally within her rights; but it was an act of indiscretion which led to disastrous results. By statutes and judgments a state can be neither created nor upheld. Moreover, the period had long since passed when the affairs of the individual, and especially personal claims to the inheritance and amalgamation of territories, could be of decisive importance in such questions as these. Such claims were made only as a means of proposing those demands which a state was obliged to make by virtue of its own necessities. The conception of "rounding off territories as was expedient" was bound up with the practice of "adjustment of conflicting interests," which had become naturalised in every court since the time when the European powers had bid against one another for the Spanish inheritance.

Austria Asserts her Rights





DRESDEN, "THE GERMAN FLORENCE": THE MARKET PLACE OF SAXONY'S CAPITAL ABOUT THE YEAR 1750

From the painting by Belotto in the Royal Gallery, Dresden



FREDERIC THE GREAT

THE SILESIAN AND SEVEN YEARS WARS

ON October 20th, 1740, a few months after Frederic had ascended the throne, the male line of the Hapsburgs became extinct. He had no objection to seeing the Hapsburg territories pass undivided to the successor; he was even ready to lend the support of his army; but he demanded a *quid pro quo*, a cession of territory, which would have enabled his own state to carry on an independent policy regardless of its powerful neighbours. He desired the immediate cession of Lower Silesia, and in return for this he was ready to waive those rights to the Julliers inheritance which his father had so highly valued. A technical excuse was found in the proofs, sound or otherwise, which the old professor, Johann Peter von Ludewig, put together in Halle in favour of the Brandenburg rights to the four Silesian principalities. The question was neither simple nor straightforward, and both sides may have well believed in the justice of their respective claims. But it was enough for Frederic that his demands were dictated by political necessities. If he thought of "rights" at all, it was of the moral claims, arising out of his help to his neighbour, to whom his house had rendered important services, which he had recently declared himself ready to continue to the same or even greater extent.

Frederic's Claims on Silesia

We can easily understand the king's anxiety to turn a favourable political situation to the best advantage. It is no less easy to understand his resolution to secure himself in the possession of Silesia by force of arms, before the negotiations with Austria had begun, because the political talent which has conceived a plan at once begins to calculate the means available for carrying it into execution, and because, of all the possible means whereby territory may be acquired, seizure is undoubtedly the easiest and the most certain. Frederic II. could not but presume that his invasion of Silesia on December 16th, 1740, would almost inevitably lead to war. But for war he was prepared if Austria should reject his demands.

As a matter of fact, he was obliged to employ the whole of the yet untried power of his state to gain possession of Silesia, and therefore exposed himself to the danger of collapse and total ruin. His action is not to be justified by the intrinsic worth of Silesia, but by the enormous importance attaching to the accomplishment of his own will and the maintenance of the claims which he had preferred. The three Silesian wars are something more than a struggle for Silesia. They are the struggle for the success of Prussian policy—that is, the creation of a new German great power. Of final importance for the result were the solidarity of the Prussian system of government, the loyalty and capability of its people in all the emergencies of war and of peace, the moral strength and military qualifications of the king. As a leader the great Fritz not only saved his Prussian kingdom from destruction, but also won the hearts of the Germans.

A Testing Time for Prussia

For how long a time had there been no warrior to rejoice the heart of every honest German? Not since Warsaw and Fehrbellin. The little Savoyard had dealt hard blows, Starhemberg had directed many a fierce charge, splendid songs were sung of Marlborough, but none of these possessed the popularity which Frederic the Great enjoyed. What made so deep an impression was the fact that the fate of the king himself was wholly contingent upon the result of his battles. The same phenomenon recurs in the case of Napoleon I. Moreover, it was a new art of war which Frederic had learned, an art which in some respects developed before the eyes of his contemporaries as he practised it. No poet and no painter has yet escaped the critic's censure, and the truth holds

The Secret of Frederic's Popularity

good of every general and strategist. "Strategy is not a science," as Prince Kraft of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen shows; "it is an art, which must be inborn." Strength of character, power of decision, are elements indispensable to strategical capacity. Study may improve a man's powers, but it cannot make him a strategist. To this he must be born. Frederic the Great was a born strategist. He certainly did not gain much advantage by study; he learned the art of war by waging it. It is by no means generally admitted that he was a master in the art of war. His nearest relation, his brother Prince Henry (1726–1802), has given vent to the severest stricture upon his methods, without consideration for the fact that such criticisms recoiled upon himself



FREDERIC THE GREAT
He succeeded his father as King of Prussia in 1740 On the death of the Emperor Charles VI., he claimed part of Silesia, and, invading that province, defeated the Austrians. He died in 1786.

Now, he is said to have been always ready to give battle; again, we are told in confidence that he was a coward at heart. The contemporaries of Frederic the Great never realised the great strides which the art of war made under him. Napoleon was the first to give him his due merit. Frederic abandoned the system of keeping the enemy occupied by a number of concurrent operations, of inflicting a blow here and there, of driving him out of his positions and so gradually gaining ground. The destruction of his enemy's main power was the object which he invariably kept in view. "Throughout the Seven Years War," says Bernhardi, "in every one of the battles which he planned—battles far more decisive than any of Napoleon's combinations—the object in view was the utter destruction of the hostile army. Such especially was the case at Prague and at Leuthen, where the plan of destruction proved entirely successful. So, also, at Zorndorf, at Kunersdorf, and even at Kolin; to a less extent at Rossbach, where it was necessary to take immediate advantage of a sudden favourable opportunity, produced by instantaneous decision." The first Silesian war coincided with the Bavarian invasion of Upper Austria and the Franco-Bavarian attempt in Bohemia. The Field-Marshal Schwerin won the battle of Moilwitz on April 10th, 1741, owing chiefly to the admirable manœuvring powers and the excellent firing drill of the Prussian infantry. At Czeslau, on May 17th, 1742, it was the king's generalship which brought the campaign to a favourable issue. He it was who decided upon the timely retreat from Moravia; he personally carried out the opportune junction with the younger Leopold (Maximilian II.) of Anhalt-Dessau. The battle was decided by the invincible steadiness of the Prussian battalions. Surprising had been the rapidity of the king's attack upon Silesia, and no less surprising to the allies was the one-sided Peace of Breslau, in which, for the first time, the possession of Silesia was promised to him. In calm confidence as to his own strength, he paid no attention to the irritation and the reproaches of France. He knew that his co-operation in the general war would meet with glad approval should he find himself again obliged to take up arms.

Frederic's Genius in Battle

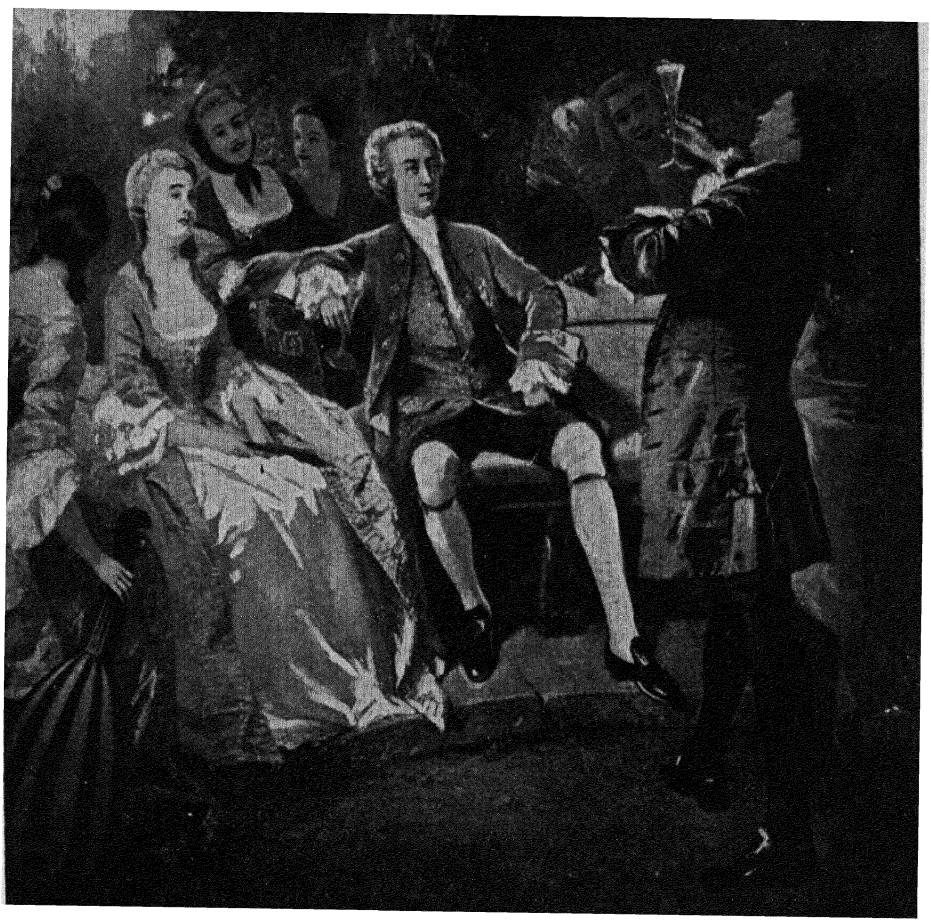
Prussia's Successful Campaign

The conventions which Maria Theresa concluded with Great Britain, Saxony, and Sardinia aroused his anxiety for Silesia. On June 5th, 1744, he concluded a fresh alliance with France, and invaded Bohemia, this being the second Silesian war. In the autumn he was obliged to evacuate the country. However, by a brilliant victory at Hohenfriedeberg on June 4, 1745, he shattered the hopes of his destruction which had been entertained by the quadruple alliance—Austria, Saxony, Great Britain, and Holland. The decision and the simplicity of his arrangements had revived the confidence of the army in their leader whom they did not yet understand.

He was able quietly to observe the advance of the Austrian and Saxon armies over the mountains, until he made a night march from Schweidnitz and attacked the enemy before they could concentrate. The Saxons were overthrown at Striegau before the Austrians could get into line

of battle. They began the fight when they had completed this operation, with their customary loyalty and bravery, but could not resist the fury of the Prussian cavalry; the dragoon regiment "Bayreuth," under Gessler, made a wonderful charge. The victories of Soor on September 30th, and of Kesselsdorf on December 15th, so decisively proved the superiority of the Prussian arms that the empress was again forced

the compact concluded between Austria, France, and Russia—the compact of Versailles, signed at Jouy, on May 1st, 1756—aimed at war with Prussia under any conditions, so that Frederic was forced to anticipate the attack of an overwhelming force, or whether Frederic made the existence of an alliance which in no way threatened himself an excuse for carrying out the conquest of Saxony, upon which



THE YOUTHFUL FREDERIC THE GREAT AT RHEINSBERG
From the painting by W Amberg

to yield Silesia in the Peace of Dresden on December 25th, 1745. Frederic did not attempt to disturb the position of the Austrian House in Germany, and recognised the imperial dignity of Francis I., the husband of Maria Theresa.

Even till recent times the most divergent opinions have been held upon the outbreak of the Seven Years War, which Prussia began by invading Saxony on August 28th, 1756. The question is, whether he had determined long before. On January 16th, 1756, the compact of Westminster was concluded at Whitehall between Prussia and Great Britain, which it was hoped would bring about a rapprochement with Russia, at that time in alliance with England. Even Frederic could hardly have foreseen that the only result of the compact would be to arouse Elizabeth's dissent and to the Austrian Hussars withdrawal of Russia.

maintain that if Frederic had not himself anticipated the outbreak of hostilities, Prussia would have been left in undisturbed possession of Silesia, and that the policy of Count Kaunitz would have made it unnecessary for him to defend his acquisition. It was impossible to pass by this short cut through the protracted operation of defining the internal relations of Germany; and whether the path was entered earlier or later is a question of very minor importance. Entirely independent of this question is the deep impression made by Frederic's personality upon the German nation.

How Frederic Impressed the German Nation

That impression is founded upon the fact that the great king and his loyal people fought for seven years against the five greatest powers, who in mere point of numbers were far superior to them—Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, and the German Empire—that they survived the bitter struggle, and were not crushed to the earth. It does not detract from the brilliance of Frederic's splendid resistance to the circle of foes that it would not have been possible without the gold which Britain provided, together with the fact that after 1757 his Anglo-Hanoverian allies absorbed the attention of France—an aspect of the question dealt with in another chapter. Whether Prussia had only herself to thank for the war, or whether it was forced upon her by her enemies, the fact remains that it was a heroic fight of the weak against the strong, which excites admiration and has caught the fancy and imagination of those contemporary with it. "A true instinct guided the German people even in paths where the way could not be clearly seen or the landmarks noted; that instinct taught them that upon this struggle their all was staked, that once again the past, as in the Thirty Years War, was summoning all her strength to destroy the future of Germany. Every mind which strove to cast away the narrow trammels of German intellectual life at that time, and to rise to a future of greater freedom, splendour, and beauty, ranged itself upon Frederic's side—the youthful Goethe and the older Lessing, who had now risen to the full height of his powers."

Great Forces on the Side of Prussia

At the outset the war was brilliantly successful. Saxony was occupied and its army forced to surrender at Pirna, on October 16th, 1756. By the victory of



NG: FREDERIC THE GREAT RECEIVING HIS PEOPLE'S HOMAGE
From the painting by Adolph Menzel

Lobositz on October 1st, Frederic opened the way for his march into Bohemia. On May 6th, 1757, he defeated the Austrians at Prague, in which battle Schwerin was killed, advanced to besiege the town, and then turned upon the army which was advancing to its relief under Daun.

At Kolin, on June 18th, 1757, his impetuous advance received its first check. The victory of the Austrians is to be ascribed rather to the bravery and endurance of their troops, especially those of Saxony, than to the combinations of the general, and principally to the fact that Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau misunderstood an important order from the king, and made a movement which thwarted his plans. This victory speedily freed Bohemia from the enemy. After the defeat, which had utterly crushed the spirit of his generals, Frederic alone retained his perspicacity and presence of mind He saw that he must give up the bold offensive movements which he had hitherto carried out, and act upon a general method of defence, to be maintained by offensive measures upon occasion. However, he did not give up the advantages to be gained by keeping his troops in the enemy's country until the last moment, and remained in Bohemia until he was forced to retreat upon the Lausitz by the advance of Prince Charles Alexander of Lorraine and Bar upon Silesia.

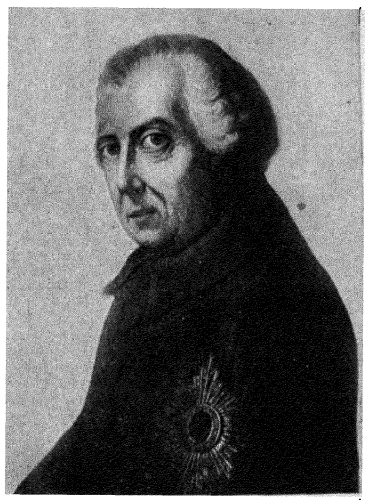
Frederic left his brother Augustus William—the father of Frederic William II.—in charge of the defence of the line of the Oder, and having successfully induced the Austrians to give battle at Zittau, he crossed the Elbe at Dresden, in order to repulse Soubise, who had joined the imperial army. Their advance upon the Elbe was an important movement, in view of the fact that the Anglo-Hanoverian army, under the Duke of Cumberland, had been defeated by a French army under Marshal Richelieu, and had been forced to capitulate at Closter Seven, on September 8th. Frederic, however, had already determined to act on the defensive only against the French, and to attack the Austrians, who were making rapid progress in Silesia, when Soubise gave him, on November 5th, 1757, the opportunity of fighting the battle of Rossbach, one of the most welcome victories ever gained by a German army Frederic's intellectual superiority made it an easy task for him to cut through the slow enveloping movement of his opponents by a single adroit manœuvre. The brilliant charge of the Seydlitz cavalry then routed and put to flight the 43,000 men who were attacking 8,500 Prussians. The French fled to Hesse and Frankfort, the imperial troops to Franconia. The Anglo-Hanoverian army, now placed under the command of Ferdinand of Brunswick, held the French attacks in check on the west through the remainder of the war.



FREDERIC THE GREAT ON THE BATTLEFIELD
From the painting by Adolph Menzel

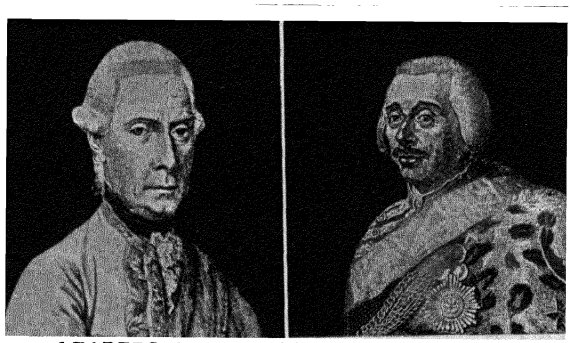
But the danger of losing the whole of Silesia was now extreme, and a movement was accordingly made in that direction. A brilliant raid of the Austrian hussars

to Berlin had no real military importance, but it showed with appalling clearness how far the enemy's lines had been pushed towards the capital. Two months later the army commanded by the Duke of Brunswick-Bevern had been several times defeated by the Austrians and driven back to the walls of Breslau. On November 22nd, 1757, they were there attacked in their entrenchments and forced to retreat from the right bank of the Oder. As the king was hastening from Saxony to Silesia, he was met by messages of misfortune upon misfortune; first, the loss of the battle, and two days later the capture of the Duke of Bevern and the surrender of Breslau without attempt at resistance.



FREDERIC THE GREAT IN OLD AGE

On December 2nd Frederic joined the remains of the defeated army. His forces now amounted to 22,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, 96 light battalion guns, and 71 pieces of heavier artillery. The only possibility of saving Silesia lay in striking a decisive blow. Who before Frederic would have dared the venture? However, his mind was made up, even before the Austrians had determined to march against him. Charles of Lorraine had urged the policy of attack, in spite of the advice of the cautious Daun, who would have preferred to await the king in security at Breslau. Charles seems not to have desired to bring about a battle, but to have been convinced that Frederic would be forced to evacuate Silesia forthwith, when he found the vastly superior Austrian army in motion against him, consisting of 90,000 men, including the Würtemberg and Bavarian contingents. On December 5th, 1757, the king saw from Heidau the long battle line of his enemy, extended over the space of a mile. Before their eyes Frederic concentrated almost his entire force against the Austrian left wing after his own left had made a successful attack upon the Saxon advanced guard, which was not pushed home. Daun and the Duke Charles did not perceive Frederic's plan when their left wing was vigorously attacked and thrown back upon the centre at Leuthen. When the duke brought up reinforcements from the right wing, the cavalry were broken by the charge of sixty Prussian squadrons who had been standing under cover. There was no protection for the centre, and an utter rout was the consequence. The Austrians lost 21,000 men (12,000 of them prisoners), 116 guns, 51 standards, and 4,000 waggons. The price paid by the Prussians for the victory was 6,300 men and 200 officers.



LEADERS IN THE SEVEN YEARS WAR

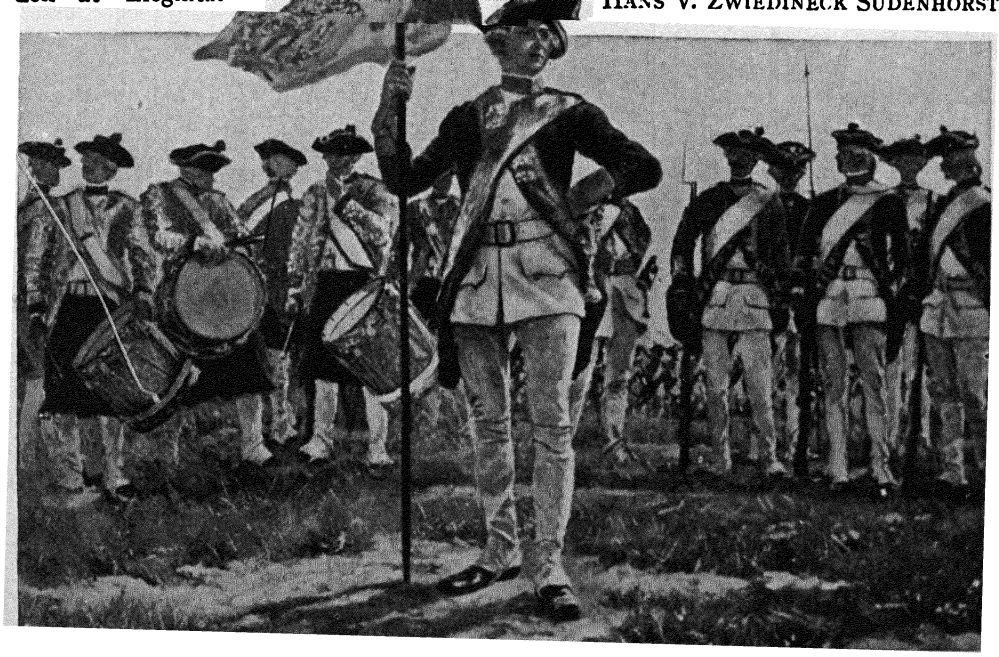
Ernst Gideon Baron von Laudon, whose portrait is first given, entered the Russian service in 1732 but later exchanged into that of Austria. He displayed great talent in the Seven Years War, and also as field-marshal in the war against the Turks. Hans Joachim von Zeiten also distinguished himself greatly in the Seven Years War.

The result of the victory of Leuthen, the most complete and remarkable which Frederic ever gained, was equalled only by the skill with which it had been won. The king had directed his blow against the hostile power so as to drive it from the Bohemian line of retreat in a north-easterly direction, and the defeat consequently produced entire confusion. Charles of Lorraine brought only 35,000 men back with him across the mountains. Eighteen thousand fled to Breslau, where they were forced to surrender on December 21st. The whole of Silesia was evacuated as far as Schweidnitz. The action of a leader of genius, who addresses himself to the heaviest

tasks, and at the decisive moment calmly chooses the means calculated to produce the required result, was never more brilliantly displayed. The victor of Leuthen was henceforward indestructible. The campaign of 1757 is typical of the whole war. The king acted prematurely in supposing that the retreat of the Russians from Prussia implied their retirement from the alliance with Austria By calling up the division of the old Field-Marshal Hans von Lehwald he made the kingdom the theatre of the war from that time onward. In spite of the redoubled attack of Seydlitz, he was unable to gain a victory at Zorndorf on August 25th, 1758. Until the autumn of 1760 Frederic was able to prevent the junction of the armies of Laudon and Daun. The amalgamation of these forces would have been his inevitable ruin. On August 15th he succeeded in checking Laudon at Liegnitz. On November 3rd fortune smiled upon him at Torgau, where Zieten snatched a victory from the Austrians which they had thought within their grasp, and forced Daun to retreat upon Dresden. In 1761, ill-feeling between Laudon and Alexander Borrissovitch Buturlin saved him from being overwhelmed by 130,000 Austrians and Russians at Bunzelwitz, from August 18th to September 9th. There was no other decisive battle. The war ran its course until the death of the Empress Elizabeth, 5 January 5th, 1762, and the definite retirement of Russia brought its conclusion near, in spite of the defection of England under Bute's administration. The Peace of Hubertsburg on February 15th, 1763, caused no change in the distribution of territory in Germany. However, it secured Prussia for the third time in possession of Silesia, and so paid her the price for which she had spent her power. The imperial throne was secured to the house of Maria Theresa and with the assent of Brandenburg her son was elected at Frankfort, March 27th, 1764.

Frederic, King of Prussia, has become a German national hero. He did not appreciate the future open to the nation which sang his praises; but he made his will to be law from the Baltic to the Alps.

HANS V. ZWIEDINECK SUDENHORST



THE STANDARD-BEARER OF THE PRUSSIAN ARMY



GREAT ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS FROM DEFOE TO GOLDSMITH



GREAT BRITAIN AND THE AMERICAN WAR

THE REVOLUTION IN NATIONAL INDUSTRY

THE primary purpose which George III. set before himself on ascending the throne of Great Britain—a nation at last united and loyal throughout to the reigning dynasty—was to re-assert the personal power of the monarch. The old scheme of meeting the claim of parliamentary rights with the claims of royal prerogative was dead and done with. The new scheme was for the Crown to acquire in Parliament itself the ascendancy which the exigencies of the Revolution had bestowed upon the dominant Whig families. To that end the two great obstacles were the personality of Pitt and the remains of solidarity among the Whigs. Out of a further disintegration, the Crown might hope to extract a dominant party of its own.

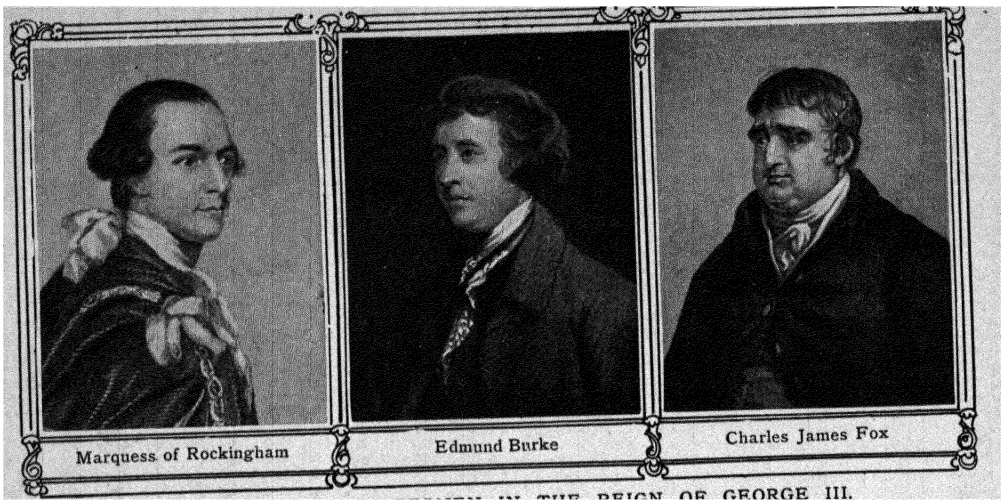
With the overthrow of Pitt, the king had won the first battle for ascendancy. But it was easier to break and disunite the dominant party than to find another which should be at once submissive to the royal views and respected in the House of Commons. Several experiments of an unsuccessful and sometimes humiliating character had to be made before George III. discovered a Prime Minister after his own heart. The great parties of the past, those which had opposed and supported the programme of the Revolution, no longer existed. In their place stood groups of politicians, united by attachment to a great name or fortune, returned to Parliament, as a rule, by the patrons whom they followed, and more concerned to secure a place or a pension than to study the situation and needs of the nation. The process which led to the victory of the king caused England, between ephemeral Ministries and a legislature partly corrupt, partly apathetic, to drift towards a crisis compared with which the last two wars were trivial. Lately the arbiter of Europe, she was to be exposed to humiliation at the hands of her own colonies. The causes of friction between the mother country and the American colonies can be traced back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. The different settlements, which extended from Massachusetts in the north to Georgia in the south, had been founded at different times and by very various types of men. Some had emigrated to escape from religious persecution; some had left England burdened with debt or the sense of failure in the profession which they had originally chosen; others, again, were the younger sons of landed families, others felt the desire for a life comparatively untrammelled by convention. Not a few were natives of Ireland or Scotland, whom the real or fancied wrongs of their native land had driven into exile.

Britain Drifting towards a Crisis

Colonists From the Old Country

But all the colonists, whether patriotic or the reverse, whether they had prospered or failed, whether they had been well or ill treated in their mother country, were moderately well contented to remain dependent on the British Crown so long as they were allowed to manage their own affairs through elected legislatures. In all the colonies, whether proprietary or formed by independent enterprise, there was a passionate love of freedom; all had imitated to some extent the forms of English government, had preserved the English common law, and had cherished the traditional English mistrust of the executive. In each colony the head of the executive was a governor appointed by the Crown or the proprietor; and the acts of this official were watched with the more jealousy because he represented an authority extraneous to the colonies themselves. Hardly less acute was the jealousy which each colony entertained for its neighbours. It was well nigh impossible to secure concerted action between the colonial Parliaments. Their members could hardly conceive of co-operation except as entailing loss of

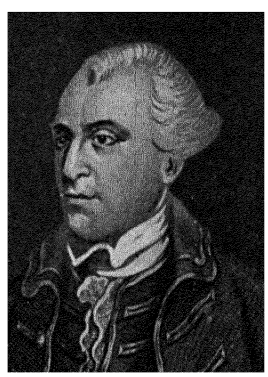
Jealousy in the Colonial Parliaments



THREE EMINENT STATESMEN IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

The Marquess of Rockingham, as leader of the Whig Opposition, was called upon to form a Ministry in 1765. He resigned in the following year; in 1782 he again became Premier and died the same year. Burke's introduction to parliamentary life began in 1765 when he became private secretary to the Marquess of Rockingham, and his eloquence soon won for him a high position in the Whig Party. During the American War Charles James Fox strongly opposed the coercive measures of government, when Pitt came into power a long contest between these two statesmen began.

independence. This was the more unfortunate because in the French power they had a common enemy. The attempt to connect Louisiana with the Great Lakes had been an equal menace to all. Nor could the danger have been averted but for English help. The colonies contributed less than was expected to the work of conquering Canada. Now that Canada had become a British dependency they were inclined to think of the danger as finally removed; they resented the policy of the home government in maintaining a permanent military force for their protection, and they were disinclined to find money for this object. They considered that England derived from the Navigation Laws sufficient advantages to reimburse her for whatever expense she had incurred on their behalf; and they resented even that degree of control to which they had been subjected from their first foundation. "England," said Vergennes, after the conquest of Canada, "will soon repent of having removed the only check which kept her colonies in awe. She will call on them to contribute towards [illegible]; the burden they have helped to bring upon her, and they will answer by shaking off all dependence."



JOHN WILKES
His political career began when he was elected for Aylesbury in 1757 as a supporter of Pitt. He met with varied fortunes during his life, which came to an end in 1797.

The prophecy was soon fulfilled. Grenville, one of the Ministers whom George III. endeavoured to train in his own views, resolved that the colonists ought to bear a part of the burden represented by the national debt. Finding that a more rigorous collection of the customs at colonial ports would not yield the sum that he thought proper, and having utterly failed to obtain the promise of adequate votes from the colonial legislatures, he persuaded the English Parliament, in 1765, to impose a stamp tax in the colonies. There could be no doubt that Parliament possessed the legal right to do this. But the colonists treated the tax as the opponents of Charles I. had treated ship money. They denied the legality of the Stamp Act, and roused in the mother country a feeling of irritation which threatened to overcome all prudential motives. The successors of Grenville's Ministry, the Rockingham Whigs, saved the situation by repealing the obnoxious Act before the quarrel had become irreparable. But this concession, in 1766, was accompanied by a Declaratory Act asserting the abstract right of Parliament to levy taxes on the colonies as a formal concession on the part of the

Ministry to offended national pride. No practical consequences were intended to follow from the declaration of right. But the next Cabinet had the temerity, in 1767, to impose a duty upon tea and other goods imported into America. It is one of the ironies of history that Chatham, the most vigorous defender of colonial independence, was the nominal chief of this administration. But he was incapacitated by illness, and remained unconscious of the hare-brained scheme until the mischief had been done. It is true that the right of England to impose customs, as distinct from excise duties, had been admitted in the past, and that the new taxes were a flea-bite as compared with the restrictions of the Navigation Laws, which the colonists endured with patience. But American suspicions had been aroused by the Declaratory Act, and the colonists were flushed with their recent victory. New protests poured in; there were squabbles with governors and affrays with British troops. It became necessary for the Government of George III. to choose between submission and the use of force. The government had now fallen completely into the king's hands. During a series of weak administrations he had kept control of patronage, and by systematic corruption had organised in the House of Commons a party of "King's Friends," upon whom he could rely for unwavering support. It made little difference to him that Parliament had ceased to represent the nation, and that Middlesex, the most important of the free constituencies, had twice returned to Parliament a notorious profligate, John Wilkes, for no better reason than to attest their satisfaction at the virulent attacks which his newspaper delivered on the



DEFENDER OF GIBRALTAR
After serving in the Continental wars, George Augustus Elliott was, in 1775, appointed Governor of Gibraltar, which he heroically defended against the French and Spanish.

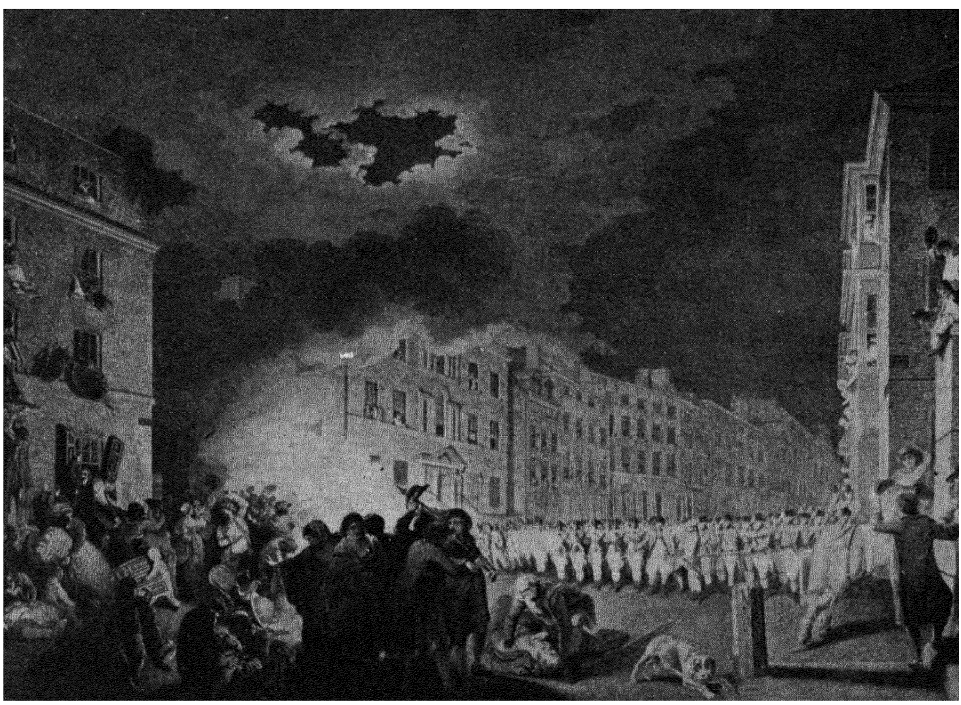


THE LAST SPEECH OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS
The scene represented in this picture took place in the old House of Lords—the Painted Chamber—on April 7th, 1778. The Earl of Chatham, then in his seventieth year, had spoken against the recognition of the independence of the American colonies, and when attempting to rise in order to reply to some criticism of his speech, he fell back in a convulsive fit and was carried from the House. He died about a month later and was buried in Westminster Abbey.
From the painting by J. S. Copley, R.A., in the National Gallery

Government. Still less was the king moved by the satire and argument of the constitutionalists. The letters of Junius, an anonymous writer of no common order, exposed every member and measure of the Ministry to ridicule.

Edmund Burke published one of the most famous pamphlets, the "Thoughts on the Present Discontents," to prove that the new system of personal government was fatal to liberty and political morality. To such attacks the king responded by bringing into power Lord North, a man whose

The colonies were now in arms for the principle that without representation there should be no taxation. In 1773 a Boston mob destroyed the cargoes of English tea which were lying in their harbour. An attempt to make the whole community of Boston responsible led to the summoning of an inter-colonial congress; the cause of Boston became that of all the colonies in 1774. North now began to think of retreat, but it was too late. In 1775 a new congress assembled to prepare for armed resistance; it was immediately followed by an attack



FATAL RIOTS IN LONDON STREETS THE GORDON RISING IN THE YEAR 1780
The passing of a Bill in 1778 for the relief of Roman Catholics from certain disabilities gave rise to riots in the city of London. Headed by Lord George Gordon, 50,000 persons marched to the House of Commons on June 2nd, 1780, to present a petition for its repeal. For five days dreadful riots took place, many Catholic chapels and houses being destroyed. The troops were called out, the above picture showing the Honourable Artillery Company, under Sir Barnard Turner, in Broad Street. No fewer than 210 of the rioters were killed, 248 wounded, 135 arrested, and 21 executed.
From the painting by Wheatley

genuine abilities, good humour, and political experience were marred by a blind deference to the wishes of his master. The king and North might have assuaged the popular indignation against the colonies. They chose rather to inflame the mutual ill-will of the disputants. At first they preserved the appearance of conciliation by repealing all the new duties except that on tea. It did not make any practical difference whether they excepted one tax or left the whole number still in force.

on British troops at Lexington, by the siege of Boston, and by the repulse of the besieging colonial army from their position on Bunker's Hill. From these beginnings blazed up the War of Independence (1775–1781), of which the events will be related in a later volume. It was a struggle in every way discouraging to England and damaging to the national prestige. The British armies, separated by enormous tracts of sea from supplies and reinforcements, had a hopeless task before them;



GIBRALTAR UNDER SIEGE THE HEROIC DEFENCE OF THE ENGLISH AGAINST A COMBINED FRENCH AND SPANISH ATTACK

By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 England came into possession of Gibraltar. Years later she was called upon to defend this formidable fortress against France and Spain, whose fleets and armies vainly besieged it for nearly four years. The Governor, George Augustus Elliott, afterwards Lord Heathfield, defended the place with conspicuous ability The above picture illustrates an incident on September 13th, 1782, when the enemy conducted their assault from floating batteries, but the flotilla was set on fire and terrible destruction followed.

From the picture by J S Copley, R A , in the Corporation Gallery, London

for although the colonies decided to secede only by the barest of majorities, the loyalists had little power to help the royal forces, and there was no one centre of the rebellion at which a blow could be delivered with fatal effect. But, allowing for these disadvantages, the generals of George III. made a poor use of their resources; and the war revealed a portentous decline in the efficiency of the navy. It may indeed be said that the war was lost at sea, for, when France joined the cause of the colonies, in 1778, her fleet patrolled the coast of North America with such success that no adequate communications could be maintained with England, and the West Indies were reconquered one by one.

America's Struggle for Freedom

Moderate statesmen urged that measures of conciliation should be tried, Burke arguing that no taxes could ever compare with the profits of the colonial trade, and that expediency must be considered before questions of abstract right and justice, Chatham taking the line that America had been treated like a slave, and must be compensated with complete acknowledgment of her freedom from control. Had Chatham been recalled to power this generous attitude and the glamour of his reputation might have prevented the final separation. But he died in 1778, after delivering in the House of Lords a last impassioned protest against the royal policy; and North remained in power till the end of the war.

The struggle, so far as America was concerned, closed with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781. The national pride was slightly soothed by the subsequent successes which Rodney gained at sea over the French, and by Elliott's heroic defence of Gibraltar against the Spaniards in 1782. But it was obvious that the prize for which Great Britain had fought must be abandoned; the more obvious because Ireland, after well nigh a century of Protestant ascendancy and subjection to the British Parliament, was visibly verging upon armed rebellion. The Rockingham Whigs, who had done their best to prevent the war, were called into power that they might bring it to an end. The negotiations which they opened were terminated by the death of their leader, the most honourable and consistent party leader of the eighteenth century; but in 1783 the Treaty of Versailles, with France and with the colonies, was at length concluded. The colonies, under the title of the United States, were recognised as independent. France and Britain made a mutual restoration of conquests, except that France retained Tobago and Senegal. Spain was pacified with Minorca and Florida; but Gibraltar, of which the vast strategic importance was now fully recognised, remained in British hands.

The United States of America

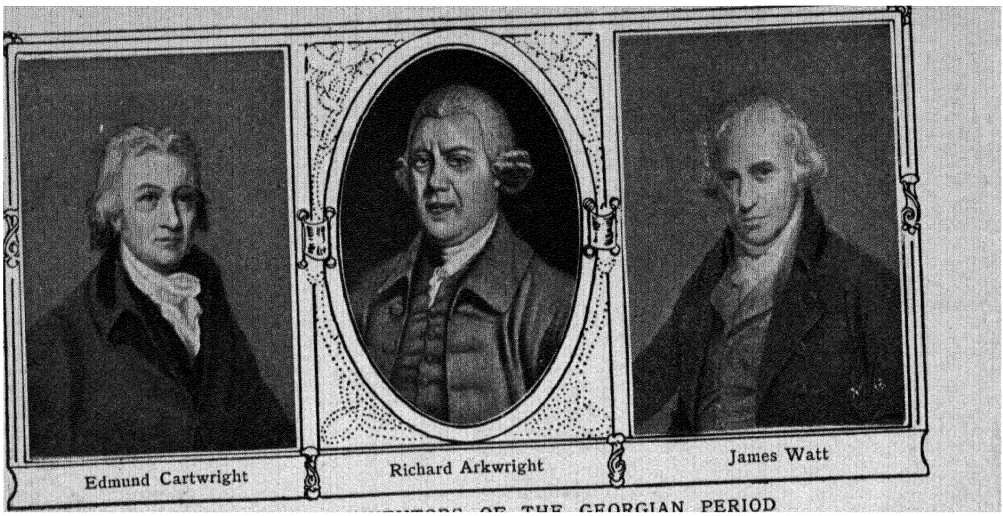
The Treaty of Paris left Great Britain with an empire which was sadly mutilated, but still considerable. It included in the western hemisphere not only Canada, but also Jamaica and some of the richer islands of the West Indies. In the East the [illegible] of Clive and Warren Hastings had led to an expansion of the territories governed by the East India Company. The Calcutta settlement now formed the capital of an immense province which took in the whole valley of the Ganges as far as Benares; further to the south the coast district of the Circars had been annexed, and in the extreme south of the peninsula, where the territory actually under British rule was small, the British name was respected far and wide. The Regulating Act of 1773 had brought the company under the control of the state, and the appointment of the Governor-General now rested with Parliament; the territories of the company might therefore be considered as national dependencies. The growing importance of India was revealed by the conflict which arose between George III. and the Whigs in 1783 on the subject of the Indian government.

Founders of the Indian Empire

An India Bill, to place, for the time being, the patronage of political appointments in the hands of a parliamentary committee, gave rise to a feud between the king and the coalition Ministry of Fox and North which ended in the defeat and retirement of the Ministers. But Clive and Hastings were not yet [illegible] as the founders of an empire. Both had cause to complain of national ingratitude. Clive died by his own hand, in consequence of an implicit censure by the House of Commons on his Indian administration. Warren Hastings, who retired from office in 1785, was impeached for malversation on the evidence of private enemies, and the trial dragged on for years before it ended in his acquittal. Only recently have the characters of these great men been vindicated from the aspersions which



A GROUP OF HAPPY PRINCESSES THREE OF THE CHILDREN OF GEORGE III. This picture, reproduced from the painting by J. S. Copley, R.A., in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace, shows three pretty princesses, the children of King George III. The figure with the uplifted tambourine is the Princess Mary, who afterwards became the Duchess of Gloucester. The Princess Sophia is behind the carriage, while the child in the carriage is the Princess Amelia. She was the favourite child of the king, and it is said that her death, when she was only twenty-seven years old, hastened, if it did not actually cause, the terrible malady which afflicted him.



THREE FAMOUS INVENTORS OF THE GEORGIAN PERIOD

[illegible] power, while James Watt, by his discoveries in connection with the properties of steam, benefited the human race.

their contemporaries were too ready, in the heat of party conflict, to accept as proved.

In 1783 all Britain's colonial possessions seemed unimportant in comparison with those lost. Adam Smith, whose great work on the "Wealth of Nations" appeared during the American war, was of the opinion that the national prosperity had been gravely compromised by the mistake of developing trade with America to the neglect of all other markets. The monopoly secured by the Navigation Acts and similar restrictive measures had indeed produced an unhealthy inflation of particular industries. Yet English commerce survived the shock of the American secession and continued to prosper. The country had, in fact, already developed its manufactures to such a point that it was industrially in advance of all its Continental rivals.

Prosperity of English Commerce

This development was of a comparatively recent date. The era of the great mechanical inventors began only in the reign of George II. Kay, the inventor of the flying shuttle, which effected a revolution in the weaving industry in 1738, was the pioneer of the new movement. He made it possible to extend the trade in manufactured woollens, and to open that in cotton stuffs. Soon after 1760 there came in close succession a number of further improvements. Hargreaves, a native of the Lancashire town of Blackburn, was led by the need for a more regular and abundant supply of yarn to devise means of spinning by machinery. In 1767 he produced the jenny, which enabled one weaver to drive and superintend a number of spindles simultaneously. The neighbours of Hargreaves, seeing their profits threatened, broke the machine to pieces, and the hapless inventor was all but killed in the riot. His machine was, however, patented in 1770. In 1769, Arkwright, also a native of Lancashire and a barber by trade, produced a roller machine for spinning by water power. He, too, had to contend against local persecution, and his factory was burnt to the ground; but he rebuilt it, and lived to double the prosperity of his native place. In 1779 Samuel Crompton, a poor weaver, invented the spinning-mule, so called because it combined the principles of Hargreaves' jenny and Arkwright's water-plane. Finally, in 1785, Cartwright, a clergyman, extended the use of machinery to the process of weaving, and produced a power-loom.

But hitherto the only source of mechanical power had been the water-wheel, except that steam was used for mining-pumps. James Watt discovered, in 1769, the means of setting a wheel in motion by a steam-driven piston; and a form of steam power was thus produced which could easily be applied to every sort of machine.

Watt's Great Discovery of Steam Power

The introduction of machinery meant a vast extension of the textile trades and the growth of urban manufacturing centres.

The invention of the steam-engine decided that the north of England, where coal was chiefly to be found, should become the headquarters of the new industrialism; and the north thus began to assume that pre-eminent position which hitherto belonged to the south-eastern counties and the weaving districts of the south-west. New towns sprang up, and the demand for a readjustment of parliamentary representation naturally increased. But this was not the only change. The introduction of machinery bore hardly upon the less intelligent of the hand labourers. It ruined many old centres of industry. It elevated the skilful and quick-witted, but it made the struggle for existence harder and swelled the ranks of the proletariat. It also complicated the task of government, both in the spheres of foreign and domestic policy. The necessity of protecting industrial interests became more obvious than ever; the danger of social agitation and revolution was increased by the growth of town populations imperfectly educated and civilised, living under institutions which had been framed for the government of small communities and were inadequate to control disorderly multitudes.

The Growth of National Prosperity

The tale of industrial development is told by the statistics of English exports. In 1793 their value was £20,000,000; in 1800 it had almost doubled; in 1815 it exceeded £50,000,000. This expansion took place in the midst of great wars, when England was fighting hard for the mastery of the seas, and for a part of the period under consideration, the normal development of trade was impeded by the Continental system of Napoleon. The growth of national prosperity was not entirely dependent upon new manufactures. In agriculture also there were great improvements. The enclosures which had been made in the sixteenth century for the sake of sheep-farming had done much to destroy the old open-field system of cultivation. The introduction of "convertible husbandry" furnished another incentive for the creation of compact holdings in place of those composed of scattered strips in the common fields. But the open-field system still dominated more than half of England.



JAMES WATT AS A BOY: DISCOVERING THE CONDENSATION OF STEAM

That the child is father of the man was wonderfully demonstrated in the case of James Watt, the discoverer of the condensation of steam. As a boy he would sit by the fire watching the steam as it issued from the kettle and speculating whether this force could be put to any practical purpose. In the above picture he is shown holding a spoon over the spout of the kettle on the table in order that he may test the strength of the steam. In later years Watt became a great inventor, his discoveries in connection with the properties of steam completely revolutionising the methods of travelling.

From the painting by Marcus Stone, R.A., by permission of Messrs. Graves & Son

It was the growth of population consequent upon industrial changes which now accelerated the change from the mediæval to the modern methods of agriculture. The native farmer was protected against foreign competition by an import duty on corn. He was encouraged to produce for exportation by a bounty system. And these artificial inducements, although taxing the community for the benefit of a class, did much to promote a more scientific agriculture.

Farming Under New Methods

About 1730 the experiments of Lord Townsend led to the use of an improved and more elaborate rotation of crops. The breeding of stock was raised to a fine art by the Leicestershire grazier, Bakewell. An enormous number of private Acts of Parliament were passed to sanction the enclosure of particular localities. The process was not completed before the middle of the nineteenth century, but upwards of a thousand Acts of this description were passed between 1777 and 1800.

The increased profits of farming under the new methods went chiefly to those who had the necessary capital for effecting extensive improvements; and one consequence of the agricultural revolution was the disappearance of the yeoman farmer. Undoubtedly the growth of great estates made for increased production of wealth; but with the yeoman vanished one of the sturdiest and most valuable elements of the population, which was ill replaced by the class of tenant farmers.

Before this work enters on the new era of European history opened by the French Revolution, a brief survey of the literary development of the eighteenth century becomes necessary. It is not surprising that this period—an age of great wars, political tension, and economic development—should produce a literature which was polemical and often political in character, or that with the old religious ideas and the old social system the characteristic qualities of seventeenth-century poetry and prose should evaporate away. Poetry, in fact, almost ceased to exist, for Alexander Pope (1688–1744), though choosing verse for the medium of his utterances, was by nature a critic, satirist, and translator, a poet at moments only, and, as it were, by accident. He is the most characteristic figure of the so-called Augustan age of English literature. All his best work is satirical. The "Rape of the Lock" (1714) is a personal satire on feminine foibles, the "Dunciad" (1728–1743) a savage attack upon the professional writers of Grub Street, from whose malice Pope had received pin-pricks which he was incapable of forgiving. The "Essay on Man" (1734), though professedly a philosophical poem, is redeemed from oblivion chiefly by the passages in which Pope analyses the failings of his contemporaries. Avowedly the pupil of Dryden, he shows the influence of his master, both in matter and style. But he is less political than Dryden, and far surpasses his model in the management of their favourite metre, the heroic couplet.

The Augustan Age of English Literature

A metre less fitted for poetry than this, of which the whole effect depends upon antithesis, neatness of phrase, and compression of meaning, can hardly be imagined. But for the expression of a sarcastic common-sense, for the scornful analysis of character, it is unrivalled. Pope's use of the heroic couplet entitles him to rank among the great masters of literary form. There is much in common between Pope and Swift. But the latter chose to express himself in prose; and his satire was at once more indiscriminate and more reserved than that of Pope. Swift at his best is characterised by a grave irony, and his thought is more antithetic than his style. A Tory pamphleteer of no mean order, Swift is best known for two satires of a perfectly general character—the "Tale of a Tub," which ridicules, under cover of an allegory, the Reformation and the quarrels of the Churches; and the "Travels of Lemuel Gulliver." In the latter work Swift attacks humanity at large, and passes gradually, under the influence of a melancholy bordering on mania, from playful banter to savage denunciation, which inspires, and is inspired by, loathing.

The Great Writers of the Period

Swift died insane, and there is a morbid element in his best work even from his early years. The cynicism of his age mastered, soured, and finally destroyed a powerful nature. It could not sour Addison and Steele, the two great essayists of the Augustan age, whose contributions immortalised the "Tatler" and "Spectator," two otherwise ephemeral journals. Like Pope and Swift, they are critics of human life, but their criticism is tempered with humour and a genial sympathy.

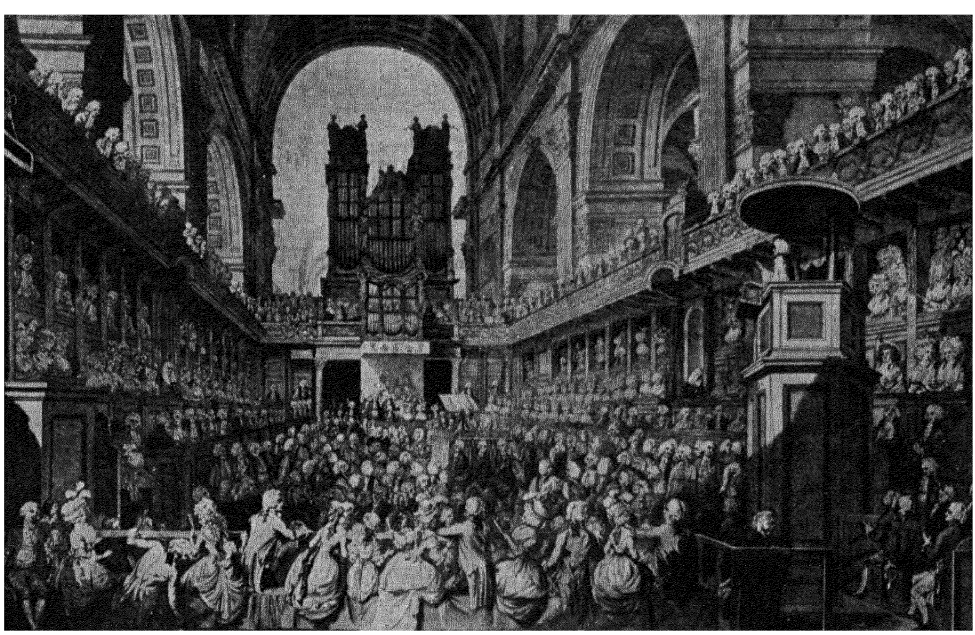
Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) is a critic in a different vein; for many years the literary dictator of London society, he sat in judgment on books and theories and writers. He is typical of the second phase in the literature of this period, a phase in which literature becomes more impersonal.

But the writers of this phase still keep the attitude of critics. In poetry they aim, above all things, at the observance of rule and proportion. In prose they devote themselves to the delineation of character, and are most successful in the new field of the novel. Goldsmith, Sterne, Smollett, Fielding, and Richardson, much as they differ in other respects, are alike in their realism; their characters, however whimsical, belong to contemporary society.

The eighteenth century was characterised by a shallow rationalism. But every age has its exceptions, and this produced three philosophers of a profound and penetrating genius. Berkeley (1685–1753), an Irish dean and bishop, laid the foundations of modern idealism in his works on the "Theory of Vision" (1709) and on the "Principles of Human Knowledge" (1710). The crude scepticism which he demolished was replaced by the more subtle speculations of David Hume (1711–1776), whose "Treatise of Human Nature" (1739–1740), "Essays Moral and Political" (1741–1742), and "Principles of Morals" (1751) represent the last word of agnosticism in metaphysics, and are memorable for having provoked Kant to elaborate a system not less critical, but more serious and more stimulating, than that of Hume.

In political philosophy the period produced Burke's expositions of the organic conception of society A Whig politician, member of Parliament, and Minister of State, Burke (1729–1793) was originally drawn to study abstract principles by his dislike for the Toryism of Bolingbroke and George III. The "Thoughts on the Present Discontents" (1770) was the first of a series of writings in which Burke unfolded not only his conception of the English constitution but also the ideas and principles which underlie all political societies whatever. Unsurpassed as an orator and in the marshalling of complicated facts, he is greatest when he deals in generalisation. His speeches on American taxation and on conciliation with America are of lasting worth, apart altogether from the occasion to which they refer; and the numerous writings in which he attacked the French Revolution (1790–1796) are the most complete defence of the old order upon which the Girondists and the Jacobins made war.

H. W. C. DAVIS



RETURNING THANKS FOR THE KING'S RECOVERY SERVICE IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
This picture shows the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral during a Thanksgiving Service held in the famous building on St. George's Day, 1789. The king, George III., had been seriously ill, and this service took place on his recovery.



GERMAN POWERS AFTER THE PEACE

PRUSSIA'S RAPID FALL FROM GREATNESS

THE Seven Years War had witnessed an altogether unprecedented combination of the powers, in which the great but only recently organised state of Eastern Europe had joined with the traditional antagonists Austria and France, in an unsuccessful attempt to crush another great but recently organised state in Middle Europe. At the end of the war, personal causes detached Russia from a combination on which her ruler had originally entered mainly on personal grounds. France was detached from it by the losses and the exhaustion entailed by the maritime and trans-oceanic triumphs of Great Britain.

The natural outcome was that Austria should tend to reconciliation with Prussia, and both to something like a common understanding with Russia, the interests which affected all three being centred in Poland; that Continental affairs should virtually cease to interest Great Britain; and that the Bourbons, so far as they could afford to make their energies felt outside their own kingdoms, should seek opportunities for injuring Great Britain rather than for interfering with the Germanic states.

Prussia's Desire for Peace

For Frederic of Prussia, the first requirement was peace. In territorial extent, in population, and in resources, his kingdom was surpassed by each one of the three chief powers which had united for his destruction. At each one of them, his infinite energy had enabled him to strike blow for blow and something more. But the strain had been terrific; rest, recuperation, reorganisation, were absolutely imperative. It was quite necessary to be ready to face a new war, in order to make sure that there should be no new war to face. The proffer of a Russian alliance was welcomed by him as a guarantee of peace. If Pitt in England had returned to power effectively, as he did nominally in 1766, the alliance of the northern powers—Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain—as a counterpoise to the existing association of Hapsburgs and Bourbons, might have become a reality. But even then the British Ministry, absorbed in the process of irritating the American colonies, gave no attention to European questions; and immediately after the Peace of Hubertsburg, Frederic had no inclination to rely on the nation which had deserted him under Bute's guidance, and showed no signs of evolving a trustworthy or far-sighted administration under the leadership of Grenvilles and Bedfords

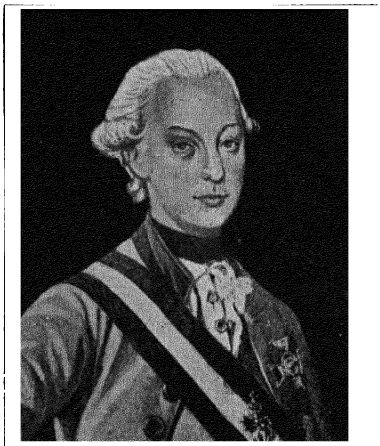
The Critical State of Poland

Frederic and the Tsarina Catharine understood each other, though their formal alliance did not take place till March, 1764. The affairs of Poland were at a critical stage, and Russian and Prussian interests there could be pursued harmoniously. The ulterior objects of the two were indeed opposed. Catharine would have liked to annex Poland, but, failing that, wished for a government there which would dance to her order. Frederic wanted for himself Polish Prussia, which intervened between Brandenburg and East Prussia. But, in the meantime, an election to the Crown of Poland was imminent; and it suited both him and Catharine to oppose a candidate of the House of Saxony, now ruling, and to maintain within Poland the cause of religious equality. Austria, on the other hand, favoured the Saxon dynasty and the cause of Catholic domination, while the recent policy of France had associated her with Austria and with Saxony. But neither France nor Austria was prepared—as Catharine was—to take a resolute line, and the Tsarina obtained the election of her candidate, Stanislas Poniatowski. Russian domination was secured, but the policy when pursued, alienated many of the Poles who had at first supported her, and stirred Austria

Poland Dominated by Russia

and France to a more active hostility. Both powers endeavoured to detach Frederic from Russia; and here Frederic found his own opportunity of detaching Austria from France by a scheme of partition to which Russia might be prevailed upon to assent.

Now, it must be noted that the position of Austria had become somewhat anomalous. Maria Theresa was queen, and continued queen till her death in 1780. But her husband, the Emperor Francis, died in 1764, when their son Joseph succeeded to the imperial crown, his brother Leopold becoming Grand Duke of Tuscany, for which Lorraine had been exchanged some thirty years before. Joseph began operations as emperor by a series of attempts to reform the imperial system, without success; nor could he apply his reforming enthusiasm to the Austrian dominions, where his mother still retained control. In foreign affairs, however, he was able to exercise a leading influence, although Kaunitz, Maria Theresa's Minister, retained his position. Broadly speaking, though the queen was less impulsive and less warlike than of old, her attitude to Prussia was never friendly, and her inclination continued to favour the French alliance. Joseph, on the other hand, had a warm admiration for his mother's great antagonist.



THE EMPEROR JOSEPH II.
The son of Francis I. and Maria Theresa, he was elected King of the Romans in 1764, and became Emperor of Germany in the next year. A feature of his reign was the suppression of 700 convents. He died in 1790.

The overtures of France to Prussia were received with extreme coldness; those of Austria, though made more or less at the instigation of France, were much more welcome. A friendly meeting was arranged between Frederic and Joseph in 1769, which had little direct result, beyond establishing friendly personal relations and impressing on Catharine of Russia the importance of keeping on a satisfactory footing with Frederic. She was already involved in a war with Turkey; and the success which was attending her arms increased the likelihood of Austria wishing to intervene, and therefore to associate herself with Prussia.

A second meeting took place between Frederic and Joseph in the following year, 1770; and this time a practicable scheme was formulated. It seemed probable at the moment that Russia might establish herself in Roumania, a prospect not at all to the liking of Austria. The Porte appealed to the two powers to mediate. If they insisted on Russia resigning her conquests, they must offer some compensation Poland provided the wherewithal. Poland could offer no effective resistance, and she had reached a stage of political disintegration which almost warranted the doctrine that she had forfeited her right to a separate national existence. But if Russia was to have compensation in Polish territory for resigning Roumania, Prussia and Austria might reasonably demand a share in the spoils as the price of their assent. If they agreed on a partition, there was no one to say them nay. Great Britain, under Lord North, had her hands more than full with colonial troubles, and France had no interests sufficiently strong to rouse her to active intervention. So Russia, Prussia, and Austria, after protracted negotiations, settled how much of Poland each was to have, and how much was to be left to the puppet king, Stanislas, and the Polish Diet was bullied and bribed into ratifying the partition. Frederic got West Prussia, the main object of his desire; Austria got Red Russia. The provinces assigned to Russia were larger though less populous; but what was left over as "independent" Poland was virtually a Russian dependency. The business was completed in 1772.

Poland in the Clutch of Enemies

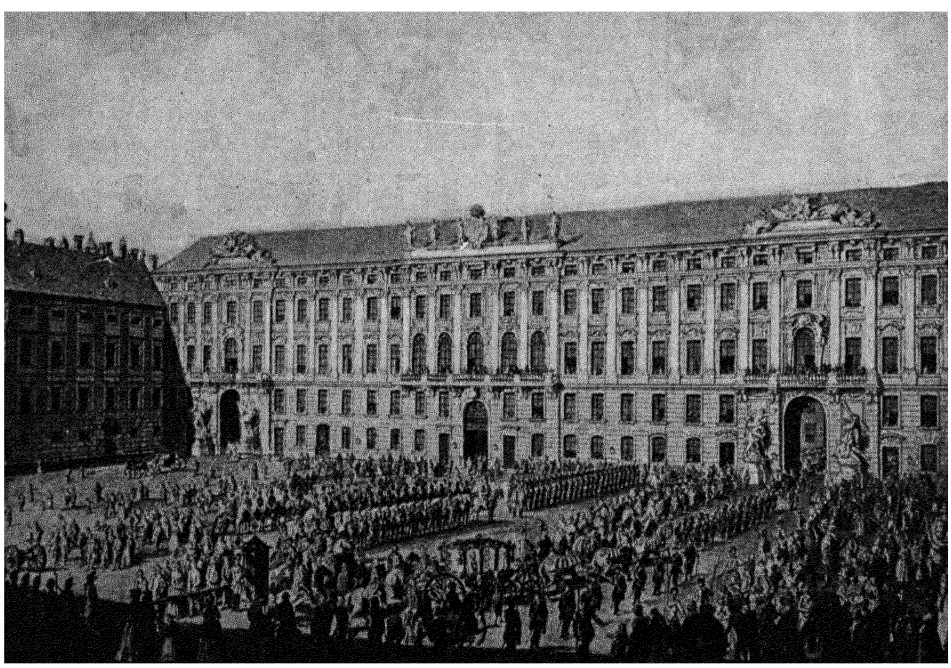
To Frederic, the acquisition of West or Polish Prussia was of immense strategical importance; but the negotiations revealed, and the partition brought nearer, dangers against which it was necessary to guard. The contact of the great Slav power with Teutonic Europe and with the Slavonic dominions of Austria was growing

more intimate and, potentially at least, more menacing. The menace could be held in check if Austria and Prussia presented a united front; but of this there was no present prospect. Joseph's ambitions did not harmonise with Frederic's requirements; for Prussia it was a serious question whether the aggression of Austria or of Russia was the more to be feared, while Joseph's aspiration for the extension of power in Germany, to which Frederic was necessarily opposed, distracted him from the primary need of maintaining guard against Russia. However, if Frederic was between the upper and the nether mill-stones, there was always with him the chance that one or both of the mill-stones would get the worst of it. As regards Russia, Prussia's present security lay in the dominant attraction for that power in the direction of the Danube and the Crimea.

The Place of Prussia's Security

Joseph's original idea of strengthening the imperial power by remedying abuses in the imperial system had failed; the scheme had in effect been replaced by a desire to extend and consolidate the Hapsburg territorial dominion so as to give Austria a dictatorial ascendancy throughout Germany. Joseph was not actuated by a mere vulgar thirst for conquest. The successful politician is the man who knows how to adapt the means which he can control to the ends he has in view. The successful politician rises into the great statesman if the ends in view are great ends; the measure of his idealism is the measure of his greatness. But the idealist who fails to grasp the relation between means and ends fails as a statesman, though his failure may be more admirable than a meaner man's success Joseph was an idealist who failed.

He was conscious of crying evils which he wished to remedy. To apply the remedies, he wanted despotic power; but he found himself unable either to apply the remedies judiciously or to secure despotic power effectively. It may be questioned whether the remedies, even if he had been able to apply them despotically, would have had the desired effect. The benevolent despot was, however, a favourite ideal with the very considerable body of those who identified political liberty with anarchy—who were soon to point to the French Revolution as a gruesome warranty for their views. Unfortunately, in Joseph's case neither the benevolence nor the



THE CORONATION PROCESSION OF THE EMPEROR JOSEPH II.
In this picture the magnificent coronation procession of the Emperor Joseph II. is seen passing through the inner court of the royal residence at Vienna. The former residence of the chancellor of the empire stands in the background.

despotism was appreciated by his subjects. Joseph, then, was fain to extend his territories, while Frederic disapproved unless he saw his way to an equivalent—accession of strength for himself. An opportunity presented itself at the beginning of 1778. The electoral House of Bavaria became extinct; the succession to the Duchy reverted to an elder branch of the same stock—in the person of Charles Theodore the Elector Palatine. Charles Theodore was elderly and childless; he was easily persuaded to recognise a very inadequate Hapsburg claim to a large slice of Bavaria. Only two German princes were directly affected.

France on the Side of America

If Frederic raised an opposition, there would be no great powers to support him. Russia was busy with Turkey, England with America, and France would side with Austria, if with either. Nevertheless, Frederic did oppose, successfully. The chance of French support for Austria disappeared, as France turned her energies to helping the American colonies against Great Britain; and Russia showed symptoms of intervening in spite of her Turkish war. Maria Theresa was opposed to her son's policy. Joseph found himself obliged to be content with a small portion of what he had claimed and to recognise the Hohenzollern title to succession in Anspach and Baireuth.

In 1780 Maria Theresa died, and Joseph could now follow his own course unfettered. Hitherto his mother had kept the domestic rule of the Austrian domain in her own hands, and had held in the main by Hapsburg tradition, for which the son showed no respect. Alive to the immense success which had been achieved by the organisation of Prussia which Frederic had built up on the foundations very thoroughly laid by his father and by the Great Elector, Joseph tried to force a similar system on his own diverse dominions. The primary idea of Prussian absolutism had been the rapid subordination of all personal and class interests to the strengthening of the state which answered like a machine to the control of the single master mind. But in Joseph's dominions there were very powerful class interests which had been established for centuries, and declined to vanish at the monarch's fiat. The nobles, the town corporations, the clergy, in turn found their privileges or endowments attacked by the reformer, while elementary rights of the peasantry were legalised. The supremacy of the State over the Church was emphasised, and general toleration and religious equality before the law were established.

The Master Mind of Prussia

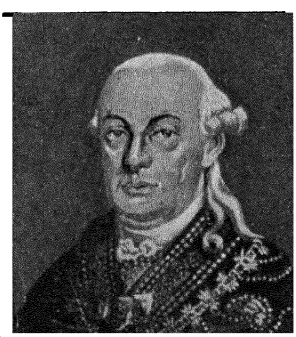
All these things were in themselves excellent; but they not only excited the classes who were directly affected, but created the utmost alarm throughout the principalities of the empire, the more so as the Hapsburgs, or Lorrainers, now dominated the college of princes in the Imperial Diet. This end had been achieved by the election of one of the emperor's brothers as Archbishop and Elector of Cologne. It appeared that the emperor was not unlikely to force upon the minor states reforms of the same nature as those which he had been carrying out in his own hereditary dominion. German liberties were at stake; not, that is, the liberties of the bulk of the population, which had never possessed any, but the right of each petty ruler to rule within his own territory. If the petty princes were to make head against imperial aggression, they must be leagued with some great power, and the only one available was Prussia. Now the emperor and Kaunitz recognised in Prussia the great obstacle to Joseph's ambitions within the empire. Frederic, with a natural inclination to a league with Austria to hold Russia in check, habitually found himself forced towards a league with Russia to hold Austria in check. Russia, with a Turkish goal in view, had on the whole a preference for an understanding with Austria rather than an alliance with Prussia. Austria, with an eye to Germany, was prepared for such an understanding, which was, in fact, arrived at very shortly after the accession of Joseph to the Austrian throne.

The Obstacle to Joseph's Ambitions

Since France and Great Britain were both still outside the mid-European complications—since, that is, they were absorbed in their own mutual relations or domestic difficulties—Frederic was isolated. He could not afford to appear unsupported as the champion of the petty princes, as in the recent Bavarian affair he had posed as the champion of state rights, as opposed to imperial aggression. At that time the understanding between Russia and Austria had not been established. Now, however, Joseph provided the occasion for uniting Germany—which had

hitherto proved impossible. The Netherlands had passed decisively from Spain to Austria at the Treaty of Utrecht, but Austria had always found them troublesome rather than useful, for reasons which a glance at the map makes obvious. They were exposed to French attack, and difficult to defend. Joseph, foiled in his previous attempt to acquire Bavaria from the Elector Palatine, now proposed an exchange. Roughly speaking, Charles Theodore was to hand over Bavaria and receive the Netherlands, which, with the Lower Palatinate, were to form a reconstituted kingdom of Burgundy.

Such a scheme would involve danger to the independence of more than the petty principalities. To thwart it, Frederic took the lead in the formation of a defensive league, in which it was no longer a matter of great difficulty to induce practically all the German states to join, a league known as the Furstenbund. It had not, indeed, the elements of permanency, of German unity, but it effected the immediate purpose of putting a stop to Austrian aggression within the empire. The Furstenbund fell to pieces after a brief interval, but it had destroyed the Bavarian scheme. What further effect it would have had if Frederic had been succeeded in Prussia by another king of the same quality is matter of conjecture. But he died in 1786, and his nephew and successor Frederic William II., was no masterful genius. Frederic died leaving the German states united in a league of which Prussia held the unquestioned hegemony. But at that time no lesser man than Frederic himself could have accomplished what Bismarck was one day to carry out.



EMPEROR LEOPOLD II.
He became emperor in 1790 on the death of his brother Joseph II., and proved himself a powerful ruler He died two years after his accession.

Frederic's Work for Prussia

No man, we are told, is indispensable. Nevertheless, history repeatedly presents us with the truth that many a great man's work has gone to pieces after his death for lack of a successor of the same calibre. Frederic had created a Prussia of tremendous efficacy, but the efficacy depended mainly on the competence of the man who controlled the machinery. His creation had been made possible by the remarkable ability of two of his predecessors, in spite of certain grotesque characteristics. After Frederic, the greatness of Prussia fell to pieces; had there come no Bismarck and no Moltke, it might never have been restored in its fulness. But at the least, Frederic's rule had accomplished this, that even under incompetent rulers Prussia was not likely again to become a negligible quantity in European politics. Three years and six months after the Great Frederic, Joseph also died. By this time the French Revolution was in full career, though most liberal-minded onlookers were rejoicing in the expectation that its outcome would be liberty in the sense of constitutionalism. The Bastille had fallen, but another year had to pass before the death of Mirabeau The monarchs of Europe had not yet taken alarm; and Leopold, Joseph's successor, was able to carry out a policy which was at once liberal and pacificatory. He shared Joseph's progressive ideas, but his intelligence was eminently practical. Being content to work patiently, he had been able to work effectively in his Duchy of Tuscany; and in a reign which was all too brief he succeeded in conciliating the outraged interests, and in reconciling both the Netherlands and the Hungarian nobles to the Austrian supremacy, without materially curtailing the practical benefits which Joseph had thrust upon his unappreciative subjects. In a similar spirit, he dropped his brother's policy, but his diplomacy recovered the German hegemony which had passed to Prussia.

Prussia after Frederic's Death

The change in the relative positions of the two powers is a conspicuous illustration of the importance of personalities. Frederic had been replaced by Frederic William, Joseph by Leopold. Within six months of the latter event, the powers in general had recognised the change in the situation, and their moral support was transferred from Prussia to Austria. But in France events were moving rapidly towards a European catastrophe; at the critical moment, two years after his accession, Leopold died, and with his death disappeared the last chance of the catastrophe being averted.



THE BOURBON POWERS AND THE APPROACH OF THE REVOLUTION

FRANCE ON THE EDGE OF THE VOLCANO

THE pacific King Ferdinand of Spain had been succeeded on the throne by his half-brother Charles III., the son of Elizabeth Farnese, who had previously managed to obtain for him the crown of Naples, the third Bourbon kingdom. Naples was now transferred to Ferdinand VI., a younger son of Charles. The accession was followed by that belated revival of the Family Compact which drew Spain into the Seven Years War at a moment when the British dominion of the seas had been completely established; and she had already lost Havanna and the Philippines, and was in a fair way to lose the rest of her insular possessions when she was saved by the Peace of Paris, which restored most of her losses.

During the reign of Charles, which lasted till 1788, an enlightened domestic policy was followed, which, like that of Joseph II in Austria, aimed at the abolition of the privileges of the nobles and the Church, with the double object of benefiting the state as a whole, and of strengthening the Crown in particular. Charles's second intervention in international politics for the humiliation of Great Britain was no more successful than the first had been. France took up the cause of the American colonies in 1778; Spain followed suit in the vain hope of recovering Gibraltar, which successfully defied blockades and bombardments, and Rodney shattered the French fleet at the battle of The Saints, when it was on its way to the rendezvous off Hayti, where the Spanish fleet was to join it and so create a combined force which should wipe out the British navy. The pleasing prospect was dissipated by the overthrow of De Grasse, and Spain got nothing by her intervention.

France and Spain Support America

The domestic policy of Charles in Spain had been anticipated by Portugal under the able Minister Pombal, who achieved a practical dictatorship for many years under King Joseph II. Again the method adopted was that of benevolent despotism, a war of the Crown against class privileges, and the imposition of salutary reforms by a despot—the principle remaining the same whether the despot happens to be the monarch himself or an all-powerful Minister. The dictatorship, however, was ended by the death of Joseph in 1777, when Pombal was dismissed by his successor, and a reactionary policy was inaugurated.

The First Blow at the Jesuits

Portugal was without weight in the European balance, though her friendly relations with Great Britain were to prove very valuable to the great naval power in the course of the Napoleonic wars. Nevertheless, Pombal's activities were not only a typical example of the theory of reform by way of a monarchy; in one particular, he gave the other Western states a direct lead. It was Portugal that first struck hard against the Order of Jesuits, which dominated the Catholic countries of Europe. Their privileges were threatened by the whole movement against privilege, and their power made them particularly formidable to the reformers.

The implication of the Jesuits in a supposed plot against the king and his Minister gave Pombal his opportunity. They were deported, and their property confiscated in 1759. The blow was followed up in France, where the Jesuit organisation was condemned as illegal in 1761, and the Order was suppressed by edict three years later. Before another three years had passed, Spain had followed suit, and expelled the Jesuits; and the third Bourbon dynasty in the two Sicilies copied the example set them. The death of Pope Clement XIII., who had done everything in his power to support the Order, was

The Jesuits Expelled from Spain

followed by the election of Clement XIV., who yielded to pressure and condemned it in 1773, thereby, according to the general belief, sacrificing his own life, since his death, in the following year, was attributed to poison, and the poison was attributed to the Jesuits, but the story proved to be quite baseless.



CHARLES III OF SPAIN
A younger son of Philip V., he succeeded his half-brother, Ferdinand VI., on the throne of Spain in 1759. He died in 1788.

The Seven Years War had injured France more than any of the other powers, not only by the greatness of her losses, but by the destruction of her prestige and the ruin of her finances. Her army in the days of Louis XIV. had been the best in Europe; her generals had been unsurpassed until Marlborough and Eugene were matched against them, the spirit of her troops had remained indomitable to the end. In the War of the Austrian Succession a marshal of the French army—albeit a German—had been the ablest commander, with the exception of Frederic of Prussia, and the French soldiery had achieved credit. But in the Seven Years War the French commanders were worthless, and their troops became demoralised. France was not only defeated; she was discredited in the eyes of Europe, and her rulers were discredited in the eyes of her own people.

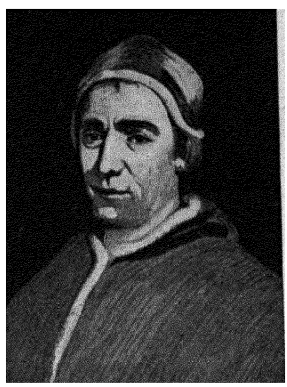
No respect could be commanded by a court where a Pompadour was supreme, and where the Pompadour herself was later succeeded by the Du Barry. No respect could be entertained for a noblesse which had failed in the one field wherein it professed to recognise a duty—the field of arms; a noblesse which had sunk for the most part into parasites of the court; a noblesse which, outside of La Vendée and Brittany, had ceased to be the leaders and rulers in their own territories, where they were habitual absentees. The monarchy, while preserving certain social aspects of feudalism, had destroyed it as a disintegrating political force; but in so doing had destroyed it also as a cohesive social force, killing the sense of public responsibility in the seigneurs, while intensifying their arrogance as a caste. Louis XV. was not without suspicions that a cataclysm must result from such conditions, but he counted on the system outlasting his time—and the system suited him. His despotism was complete; but if it was not exactly tyrannical, neither was it benevolent; the grandson who succeeded him was benevolent enough, but unfortunately was at the same time both morally and intellectually incompetent.

Choiseul, the Minister into whose hands the principal direction of affairs had passed during the war, was honest and capable, but no genius. His interest was absorbed in foreign affairs, and he did not realise that domestic reconstruction was necessary before France could recover her power and prestige. On the other hand, he did realise that the downfall had been brought about by the British sea-power; his policy was one primarily of preparation for another contest with Great Britain, which would demand a persistent development of the French navy. It would demand also a persistent abstention from expensive continental complications—a truth which had never been grasped by the rulers of France since Louis XIV. had neglected Colbert for Louvois. Choiseul did nothing to check the coming revolution; but France owed it mainly to his policy in the sixties that when she again challenged Great Britain, in 1778, the fleets met on terms of equality, for which there was no precedent except in the months between the battles of Beachy Head and La Hogue, ninety years before; that her squadrons were able to operate decisively in preventing the relief of Yorktown and compelling Cornwallis to surrender, thereby securing the American victory; and that even when Rodney regained the all-but-lost naval supremacy



JOSEPH II OF PORTUGAL
A war of the Crown against class privilege marked the reign of this king, whose able Minister, Pombal, achieved a practical dictatorship for many years. Joseph died in 1777

for England, Bailli Suffren still more than held his own in Indian waters. Choiseul's government came to an end in 1770, when the king fell under the domination of Madame du Barry. His tenure of office covered two events of importance—the expulsion of the Jesuits, and the annexation of Corsica. The islanders, under the leadership of Paoli, revolted against the dominion of Genoa; Great Britain, busy with American demonstrations and Middlesex elections, declined the protectorate offered her by the insurgents. Genoa sold Corsica to France, which established her government there; and Napoleon Bonaparte was consequently born a French subject in 1769.



POPE CLEMENT XIV
In earlier life he was a supporter of the Jesuits, but, yielding to pressure, he condemned the Order. His death, in 1774, was falsely attributed to poison.

The Maupeou government, which followed the fall of Choiseul, carried non-intervention further than that Minister himself; had he remained in office it is possible that the Eastern powers would not have been left to partition Poland according to their own convenience. But Maupeou found enough to occupy him in the internal affairs of France, where the Paris Parlement—not a representative, but a legal body, as we have noted before—was endeavouring, as it had done at intervals since the days of Richelieu, to limit the powers of the executive in its own interest. Maupeou abolished the Parlement, and replaced it by a new legal body, not a close corporation like the old one, but consisting of Crown nominees. The administration of justice was in fact improved, but, instead of being a check on the power of the Crown, the judiciary was brought more under its control. The fundamental conception of liberty in England has always been the supremacy of the law over the executive; continental governments, whether monarchical or democratic, have rarely been able to free themselves from the conviction that the executive has the right to override the law. The fall of the Parlement was not a step in the direction of liberty in this sense; the privileges it abolished were liable to misuse, but were not so likely to be dangerous to liberty as the control of the administration of justice by the Crown.

In 1774 Louis the Well-beloved went to the grave unmourned. He was followed by his grandson, Louis XVI., a well-intentioned monarch of irreproachable character, unique in respect of the domestic virtues among the Bourbon princes, but wholly devoid of the qualities necessary for grappling with a crisis. His wife, Marie Antoinette, was the daughter of Maria Theresa, and the sister of Joseph II.; endowed with charm, brilliancy, even nobility of character, but young, impulsive, self-confident, and injudicious.

Maupeou and his colleagues were dismissed; Maurepas became chief Minister, and with him were associated Turgot, Vergennes and Malesherbes. A clamour was at once raised for the restoration of the Parlement, which was carried out in opposition to Turgot's wishes, though with general popular applause; and the Parlement renewed its old obstructive policy. Of the four Ministers named, Vergennes concerned himself entirely with foreign affairs; Turgot and Malesherbes were reformers; Maurepas, their actual head, was at best no statesman but a second-rate politician, intent on present popularity, but without either insight or foresight. Turgot was a statesman with both insight and foresight, but he was not a politician. He relied on the intrinsic merits of his policy, but was no adept at manœuvring for influential support. It was only through



THE MARQUISE DE POMPADOUR
For twenty years the public affairs of France were controlled by this woman, who was a mistress of Louis XV. Her favourites were appointed to high offices in the State; her policy was disastrous to the country. She died in 1764.

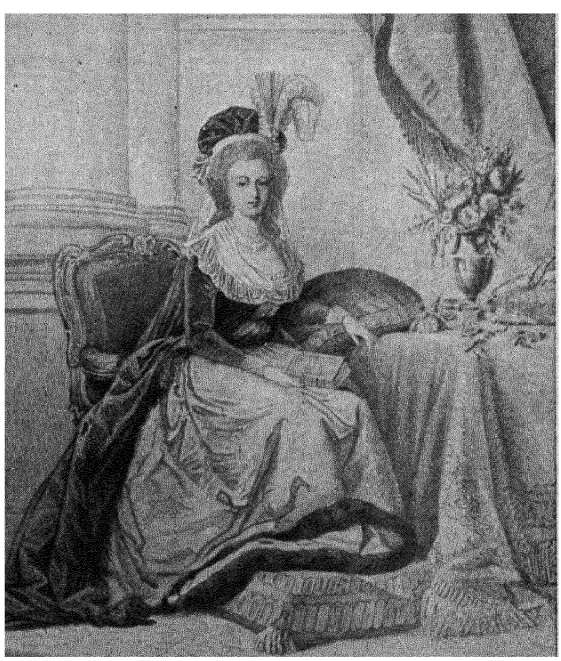


LOUIS XVI, KING OF FRANCE
France was in a deplorable condition when, in 1774, Louis XVI succeeded his grandfather, Louis XV., on the throne For a time he was popular with the people, but evil days followed, and he was brought to the guillotine in 1793

the despotism that his aims could be achieved; it was necessary to him to strengthen rather than to limit the power of the Crown.

In a state in which the normal expenditure very considerably exceeded the normal income, and the masses of the population were already taxed to the limit of endurance, Turgot recognised that economy was a primary necessity. He proceeded to cut down expenses with great success, but to the extreme annoyance of the nobles and others who had profited by the extravagance. He was of the economic school of the physiocrats who held that all wealth comes out of the land, and that all restrictions and burdens should be removed from commerce and manufacture; from which it followed that the incidence of taxation should be altered. The noblesse who battened on their exemptions perceived that they were likely to lose these privileges and to become the victims. The clergy were alarmed by the ascendancy of a man who was known to have contributed to the Encyclopédie, and to be approved by their declared enemy, Voltaire, while he was supported by Malesherbes, a friend of toleration, who wished to see the Edict of Nantes revived. Maurepas was afraid of finding himself displaced by Turgot, and the court was disgusted by his economies. The scarcity resulting from bad harvests was attributed, according to [illegible] rule, to Turgot's reforms, which had been initiated by the establishment of free trade in corn within the kingdom, and there were popular riots.

For a time Louis stuck to Turgot, and the Minister continued to press schemes of reform. The corvée, or forced labour, was to be abolished; a tax on land was to pay for the labour. Labour was to be free to transfer itself from one industry to another. There were to be more economies Protestant



MARIE ANTOINETTE, QUEEN OF FRANCE
The queen of Louis XVI, she became notorious for her pleasures. In the horrors that came upon France with the Revolution she exhibited wonderful courage, and in 1793 she died at the guillotine.

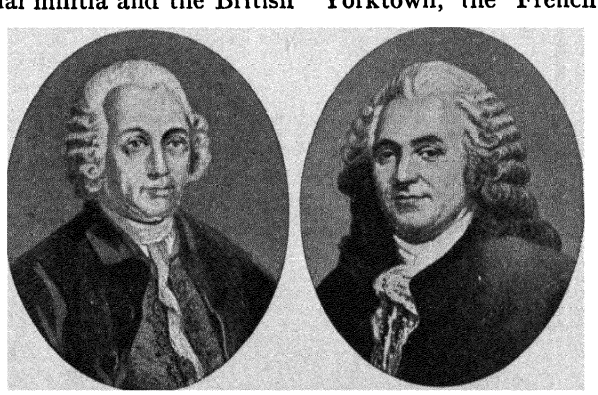
disabilities were to be removed. But the pressure on the king became irresistible. The forces of reaction combined for the overthrow of the innovator; Turgot and Malesherbes were both forced to resign in 1776.

Maurepas replaced Turgot after an interval of sheer incompetence, by the banker, Necker, who hoped to restore the finances not by changing the incidence of taxation, but by borrowing, which his financial reputation enabled him to do on comparatively reasonable terms. So far, class interests found him less dangerous than his predecessor. But he was a Protestant, and therefore distrusted by the clergy; he was an economist, and therein was no improvement upon Turgot in the eyes of the courtiers; in the matter of privileges he was in effect a reactionary, and so lost the support of those who had applauded Turgot. Nevertheless, his methods did actually provide the immediate ways and means, in spite of the fact that France now plunged into a costly war. The moment had come for dealing a blow to Great Britain.



CHANCELLOR OF FRANCE
Nicholas Augustin de Maupeou became Chancellor of France in 1768, succeeding his father in that high office. He was dismissed on the death of Louis XV. in 1774.

The first skirmish on American soil between the colonial militia and the British regulars had taken place a year before Turgot's retirement. The younger members of the French aristocracy, who had begun to develop enthusiasm for liberty and the rights of man, were soon volunteering to help the gallant Republicans to cast off the yoke of the tyrant, and forming a source, perhaps, of more embarrassment than advantage to George Washington. When two years had passed, the colonies were still unsubdued; then, in the autumn of 1777, the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga produced a feeling that the colonies were going to be the winning side. Benjamin Franklin was welcomed in Paris with demonstrative enthusiasm. Necker, who had to find the money, was no more willing for a war than Turgot had been, but the torrent of sentiment was irresistible. France formally recognised the independence of the United States, and adopted an alliance which was equivalent to a declaration of war with Great Britain.



THE REFORM MINISTERS, MALESHERBES & TURGOT
Both of these Ministers were reformers and were associated with Maurepas on his becoming chief Minister of France. For defending the king, Malesherbes was arrested in 1793 and guillotined the following year. As Controller-General of France, Turgot was responsible for a great scheme of reform, but he was dismissed, and died in 1781.

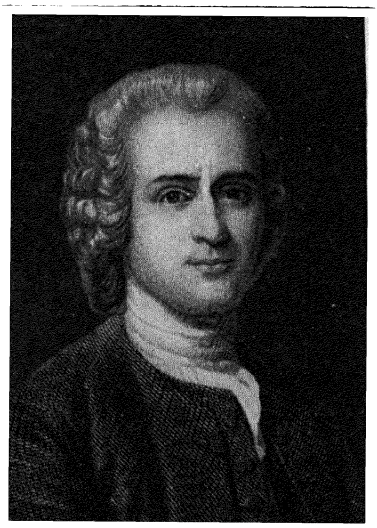
The French navy took the seas. Choiseul's naval policy found its justification. A fleet under D'Estaing sailed for American waters which was stronger than the fleet at Lord Howe's disposal; while a second squadron was able to fight a drawn battle with a British squadron off Ushant. By the command of the sea, the British had hitherto been able to compensate the disadvantage of carrying on their operations in a remote and hostile territory, now that advantage was lost. A year later, Spain followed the lead of France, and the prolonged siege of Gibraltar began. The French fleet continued to keep the British fleet inoperative; when, in 1781, Cornwallis was shut up in Yorktown, the French commander was able to prevent the British from relieving him; Yorktown fell, and with it the last hope of British success. Six months later, Rodney shattered De Grasse's fleet in the Battle of the Saints by the manœuvre known as "breaking the line"—a novelty then, but thereafter a favourite method of attack with the British naval commanders. The attempt to overthrow the naval supremacy had failed, but the purpose with which France had entered upon the war was achieved; the British empire had been decisively rent in twain. Neither

of the combatants had any wish to continue the struggle, and the war ended with the Peace of Versailles in the year 1783.

From the French point of view the best that can be said for the French intervention is that without it the colonies might possibly have been forced into temporary submission; and the Americans had reason to be grateful to the power which had undoubtedly made their task very much easier. But the injury to England was the only good that France got out of the war. It would never have been entered upon if the French Government had suspected the impulse which it was to give to the revolution in France itself. The financial situation had already been sufficiently serious; the large addition to the expenditure had necessitated heavy borrowing, and the nation was threatened with insolvency. But beyond that, the political order in France was a pure despotism, the social order was one of caste, and the French Government had committed itself to unqualified support of a revolution which had proclaimed explicitly that the rights of man were its warrant and republicanism its ideal. If the French Government recognised the rights of man, it confessed itself a manifest monstrosity; its approval of republicanism was an outrageous paradox; its enthusiasm for the bourgeois Franklin was a grotesque absurdity. Out of its own mouth the old order stood condemned. It had pronounced its own doom.



VOLTAIRE, POET AND SATIRIST
One of the world's greatest satirists, Voltaire was born at Paris in 1694 and died in that city in 1778. From his versatile pen came numerous poems and satires, while in his later years his writings violently assailed Christianity.



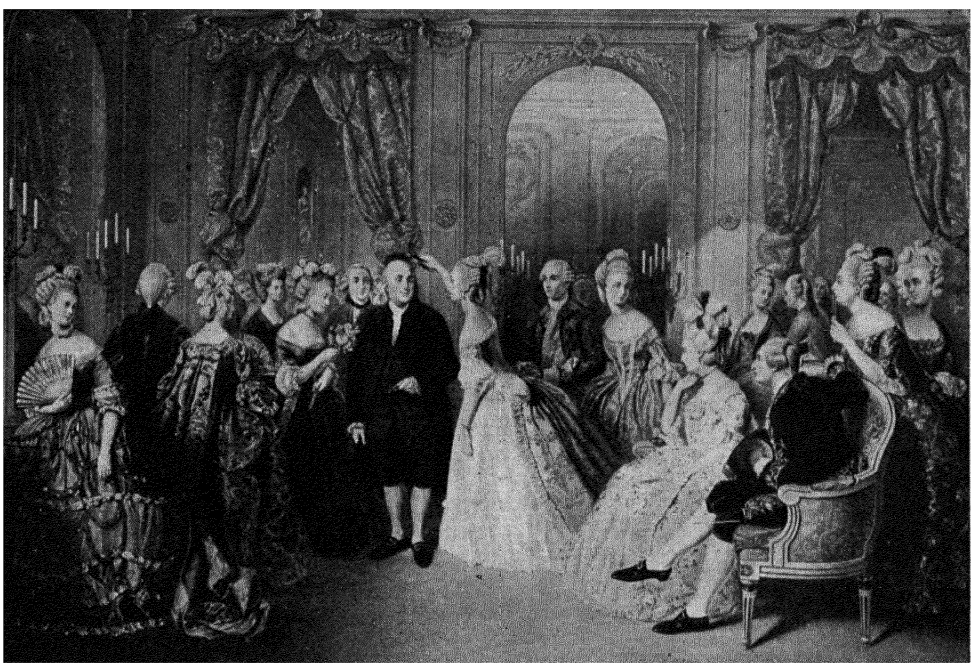
THE FRENCH WRITER, ROUSSEAU
Jean Jacques Rousseau was born in 1712, and his literary success began when, in 1750, he was awarded a prize by the academy of Dijon. He began his famous "Confessions" in England, and died suddenly in 1778.

Long before the war was over, Necker had followed Turgot. In fact, he had found himself compelled not only to multiply economies, but to resort also to the application of some other of Turgot's principles. The Interests began to combine against him in his turn, and the process of borrowing was becoming increasingly difficult. Therefore, in 1781, he issued the "Compte rendu," or public financial statement, contrary to precedent. For the moment the tide of opposition was stayed, but it soon became possible to point out some of the fallacies on which this proof of financial success rested, while it exposed to the whole world the extravagances which still survived. Maurepas and Vergennes both determined on his downfall. Necker thought himself strong enough to defy them, and proffered his resignation. The resignation was accepted, and Maurepas had to find a new Finance Minister. But the case for the reformers—the case against the Government—was immeasurably strengthened.

After the death of Maurepas, in November of the same year, 1781, the king did not appoint another Premier, and became more dependent on the queen, who had just given birth to the Dauphin. Necker's immediate successors, Joly de Fleury and d'Ormesson, held office for a brief period, and on October 3rd, 1783, the Marquis de Calonne, a profligate and spendthrift roué, became "controller general," or director of finance. His system of the most mad [illegible] with an empty treasury at once satisfied the courtiers; he called an unbounded expenditure of money the true

principle of credit, and scoffed at economy. The parasites sang the praises of the "ministre par excellence," for whom millions were but as counters, while the people received "panem et circenses" (doles and shows) through his great public works in Paris, Cherbourg, and elsewhere.

Calonne reduced Necker's system of borrowing to a fine art. All money melted in his hands, and in order to obtain loans he was forced at once to give up large sums to the bankers; as unconscientious as John Law in the second decade of the eighteenth century, he assembly of notables, by which order could easily be established. He extolled his administration before it, and attacked Necker. This led to a paper war between them resulting in the triumph of Necker. When Calonne demanded a universal land tax, he was met by shouts of "No" from every side, and the notables insisted on learning the extent of the deficit. He admitted at last that it amounted to 115,000,000 francs. The Archbishop of Toulouse, Loménie de Brienne, then brought up the clergy to the attack, and reckoned out a deficit of 140,000,000 The



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AT THE COURT OF FRANCE IN 1776

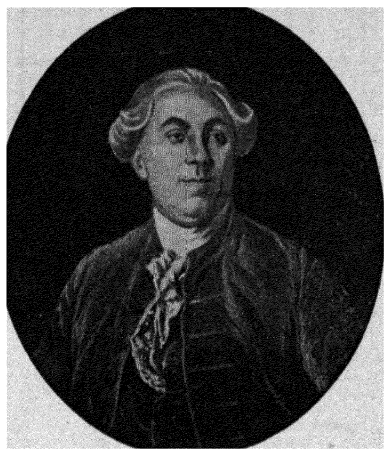
Taking an active part in the deliberations which resulted in the Declaration of Independence on July 4th, 1776, Benjamin Franklin visited Paris in order to secure foreign assistance in the war. The bitter feeling prevailing in France at that time against England favoured the mission of the distinguished American, and France agreed to send help.

From the painting by Baron Jolly

courted bankruptcy. The scandalous affair of the Diamond Necklace, into which the queen's name was dragged by vile calumniators, was a fitting product of Calonne's age of gross corruption. When he was at the end of his resources, he brewed a compound of the schemes of Vauban, Colbert, Turgot, and Necker, put it before Louis in August, 1786, and requested him to go back to the system of 1774, and to employ the abuses to the benefit of the monarchy. At the same time he induced him to act as Charlemagne and Richelieu had acted in their day, and summon an court effected the fall of Calonne on April 9th, 1787, and the quack left France, while the popular voice clamoured for the return of Necker. The courtiers, however, persuaded Louis to summon the archbishop who had overthrown Calonne, and actually to nominate him "principal minister."

Loménie de Brienne was an actor of exceptional versatility, a philosophising self-indulgent place-seeker, who wished to carry measures by the employment of force, and yet was discouraged at the least resistance. When the notables refused him the land tax, he dismissed them; they

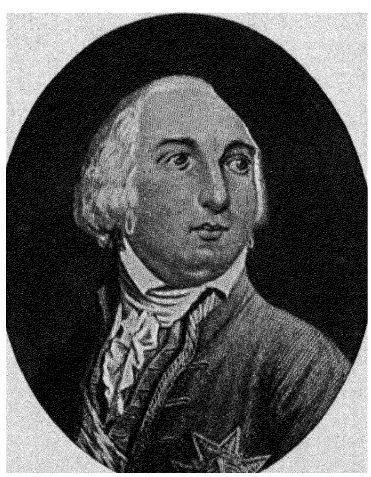
now took back home with them full knowledge of the abuses prevailing at Versailles, and paved the way for the Revolution. The archbishop had a very simple plan by which to meet the financial problem, but he was soon involved in strife with the Parlement. The people sided with the latter, clubs sprang into existence, pamphlets were aimed at the court, especially at "Madame Deficit," the queen, and her friend, the Duchess of Polignac, whose picture the mob burnt, together with that of Calonne. The Parlement, exiled to Troyes, concluded after a month a compromise with the Government, but insisted on the abandonment of Brienne's stamp duty and land tax.



JACQUES NECKER

Occupying in turn the offices of Director of Treasury and Director-General of Finance, he was responsible for many remedial measures. He added to his popularity in 1788 by recommending the summoning of the States-General.

Louis, who posed as an absolute monarch, played a sorry figure in the "séance royale" of November 19th, in which the Duke of Orleans won for himself a cheap popularity, and in the "lit de justice," or solemn meeting of Parlement, of May 18th, 1788. On this latter date the Parlements were reduced to the level of simple provincial magistrates, and a supreme court, or "cour plénière," constituted over them. This was the most comprehensive judicial reform of the "ancien régime"; but the Crown did not possess the power to carry it out. The courts as a body suspended their work; Parlements, clergy, nobility, and the Third Estate leagued together against the centralising policy of the Crown; Breton nobles laid in Paris the foundation-stone of what was afterward to be known as the Jacobin Club; the provinces, especially Dauphiné, were in a ferment; and revolutionary pamphlets were sold in the gardens of the Palais Royal, the residence of the Duke of Orleans. Louis, however, lived for the day only. The loyal Malesherbes vainly conjured him not to underestimate the disorders, and pointed out the case of Belgium under Joseph II., and of the American colonies of Great Britain. Louis was too engrossed in hunting to read the memorial.

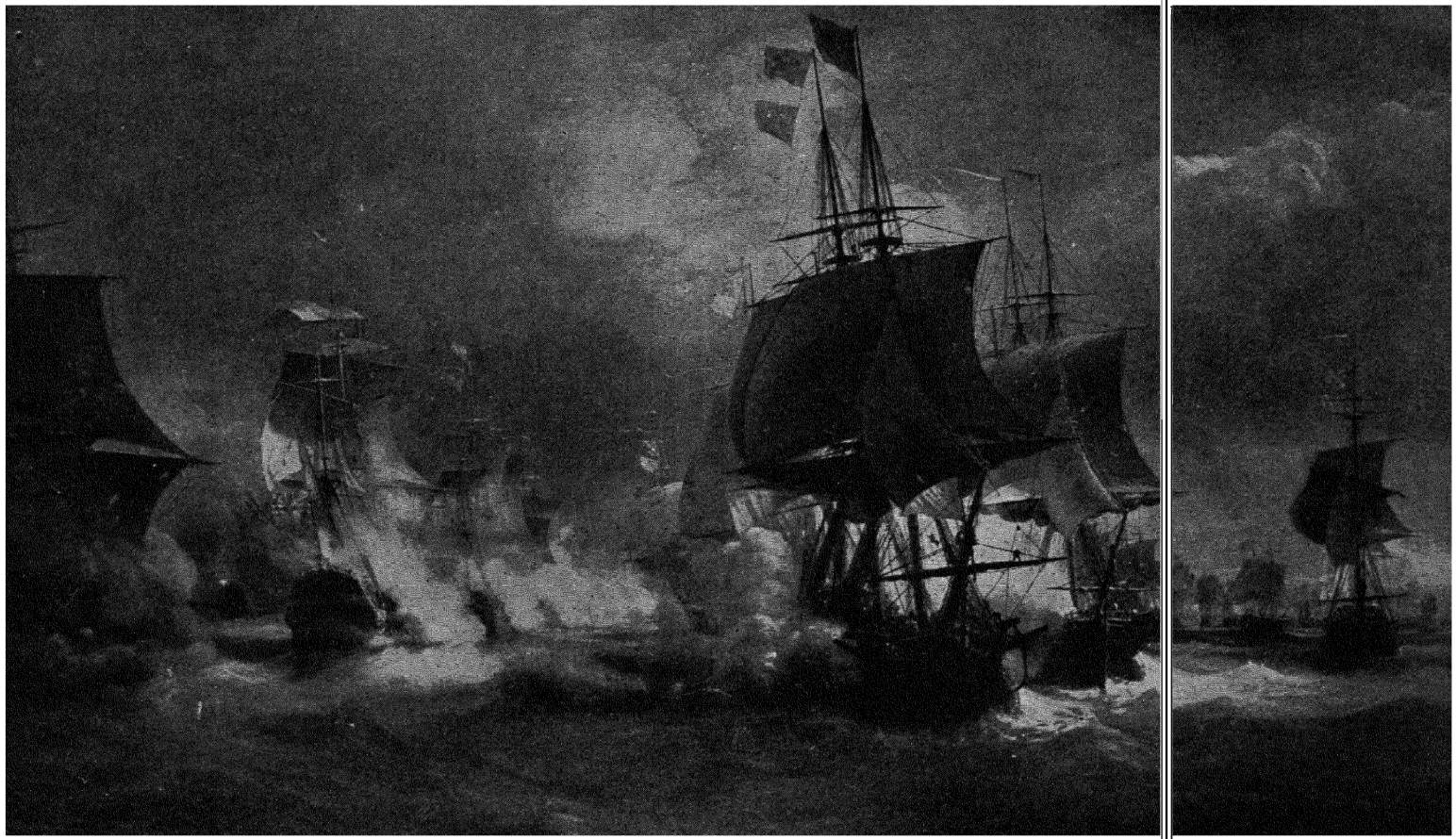


PHILIP "ÉGALITÉ" OF ORLEANS

He became Duke of Orleans on the death of his father, in 1785. He disseminated books and papers advocating liberal views, and revolutionary pamphlets were sold in the gardens of the Palais Royal, his ducal residence.

The winter of 1788-1789 brought France face to face with famine. Brienne was without credit, and a suspension of payments was imminent. It was high time to find an ally against the privileged classes, which granted him no money, and Brienne looked for one in the nation. He invited everyone to communicate with him on the subject of summoning the States-General, which had not met for 170 years, offered complete liberty of the Press on this national question, and let loose a veritable deluge; 2,700 pamphlets appeared. Their utterances were striking. First and foremost there was the pamphlet of the Abbé Sièyès, vicar-general at Chartres, entitled "Qu'est-ce que le Tiers État," a scathing attack on clergy and nobility, and a glorification of the Third Estate, which Sièyès emphatically declared was the nation, and as such ought to send to the National Assembly twice as many representatives as the two other estates. Thirty thousand copies of this pamphlet were in circulation in three weeks.

Count d'Antraigues in his pamphlet recalled the proud words with which the justiciar of Aragon did fealty to the king: "We, each of whom is as



"THE GLORIOUS FIRST OF JUNE": THE BRITISH VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH OFF USHANT O JUNE 1ST, 1794
From the painting by T Gudin at Versailles

great as thou, and who, combined, are far more powerful than thou, promise obedience to thee if thou wilt observe our rights and privileges; if not not." The count attacked, with Rousseau, the distinction of classes, explained that no sort of disorder is so terrible as not to be preferable to the ruinous quiet of despotic power, and called the hereditary nobility the heaviest scourge with which an angry Heaven could afflict a free nation. Jean Louis Carra called the word "subject" an insult as applied to the members of the assembled estates, and termed the king the agent of the sovereign —that is, of the nation. Even Mirabeau, who more than any other had suffered in the fetters of absolute monarchy, took up his pen, called upon the king to abolish all feudalism and all privileges, and counselled him to become the Marcus Aurelius of France by granting a constitution and just laws. His solution was "war on the privileged and their privileges," but his sympathies were thoroughly monarchical.

The Heaviest Scourge of an Angry Heaven

Louis then promised that the States-General, which the popular voice demanded, should meet on May 1st, 1789, and dissolved the "cour plénière." The archbishop, on the other hand, suspended the repayment of the national debt for a year, and adopted such desperate financial measures that everyone considered him mad. On August 25th he was dismissed from office; the mob burnt him in effigy and called for Necker, on whom the country pinned its last hopes.

When the arbitrary power of the Crown had been exercised by a despot of ability such as Louis XIV., resistance on the part of the Interests had been crushed. When they had been exercised by a ruler of inferior ability to the social and pecuniary advantage of the Interests, they had not aroused the resistance of caste. But since the accession of Louis XVI. things had been different. The evil effects of the "ancien régime" under Louis XV. had reached a climax. Every Finance Minister in turn now found himself compelled sooner or later to make demands on the pockets of the privileged classes, to attack their immunities, and to call the arbitrary powers of the Crown to his aid in doing so. Hence the privileged classes found themselves in antagonism to the arbitrary powers of the Crown; and hence again they found themselves advocating the limitation of these powers by the summoning of the States-General—a constitutional assembly of the three estates of the realm, nobles, clergy, and commons, which had not been summoned since 1614.

Evil Effects of the Ancien Régime

The idea, of course, was that the Third Estate would count only when it was in accord with the other two. That the "Tiers État" was to capture the supremacy was not at all in the programme of the Parlements or the clergy, or of one section at least of the aristocrats who supported the demand. On the other hand, the demand itself was applauded by all those who had learned to look upon the British constitution as the best existing model, by those who had fallen in love with the American revolution, and by the populace, which reckoned that in the States-General it would become articulate.

Inevitable also was the recall of Necker; the reign of the series of amateurs who had succeeded him had been ruinously costly, and had not even saved the privileged classes; whereas the honesty of Necker and his reputation as a financial expert were still untarnished. Nevertheless, Necker was not the man for the hour. The problem for France was not merely that of raising money; that problem existed as a symptom of the disease of the whole body politic. Until the disease itself should be attacked, that particular expression of it could find only temporary alleviation, whereas in Necker's eyes it was the whole disease.

France's Grave Disease

He looked upon himself as indispensable; he saw that the States-General was inevitable; but he did not see that it was going to be master of the situation. In fact, so little did he realise the enormous importance which was going to attach to that body that a fundamental question as to its constitution was left for its own decision when it should assemble. Were the three orders to vote separately—that is, were there to be three chambers of equal weight—or were they to vote together, the majority in the aggregate being decisive? If the former course were to be followed, the two privileged orders could resist any attack; if the latter, privilege was doomed. For it had been granted that the Third Estate should have double representation, roughly 600 members as against 300 for each of the others; and there were enough reformers

among clergy and nobles to turn the scale decisively. Necker left the point undetermined, though the double representation would be palpably meaningless unless it gave the doubly-represented double weight. With this preliminary issue before it, the States-General met on May 5th, 1789.

Politically and socially, mediæval Europe was the outcome of two forces—feudalism and clericalism. The mediæval passed into the first stage of the modern when a third force, the individualism, which was the essence of renascence, was brought to bear upon these two; the resultant was the Western Europe of the eighteenth century. When the third force overwhelmed the other two in the French Revolution, the second modern stage was reached. The isolation of England had saved her from being gripped like the Continental nations by either feudalism or clericalism; hence she had acquired a strong central government centuries before any European nation had done so. A rigid caste system had never established itself; she had broken free from Rome with hardly a struggle, for five centuries her Commons had never been inarticulate, and for four centuries her labouring classes had been free from villeinage. She had been able to advance steadily without a revolution at all. What she had called revolution was little more than successful resistance to attempted reaction. From the time of King John the party of progress had invariably repudiated the charge of innovation and appealed, not to doctrines of abstract right and theories of what ought to be, but to concrete rights legally confirmed by charter, by statute, or by ancient custom.

The Steady Advance of England

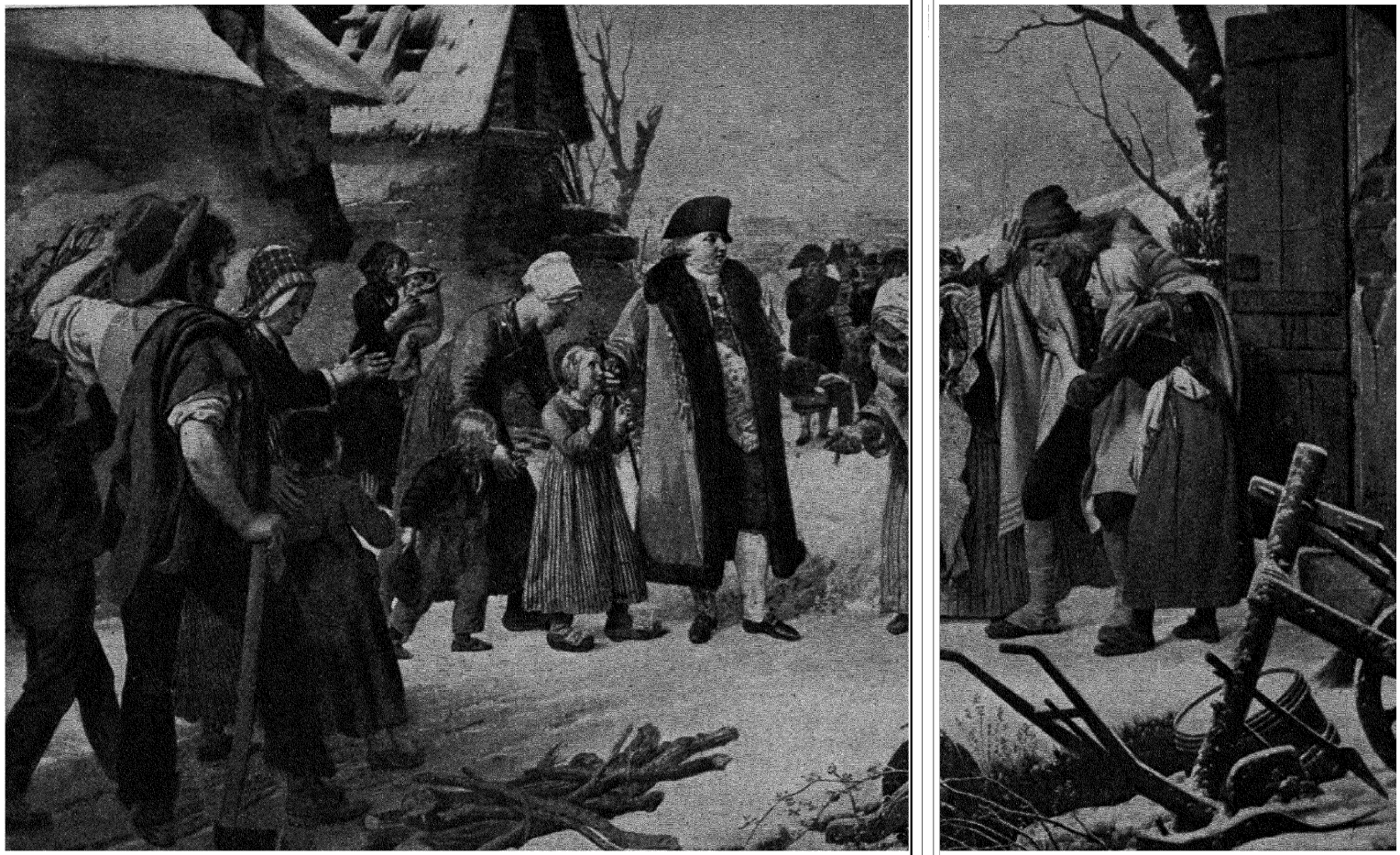
But during those centuries on the Continent feudalism and clericalism had reached their full development, though not without a certain antagonism between themselves. Feudalism must issue politically either in absolutism or in disintegration, or in a combination of the two. In France Louis XI. was able to direct it towards absolutism; in the empire imperial absolutism failed, and Germany became a loose confederation of states; but in the separate states absolutism triumphed. The political downfall of feudalism, however, did not destroy it socially. The boundaries between class and class developed into almost impassable barriers between hereditary castes. The law strengthened the barriers and emphasised the distinction by multiplying privileges and immunities on the one side and intensifying disabilities on the other. The new force, individualism, hardly at the outset attacked feudalism either on its political side, where it was collapsing by its own nature, or on its social side, where it had not then reached its full development. Primarily the great onslaught of individualism was directed against clericalism. Where clericalism made terms with absolutism, it survived; where it did not, Protestantism was victorious. The combination of political absolutism, social feudalism and clericalism culminated in the France of Louis XIV. And to that model every one of the Western states approximated, with modifications, except Great Britain, Holland, and Switzerland.

Western States Modelled on the French Pattern

Now, individualism—the spirit which asserted itself in the Renaissance and the Reformation—is at bottom the claim of the individual to inquire, to judge, and to act for himself, so far, at least, as his doing so does not impede his neighbour's power to do likewise. Absolutism is the negation of the individual's right to act for himself politically; caste or privilege imposes artificial restrictions on one class for the [illegible] of another, socially. Clericalism is the negation of the individual's right to inquire and judge for himself intellectually. Each may serve worthy ends in particular stages of development, but each is in direct antagonism to individualism.

Since inquiry and judgment precede action, the demand for freedom of inquiry and judgment became vigorously militant before the demand for freedom of action. It had been so far victorious as to sever one half of Western Christendom from Rome in the sixteenth century, and to overthrow the Jesuits in the eighteenth. But latterly the attack on clericalism had changed its character; the champions of the movement were the intellectual descendants of Erasmus rather than of Luther. They were more logical than the heroes of the Reformation; but they were less moral, being actuated more by contempt for the irrational and the absurd than by positive religious conviction. Their protagonist was Voltaire, who assailed clericalism as the intellectual enemy with merciless ridicule and invective.

Voltaire the Assailant of Christianity

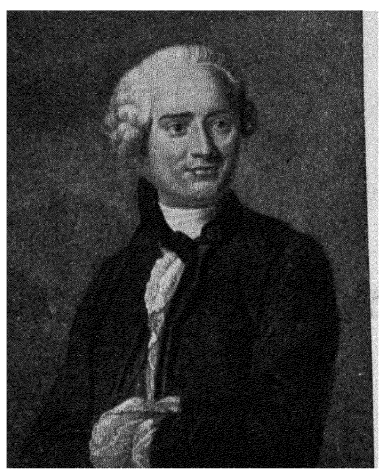


RULER AND PEOPLE LOUIS XVI, KING OF FRANCE, AMONG HIS OOR PEASANT SUBJECTS

From the painting by Hersent at Versailles

but the movement had changed also in another way. As the right to inquire and to judge became decisively ... inquiry applied itself more boldly to the political and the social fields. Herein, England gave the lead. She had worked out her own salvation in practical fashion, without much conscious theorising, and presented to the world the example of a state in which the average individual possessed a degree of liberty without other parallel —in thought, in speech, and in action.

Hobbes had written his theoretical justification of the absolutism which broke down, and John Locke had provided a more or less logical basis for the constitutionalism which succeeded. Hobbes, and Locke after him, both based their theory of the structure of civil society on the hypothesis of an original contract by which aggregates of men had voluntarily subjected themselves to a governing authority. Both also recognised the existence of certain fundamental rights of the individual which could not be abrogated by any contract. The two conceptions, of contract as the origin of society and of the Rights of Man, as postulates, became the basis of extensive speculation culminating in the emotional propaganda of Jean Jacques Rousseau. In Rousseau's account, the "contrat social" had been an insidious device by which the few had been enabled to domineer over the many, and he demanded a new contract based upon the Rights of Man. How such doctrines were impregnating the whole atmosphere of political speculation may be seen from the explicit manner in which the apologists of the American revolt claimed the Rights of Man as their justification.



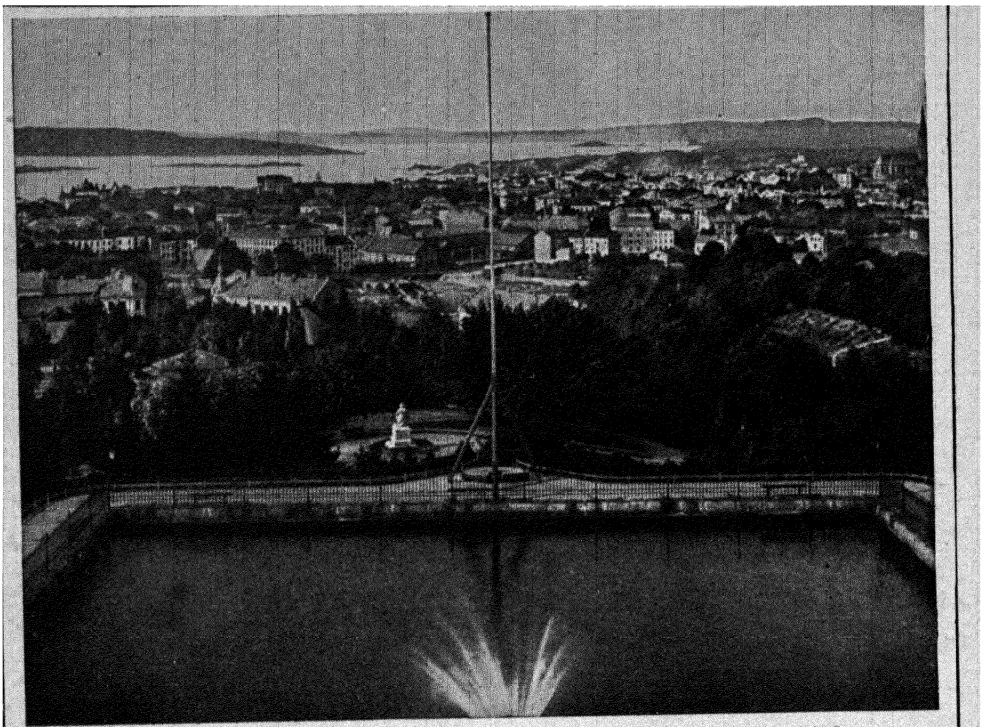
JEAN LE ROND D'ALEMBERT
This great mathematician and Encyclopædist was born in ... were books and the th...

Apart, however, from the emotional expression of abstract theories, inquiry in the political field had taken a new direction. Montesquieu had undertaken the task of analysing existing or formerly existing institutions and comparing their working, initiating the application of the historical and comparative methods. He had pointed to the British constitution as the one under which the maximum of individual liberty was actually to be found, and attributed the fact to the separation of the sovereign functions and to the balance of political powers. A revolution on Anglo-American lines was made to appear possible; and with modifications borrowed from the idealised republicanism of Ancient Rome, appealed with considerable force to the intelligent, the intellectual, and the pedantic. In short, a constitutionalism which was content to be monarchical in form while republican in effect was presented as an attractive ideal, especially to the younger generation, who were, or wished to seem, progressive. Nevertheless, such an ideal was quite incompatible with Rousseauism, although consistent enough with the teaching of Diderot, D'Alembert, and the Encyclopédie. On the practical side, immense additional momentum was given to the revolutionary movement because in its earlier stages it found champions among the best of the intellectuals and of the aristocrats, who did not realise the uncontrollable character of the forces that were being let loose.

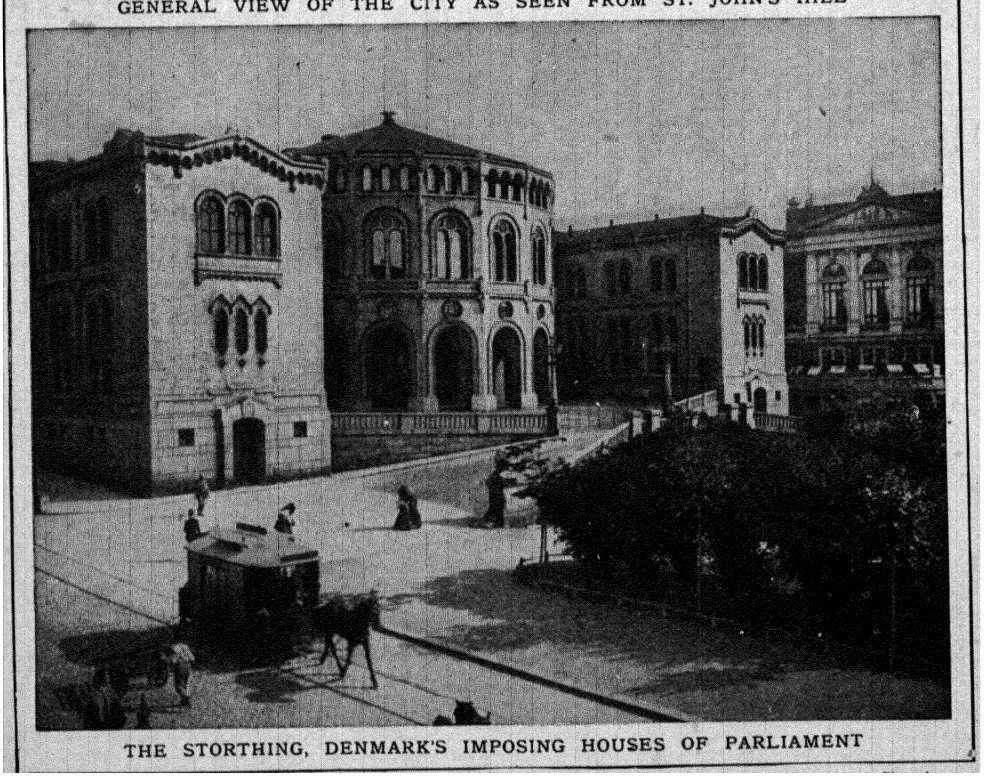
Those forces were, in their origin, more social than political. A system under which the whole weight of taxation rested upon a population usually at or below the hunger-line was endurable only so long as it was irresistible. The population hitherto had suffered and hated, but endured perforce. The suffering and hatred were on the verge of becoming not only articulate but clamorous as the people began to perceive that endurance might not be necessary, that defiance might be possible, that the system might be shattered. The iniquities of privilege were patent to all except the minority who profited by them; even among the minority there were not a few who felt and deplored the injustice.

The States-General had now been summoned to deal with the problem. What would the States-General do with it?

ARTHUR D. INNES



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY AS SEEN FROM ST. JOHN'S HILL



THE STORTHING, DENMARK'S IMPOSING HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

CHRISTIANIA, THE BEAUTIFUL CAPITAL OF NORWAY

Photochrome

4576



DENMARK'S GREAT ERA OF PROGRESS

THE REVIVAL OF NORWAY'S PROSPERITY

AFTER the great Scandinavian war there followed for Denmark a long period of peace, which enabled the nation to recruit its energies and which was of the utmost importance for the internal development of the country. Its intellectual life was greatly influenced from abroad, not only from Germany, as before, but also from Western Europe. New ideas were introduced, interest in public affairs grew stronger, and gradually radical reforms were carried out in various directions. Pietism, imported from Germany, became widespread, especially among the lower classes; and Frederic IV.'s son, Christian VI. (1730–1746), influenced by this movement, exerted himself to promote the intellectual and spiritual welfare of his subjects.

The "Academic Period" in Denmark

In all parts of the kingdom schools were erected where the children could be taught religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Literature, too, now set itself the task of working for the enlightenment and education of the people. In the Reformation period a national literature had grown up which was of the greatest importance for the development of the vernacular as a literary language and for the education of the masses. But soon there was a return to Latin, and scholars were almost ashamed to make use of their mother tongue. It was the "academic period." Science, it is true, had been studied with success, and Denmark could boast of distinguished names—the astronomer Tycho Brahe; Niels Stensen or Steno, the founder of geology; Thomas Bartholin, the well-known anatomist, and the physicist Ole Romer, who became famous by his calculation of the velocity of light.

But the labours of these scholars were without influence on the intellectual life of the nation, for whose education practically nothing had been done. Even poetry was the business of scholars—an artificial product, in imitation of Germany. Yet there were at this time a few poets not without originality, such as A. Arreboe, who has been called the father of Danish poetry; the Norwegian poet Peter Dass, whose popularity has not even yet died out, and Thomas Kingo, highly esteemed as a writer of hymns But, on the whole, the literary output was poor It was only with the appearance of Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754) that Danish literature changed its character and became the educative force which it now is for the whole nation. Holberg was influenced by the intellectual life of Western Europe, and desired, like the philosophers of the eighteenth century, to "enlighten" his countrymen, to exterminate ancient prejudices and follies, and to spread useful knowledge His writings are of many kinds, including satires, comedies, and historical and philosophical works. His purpose being to educate the people, he wrote in Danish, in the development of which as a literary language he rendered valuable service, though he himself was actually a Norwegian He had several followers, who, as apostles of "enlightenment" and "rationalism," aimed at being useful to the state and the nation, and worked through their writings for the cause of "universal happiness."

Holberg's Influence on the Nation

The poets of the latter half of the eighteenth century received strong stimuli from abroad, from the English poetry of Nature, from Rousseau and from German sentimental and national literature, especially from Klopstock, who spent a considerable time in Denmark. The Danish poets, the chief representative of whom was Johannes Ewald, followed the last-named direction, which the Norwegians, influenced by English and French literature, opposed, openly showing their dislike to it by the formation in 1772 of the Norwegian Society, the heart and soul of which was Joh. Herman Wessel. The new ideas continued to spread, and bore fruit in the great reforms which

The Poetry of Denmark and Norway

characterise the last decades of the eighteenth century. The king who was reigning at that time, Christian VII. (1766–1808), was feeble-minded and incapable of performing his duties, and was in consequence soon obliged to leave the real work of government to his Ministers. In the early years of his reign, Bernstorff, the capable statesman who brought the disputes with Gottorp to a satisfactory conclusion, took the chief part in the government, but in 1770 he had to make way for the German physician, Struensee, who had known how to gain the confidence of the king and the affection of the queen, the English Princess Caroline Matilda.



KING CHRISTIAN VI.
He was the son of Frederic IV, and, ascending the throne of Denmark and Norway in 1730, applied himself to promoting the intellectual and spiritual welfare of his subjects.

Struensee was imbued with the ideas of the age of enlightenment, and carried out sensible reforms, such as establishing the freedom of the Press, abolishing the examination of prisoners under torture, and so forth. But his measures were introduced too hurriedly and unsystematically, and many of them aroused great opposition, besides which he incensed the people by his lax morality and his contempt for the Danish language. At the court he had numerous enemies, and they succeeded in bringing about his fall, he was arrested on January 17th, 1772, accused of lèse majesté, and beheaded on April 28th. Most of his reforms were cancelled by the new government, the most influential member of which was Ove Höegh-Guldberg. On April 14th, 1784, the Crown Prince Frederic took up the reins of government, and, though still young himself, showed his ability to select capable advisers, the most prominent being Count Bernstorff, whose moral reputation was without blemish.



TWO FAMOUS DANISH ASTRONOMERS
Ole Romer, a [illegible] philosopher and astronomer [illegible] velocity of light. Tycho Brahe, who belonged to an earlier period [illegible] his studies as an astronomer with great succe[illegible] errors in the astronomical tables, and observing a new star in Cassiopeia.

Both Frederic and his Ministers were in favour of reform; they took in hand a number of Struensee's earlier plans, but proceeded with caution, and thus imparted strength and durability to their measures. The Press regained its freedom, the administration of justice was improved, and many of the bonds that fettered commerce and agriculture were unloosed, for the state of the peasantry was still disgraceful.

Frederic IV., it is true, had abolished the old serfdom; but under his successor a new form of it had been introduced. The regulation had been made—partly to facilitate conscription and partly to ensure a supply of labour for the landed proprietors—that the peasantry were not to be allowed to leave their native place as long as they were liable for military service; as a consequence they were tied to the soil during the best part of their lives, and abandoned to the tyranny of the landowners, who harassed them with claims of compulsory service and with heavy taxation. Serfdom was now abolished—in 1788, and in the duchies in 1797—and by this reform the peasantry attained real freedom. Their condition was also improved in other ways, with the result that the landowners were no longer able to treat them as they liked. Agriculture now made rapid progress, and the value of land was quintupled between 1750 and 1800. Commerce and shipping also entered upon an era of prosperity. In the tariff law of 1797 the protectionist policy was given up; the embargoes on imports were for the most part abolished and the duties were reduced. With a view to encouraging commerce, an agreement had been

concluded with Sweden and Russia—the Armed Neutrality of July, 1780—even at the time of the American War of Independence; and Bernstorff was able to prevent Denmark and Norway from becoming involved in hostilities. Danish and Norwegian vessels sailed all the seas without let or hindrance, and carried on a profitable trade with the belligerents.



KING CHRISTIAN VII
Feeble-minded and incapable of performing the duties of his position, he left the work of government to his ministers. He married the English Princess Caroline Matilda.

After the extinction of the old royal house in 1319 Norway had become united first with Sweden and then with Denmark in 1380. From this time the country rapidly deteriorated; it could not maintain its independence in the union. The prosperity of the country was ruined by the Hanseatic League, which was steadily increasing in power; at the same time Norway was terribly devastated in the fourteenth century by several pestilences.

The retrogression of the material welfare of the country was accompanied by a decline in the literary life; after the middle of the fourteenth century almost all literary activity ceased. The Danes made their way into the country and obtained civic rights by intermarriage. They brought with them the Danish language, which displaced old Norwegian as the literary language, and strongly influenced the colloquial language of the towns. While Sweden had freed herself from Danish supremacy and was entering upon a time of prosperity, Norway was treated almost like a province of Denmark after the "Counts' war" of 1536; it is true it retained the title of kingdom and had its own laws, but it lost its Council of State, and was governed by the Danish Council of State and Danish officials. The Reformation was introduced in 1536 by peremptory decree; the churches and monasteries were pillaged. Little trouble was taken to instruct the people of the country in the new doctrines; indeed, the Danish government concerned itself very little at first about the country. It was only towards the end of the sixteenth century that Norway began to regain its strength; Christian IV. (1588–1648) in particular worked zealously for its welfare. The natural resources of the country were turned to better advantage, the power of the Hanseatic League was broken. Commerce and navigation revived. Forestry and mining became more important, the towns increased in number and size. Christiania was founded in 1624. In addition to the peasantry a class of citizens and mariners was springing up. The nobles were not numerous and had not so many privileges as in Denmark; neither did they possess the power of depriving the peasants of their independence. It is true that the land suffered through the war between Denmark and Sweden, and also lost the provinces of Herjedalen, Jemtland, and Bohuslen; but, on the whole, it made quiet progress.



THE ORACLE OF DENMARK
Count Bernstorff was Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1751 till 1770. By Frederic the Great this capable statesman was characterised as "The Oracle of Denmark."

The situation improved still more after 1650, when an absolute government was introduced into Denmark and Norway. Norway was freed from the Danish feudal lords and stood directly under the king, who interested himself just as much in Norway as in Denmark. The administration and judicature were improved; a new code of laws was issued in 1687, and public offices were often filled by Norwegians. The Norwegians soon became distinguished in many departments of life. Ludwig Holberg, "the Father of Modern Danish-Norwegian Literature," was a Norwegian. Trade and commerce flourished. The last years of the eighteenth century were particularly fruitful, at that time, during the revolutionary wars, Denmark-Norway was able to preserve a neutral attitude, and down to their time there was no ill-feeling in Norway against Denmark and the union.



SWEDEN'S TIME OF STRIFE

THE BLOODLESS REVOLUTION UNDER GUSTAVUS III.

ON the death of Charles XII. without issue, his sister Ulrica Eleonora, who had been married to Frederic, hereditary prince of Hesse, was chosen queen, but she was obliged to renounce the absolute sovereignty in February, 1719. The war soon came to an end in the new reign. Hanover received Bremen and Verden,

The Limited Power of the New King

Prussia the southern part of Nearer Pomerania, and Russia the provinces of Ingermanland, Esthonia, and Livonia, with Viborg Len, from Finland. Denmark was satisfied with 600,000 thalers; Sweden abandoned her claim to exemption from tolls in the Sound, and promised not to protect the Duke of Gottorp.

Ulrica Eleonora resigned the crown in March, 1720, in favour of her husband; Frederic received allegiance as king. However, a new form of government limited the power of the king still more. The king became quite dependent upon the Council of State and the Riksdag. The supreme power was in the hands of the Riksdag, which assembled every three years and had the right of supervising and altering all the decrees of the king and of the Council of State.

National affairs were first discussed in the standing committees, among which the "secret committee" soon obtained the greatest influence. The nobles had the predominance in the Riksdag; they alone had a seat and a vote in the Council of State and filled all the important offices. The period between 1720 and

Sweden's "Time of Liberty"

1772 is generally called the "time of liberty." For a long while after the long and devastating war the country was in a most wretched condition; the finances were in the greatest confusion. However, the situation improved more rapidly than might have been expected, thanks principally to the Chancellor, Count Arvid Horn. In order to further his country's interests he preserved a wise and cautious demeanour towards other nations. At home, also, there was plenty to do: new laws were necessary, and the finances had again to be set in order; all branches of industry required careful attention. In a short time manufactures and mining, commerce and navigation, revived.

With increased prosperity, however, the voices of the malcontents made themselves heard. There was a certain section of the people who could not reconcile themselves to the loss of the Baltic provinces, and, goaded on by France, they had become dissatisfied with Horn's foreign policy; they wanted war with Russia in order to regain what they had lost. They derisively termed Horn and his followers "Nattmössor" (Night-caps), while they called themselves "Hattar" (Wide-awakes). In this way Sweden soon became the scene of fierce party quarrels. The contending parties had recourse to any expedient which might injure their

Internal Strife in Sweden

opponents, and by which they could attract followers to their own side; as both factions were equally venal, corruption became more common. The [illegible] ing nations watched the internal strife with joy, for it promised advantage to them at the expense of Sweden, and foreign ambassadors spared no money to prolong the strife in the interests of their own states. The "Wide-awakes" received bribes from France, the "Night-caps" from Russia.

In the year 1738 the "Wide-awakes," under the leadership of Charles, Count of Syllenborg, succeeded in gaining the upper hand. In 1741 they declared war against Russia. The generals Wrangel, Lewenhaupt, and Buddenbrock, were defeated by the Russians, and at last were forced to surrender. In the meantime Sweden was engaged with the question of the succession to the throne, as Ulrica Eleonora had died childless in 1741. A few, and among them the peasants, desired the Danish Crown Prince (Frederic V.) as successor. This was actively opposed by Elizabeth, the Tsarina of Russia, who

feared the power of a united North; she therefore promised easy conditions if the Swedes would elect the Gottorp prince, Adolphus Frederic, who enjoyed her favour. The "Wide-awakes" succeeded in effecting his election, and in the Peace of Abo, on August 7th, 1743, Russia gave back the greater portion of Finland.

The "Wide-awakes" maintained their power for several years. Like the "Night-caps," they aimed at promoting national industries; their methods, however, were extremely ill-advised and extravagant. It is true, manufactures flourished, but in a way which was unnatural and injurious to other branches of industry, especially to agriculture. Commerce and navigation were handicapped by various prohibitions and by heavy custom duties; the finances were in disorder, and the national debt steadily increased.



FREDERIC I. OF SWEDEN
Hereditary prince of Hesse, Frederic married Ulrica Eleonora When her brother Charles XII. died without issue, she was chosen queen, but resigned in favour of her husband.

It must be admitted that the "Wide-awakes" rendered great service to the arts and sciences; they founded an academy of painting and sculpture and another for science, and lived to see the fruits of their labours. The study of natural science reached a high state of perfection; its most celebrated representatives were Linné (Linnæus), who died in 1778, and the physicist, A. Celsius, who died in 1744 The well-known mystic E. Swedenborg also belongs to this period Among other great men should be mentioned the historian S. Lagerbring, and O. Dalin, and the philologist, J. Ihre. In the cultivation of poetry the Swedes took as their models French and English poets. Dalin, who is mentioned above, wrote epics, lyrics, satires, and dramas; he is recognised as the father of modern Swedish æsthetic literature.



A GREAT BOTANIST
Born in 1757, Carl Linnæus, more than any other man, enriched the science of botany. In 1742 he became professor of botany at Upsala University. He died in 1778.

King Frederic I. died in 1751. His successor, Adolphus Frederic, was a weak, insignificant man, but his wife, Louisa Ulrica, a sister of Frederic II. of Prussia, who was both talented and fond of power, desired to extend the authority of the king. However, her attempt to overthrow the "Wide-awakes" failed so hopelessly that the king and queen were still more humiliated. The king was not even able to prevent the "Wide-awakes" from attaching themselves to the enemies of Prussia in the Seven Years War and declaring war against Frederic II. The war was carried on so carelessly that Sweden completely forfeited her military reputation. It also aroused such indignation against the "Wide-awakes," with whose unsatisfactory government the people were already dissatisfied, that the "Night-caps" succeeded in overthrowing them and regaining their influence. If the "Wide-awakes" had been too extravagant with public money, the "Night-caps" were too economical. They declined to give the manufacturers the large loans and the assistance on which many depended, with the result that they were compelled to stop work. On account of the consequent lack of employment and distress, the "Night-caps" became so unpopular that in 1769 they were forced to give way to the "Wide-awakes." Thus the two parties continued their struggles, without, however, allowing the phantom king to take advantage of their strife by increasing his own power; even the threat of Adolphus Frederic that he would resign his crown had no effect. Russia, Prussia, and Denmark, who had in view the dismemberment of Sweden, naturally sought in every way to prevent any change in the constitution. Thus Sweden was for a time threatened with the same fate which soon afterwards overtook unfortunate Poland.

Gustavus III., the son of Adolphus Frederic, came to the rescue of the country. He was on the Continent at the time of his father's death, but on hearing the news at once hurried back to Sweden, firmly resolved to make an end of internal strife

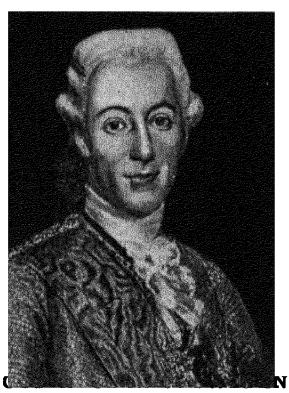
and to recover for the crown its former splendour. He gained the approval of the officers and soldiers for his plan. On August 19th, 1772, by a coup d'état he arrested the councillors and the leaders of the Estates, and on August 21st compelled the Riksdag to sanction a new constitution, by which the king received absolute power,

A Revolution Without Bloodshed

appointed the members of the Council, which retained only the power of [illegible] and shared the legislative power with the Estates. This revolution was received with joy by the people, and was effected without bloodshed; those who had been arrested were set at liberty without being prosecuted or punished. The neighbouring nations were indignant at the coup d'état, and threatened war Gustavus took vigorous precautions, and the storm was soon stilled.

In the years following his coup d'état Gustavus made good use of his new powers. He was talented, learned, and affable, and having been influenced by the liberal ideas of the Encyclopædists, which were being diffused all over Europe, he was strenuously endeavouring to carry out useful reforms. The law-courts were improved, the finances reformed, the freedom of the Press was introduced, and the fetters which impeded trade and other branches of industry were removed. Gustavus was especially interested in art and science; he founded the Swedish Academy in 1786, the Swedish Theatre in 1773, and the Musical Academy in 1771. The plastic arts were also making progress, in particular sculpture. I. T. Sergel, who died in 1814, was the greatest sculptor of his age. In literature the French style prevailed, and was adopted by Gustavus, who was himself a dramatist, and by several poets who had gathered round him—namely, I. H. Kellgren and K. G. af Leopold; while others who kept themselves free from French influence and went their own way were K. M. Bellmann, B. Lidner, and A. M. Lenngren.

Thus the first years of Gustavus's reign were fortunate for Sweden, and the king himself was very popular among the people. Gradually, however, the worse side of his nature gained the ascendancy. He was soon in want of money through his love of splendour and extravagance, and, in order to meet his necessities, he took measures which aroused great dissatisfaction, especially among the lower classes. It was the lower classes, however, to whom he looked for support against the nobility, who could never forgive him for his coup d'état. When he observed that his popularity was declining, he thought that he could recover it by a successful war. In 1788 he found a pretext for declaring war against Russia, and marched through Finland, across the Russian boundary, while the fleet was instructed to sail towards St. Petersburg at the same time. But he was scarcely across the boundary when the officers mutinied, and demanded that he should summon a Riksdag and conclude peace, for he had acted unconstitutionally in declaring war without the consent of the Riksdag. Gustavus hurried back to Sweden, where he won the support of the people, who were indignant at the revolt, summoned the Riksdag, and, on February 21st, 1789, carried the "Sakerhetsakt," which granted him almost unlimited power.



The son of Adolphus Frederic, in 1771 he succeeded his father. The early years of his reign were successful, but in 1792 he was fatally wounded at Stockholm.

The war was continued, but the favourable opportunity was lost, and the war soon came to an end on August 14th, 1790, with the Peace of Werela, which in every respect confirmed the former state of affairs. Gustavus desired to help his friend Louis XVI. against the Revolution; and [illegible], in 1791, concluded a treaty with Russia, and conceived the plan of advancing into France at the head of a Swedish and Russian army. However, a conspiracy was formed among

The King Shot at a Masked Ball

the nobility, whose indignation had reached its height since the introduction of the "Sakerhetsakt." At a masked ball at Stockholm Gustavus was mortally wounded on March 16th, 1792, and died a few days later. Gustavus left a son, Gustavus IV. (Adolphus, 1792–1809), who was not of age, and the brother of Gustavus, Charles, Duke of Söderman-land, undertook the government.

HANS SCHJÖTH

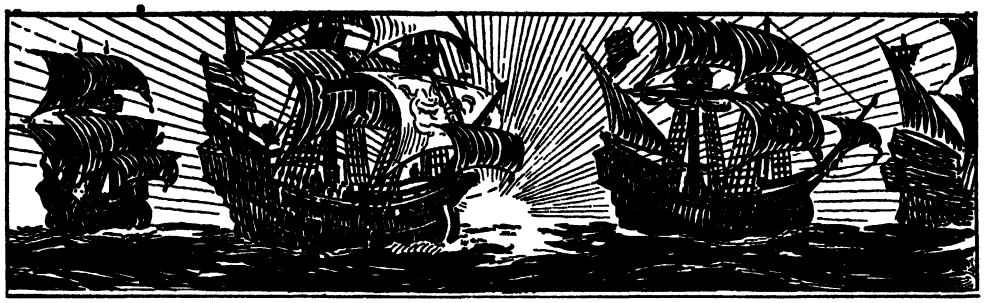
GREAT DATES FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION

A.D.	
1509	Henry VIII. king of England. Albuquerque appointed Viceroy of the Indies
1511	Holy League formed against France
1513	Henry in Picardy James IV. of Scotland killed at Battle of Flodden. James V [illegible] Leo X. elected Pope. Rise of Wolsey. Swiss Confederation completed
1515	Charles of Burgundy succeeds to the crowns of Castile and Aragon. Francis I king of France. Battle of Marignano
1517	Martin Luther challenges Indulgences
1519	Charles succeeds to Hapsburg dominions and is elected Emperor Charles V
1520	Field of Cloth of Gold Blood-bath of Stockholm Luther burns the Pope's Bull Magellan passes Straits of Magellan
1521	Diet of Worms. Adrian VI Pope Cortes in Mexico War between Charles and Francis
1522	England joins the war Knights' war in Germany
1523	Clement VII Pope Gustavus Vasa king of Sweden. Frederic of Holstein king of Denmark
1524	German Peasants' War.
1525	Battle of Pavia
1526	Charles marries Isabella of Portugal
1527	Sack of Rome by Imperial troops Crowns of Hungary and Bohemia conferred on Ferdinand of Austria, brother of Charles V
1529	Peace of Cambrai. Protest of Spain Turks before Vienna. Fall of Wolsey
1530	Confession of Augsburg. Formation of the Schmal-
1531	Death of Zwingli [caldic League
1532	Treaty of Nuremberg Pizarro in Peru
1533	England [illegible] Papal allegiance Ascendancy of Thomas Cromwell
1534	Paul III. Pope. Francis makes Turkish alliance
1535	Visitation of English monasteries. Charles V in Tunis
1536	Pilgrimage of Grace. War renewed between
1538	Truce of Nice [Charles V and Francis
1540	Order of Jesuits receives Papal sanction
1541	Calvin supreme at Geneva Algerian expedition of Charles V. Diet of Regensburg (Ratisbon)
1542	War renewed between Charles and Francis Scottish forces routed at Solway Moss Death of James V. and accession of infant Mary Stuart
1543	Henry joins Charles against France
1544	Peace of Crespy
1545	Council of Trent begins
1546	Death of Luther Schmalcaldic War.
1547	Edward VI king of England Henry II king of France [illegible] Rout
1548	Interim of [illegible] Pinkie
1549	Julius III. Pope Fall of Somerset in England
1552	Maurice of Saxony heads German Protestants Peace of Passau
1553	Mary Tudor queen of England
1554	Mary marries Philip of Spain
1555	Beginning of Marian [illegible] Pacification of Augsburg Paul IV. Pope
1556	Charles V abdicates. Philip succeeds to Spain and Burgundy, Ferdinand in Germany
1557	Lords of the Congregation in Scotland. War between France and Spain
1558	Loss of Calais. Mary Stuart marries Dauphin Elizabeth queen of England
1559	Treaty of Cateau Cambresis. Francis II king of France Religious settlement in England
1560	Treaty of Leith Charles IX. king of France Ascendancy of Catharine de Medici
1561	Mary Stuart returns to Scotland
1562	Massacre of Vassy. Beginning of Huguenot wars in France
1563	End of Council of Trent. Peace of Amboise
1564	Maximilian II emperor
1565	Mary Stuart marries Darnley
1566	Pius V Pope
1567	Murder of Darnley. Mary forced to abdicate Huguenot wars in France Alva in the Netherlands
1568	Mary Stuart takes refuge in England
1569	Suppression of insurrection of Northern earls in England. Battles of Moncontour and Jarnac in France
1570	Treaty of St. Germains. Papal Bull deposing Elizabeth. Assassination of Regent Moray
1572	Revolt of Netherlands. Gregory XIII. Pope. [illegible] Massacre of St. Bartholomew. [illegible] Knox
1573	Alva recalled from Netherlands

A.D.	
1576	The "Spanish Fury" of Antwerp. Don John sent to the Netherlands. Pacification of Ghent. Rudolf II. emperor
1578	Death of Don John. Parma sent to Netherlands
1579	Union of Utrecht
1580	Annexation of Portugal to Spain. Desmond's rebellion in Ireland. Drake completes his voyage of circumnavigation
1584	Death of William the Silent and of Marguerite Valois [illegible] Henry of Navarre [illegible] French throne
1585	Raleigh's first [illegible] Sixtus V. Pope. "War of the [illegible]" in France
1586	English in Netherlands Babington's plot
1587	Execution of Mary Stuart
1588	Spanish Armada. [illegible] many of Guise. Christian [illegible]
1589	Henry IV claims su [illegible]
1592	Clement IX Pope
1593	Henry IV. accepts the Mass
1598	Treaty of Vervins, Edict of Nantes Death of Philip II. and Lord Burleigh. Philip III. king of Spain
1600	Charter of English East India Company
1603	James I. of England Union of English and
1604	Charles IX king of Sweden [Scottish crowns
1605	Paul V Pope
1609	Twelve years' truce between Dutch and Spain. Charter of Virginia
1610	Henry IV assassinated Louis XIII king of France
1611	Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden
1612	Matthias emperor
1613	Princess Elizabeth of England marries Elector Palatine
1614	[illegible] in France till 1789
1617	[illegible] recognised as heir to Matthias
1618	Bohemian revolt begins Thirty Years War
1619	Bohemians elect Frederic of the Palatinate Ferdinand becomes emperor
1620	Battle of White Mountain Voyage of Mayflower
1621	Philip IV. king of Spain
1624	Supremacy of Cardinal Richelieu in France begins
1625	Charles I king of England
1626	Protestants [illegible] of Christian of Denmark [illegible] to aid of emperor. Battle of Lutter
1628	Petition of Right [illegible] Buckingham
1629	Withdrawal of Denmark Emperor issues Edict of Restitution
1630	Dismissal of Wallenstein [illegible]
1631	Gustavus wins victory of [illegible]
1632	Wallenstein recalled Gustavus killed at Lutzen
1633	[illegible]
1634	[illegible] Battle of Nordlingen
1635	Claim of Ship-money. France at war with Spain
1638	National League and Covenant in Scotland
1639	Death of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar The Bishops' War (Scotland)
1640	Accession of Frederic William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg Meeting of Long Parliament
1641	Execution of [illegible] in Ireland
1642	Beginning of [illegible] Mazarin's rise to power in France
1643	Louis XIV. king of France Anne of Austria regent. Solemn League and Covenant between Parliament and Scots. Duc d'Enghien (the Great Condé) defeats Spaniards at Rocroi
1644	Battle of Marston Moor
1645	Battle of Naseby
1648	Peace of Westphalia [illegible]
1649	Charles I beheaded [illegible] Cromwell in Ireland
1650	Death of Montrose Battle of Dunbar
1651	Battle of Worcester. Escape of Charles II Navigation Act
1652	Anglo-Dutch war begins. War of the Fronde ends
1653	Cromwell made Lord Protector
1654	Charles X king of Sweden End of Dutch war
1656	Cromwell at war with Spain
1657	French alliance with Cromwell. Blake at Santa Cruz
1658	Capture of Dunkirk. Death of Cromwell
1660	Stuart Restoration in England. Louis XIV. assumes government in France. Charles XI king of Sweden. Treaty of Oliva
1661	Death of Mazarin. Colbert in France. Clarendon in England
1662	Charles II. of England marries Catharine of Braganza. Dunkirk sold to France

GREAT DATES FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION

A.D.	
1665	Independence of Portugal under the house of Braganza recognised. Charles II. king of Spain. Anglo-Dutch war begins
1667	End of Dutch war. First Partition Treaty. Beginning of the "War of Devolution." Louis XIV. invades the Netherlands
1668	Cabal Ministry in England. Triple Alliance (England, Holland, and Sweden)
1670	Treaty of Dover between Louis and Charles
1672	France and England attack Holland. Fall of the Grand Pensionary and rise of William of Orange (nephew of Charles II.)
1673	European coalition
1674	England withdraws from war. Turenne's campaign in Alsace
1675	Death of Turenne. Victory of Great Elector at Fehrbellin
1677	William of Orange marries Mary, daughter of Duke of York
1678	Treaty of Nimeguen. Titus Oates and the Popish Plot in England
1679	Treaty of St Germain-en-Laye. Rising of Scottish Covenanters. Habeas Corpus Act
1681	Louis seizes Strasburg
1682	Accession of Peter the Great in Russia
1685	James II. king of England. Louis revokes the Edict of Nantes
1686	William of Orange forms League of Augsburg
1688	The Great Elector succeeded by Frederic III. Louis invades the Palatinate. William of Orange lands in England
1689	William III. and Mary accept Declaration of Right. Battle of Killiecrankie. Grand Alliance formed
1690	Battle of Boyne
1692	Massacre of Glencoe. Irish Penal Laws passed. Battles of La Hogue and Steinkirk
1694	Bank of England established
1697	Treaty of Ryswick. Prince Eugene defeats Turks at Zenta. Charles XII. king of Sweden. Party government initiated by Whig Junto
1698	[illegible] on Treaty
1699	[illegible] Darien scheme. Second [illegible]
1700	Spanish Crown accepted by Philip (V.) of Anjou. Northern war. Charles XII. defeats Danes and Russians at Narwa
1701	Louis acknowledges James Edward Stuart. England joins Grand Alliance. Frederic III. Elector of Brandenburg, becomes King [illegible] of Prussia. Anne queen of England. War of Spanish Succession. Charles XII. invades Poland
1704	Marlborough and Eugene rout French at Blenheim. Rock takes Gibraltar
1705	Joseph I. emperor
1706	Marlborough wins battle of Ramillies. Eugene wins battle of Turin
1707	Defeat of allies by Berwick at Almanza. Treaty of Union between England and Scotland united as Great Britain
1708	Battle of Oudenarde
1709	Battle of Ramillies. Charles XII. defeated at Poltawa
1710	Fall of Whigs in England. Conference of Gertruydenberg
1711	Archduke Charles becomes Emperor Charles VI. Fall of Marlborough
1713	Treaty of Utrecht establishes Bourbon dynasty in Spain. Frederic William I. king of Prussia
1714	Treaty of Rastadt. George I. king of England. Hanoverian dynasty begins. Philip V. marries Elizabeth Farnese
1715	Louis XV. king of France; Orleans regent. Jacobite rising of the "Fifteen"
1716	Eugene overthrows Turks at Peterwardein
1717	Great Britain, France, and Holland form Triple Alliance; later joined by Austria
1718	Treaty of Passarovitz. Alberoni in Spain. Spanish fleet destroyed at Cape Passaro. Death of Charles XII.
1720	End of Northern war. Promulgation of Pragmatic Sanction by Emperor Charles VI. Collapse of South Sea Bubble in England, and Law's Mississippi scheme in France
1721	Walpole's administration begins in England
1722	Orleans regency ends in France
1724	Ripperda in Spain
1725	Catharine I. in Russia
1726	Cardinal Fleury becomes First Minister in France
1727	George II. king of England. Walpole retains power
1729	Treaty of Seville. Treaty of Vienna
1731	Second Treaty of Vienna
1733	Secret family compact between French and Spanish Bourbons. War of Polish succession begins
1735	War of Polish succession ends. Bourbon dynasty in the two Sicilies
1738	France guarantees Pragmatic Sanction
1739	War of Jenkins' Ear begins between Spain and Great Britain
1740	Frederic II. king of Prussia. Death of Emperor Charles VI. Austrian succession claimed by Maria Theresa under Pragmatic Sanction, challenged by Charles of Bavaria. Frederic occupies Silesia; first Silesian War
1741	War of Austrian succession
1742	Charles VII. of Bavaria emperor. Fall of Walpole
1743	Battle of Dettingen. Treaty of Fontainebleau
1744	Marshal Saxe in the Netherlands
1745	Francis I. of Tuscany (Lorraine), husband of Maria Theresa, emperor. Charles Edward lands in Scotland and invades England
1746	Jacobite rising crushed at Culloden. Opening of Franco-British struggle in India. Dupleix and La Bourdonnais capture Madras. Ferdinand VI. king of Spain
1747	French invade Holland
1748	Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restores conquests
1751	Clive at Arcot
1754	Collisions of French and British colonists in America
1756	Alliance of Great Britain and Prussia. League against Prussia. French take Minorca. Frederic invades Saxony. Seven Years War begins
1757	Pitt in power. Clive's victory at Plassey. Battles of Prague, Kolin, Rossbach, Leuthen, Hastenbeck, Crefeld
1758	Battles of Zorndorf, Hochkirch, Lowositz, Crefeld in power in France
1759	Battles of Minden, Kunersdorf, Lagos, Quiberon and Quebec. Pombal in power in Portugal. Charles III. king of Spain
1760	Battles of Leignitz, Torgau and Wandewash. George III. king of England
1761	Bute predominant. Pitt retires
1762	Spain joins France; Russia becomes neutral
1763	Treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg
1764	Suppression of Jesuits in France. Stanislas Poniatowski king of Poland. Battle of Buxar (Bengal)
1765	Joseph II. emperor. Grenville's Stamp Act
1766	Rockingham Ministry repeals Stamp Act. Pitt forms Grafton Ministry and becomes Earl of Chatham
1767	Jesuits expelled from Spain. Charles Townshend's Colonial taxes
1768	France acquires Corsica from Genoa. Middlesex elections
1769	[illegible] Emperor Joseph
1770	[illegible] Choiseul in France. North's [illegible]
1771	[illegible] by Maupeou
1772	Partition of Poland. Gustavus III. king of Sweden
1773	Jesuits condemned by the Pope. North's Indian Regulating Acts
1774	Louis XVI. king of France. Maurepas restores the Parlement. Penal Acts against [illegible]
1775	Turg[illegible] of American War of Independence
1776	Necker in France. American Declaration of Independence
1777	Joseph II. claims Bavarian succession. Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga
1778	France supports America
1779	Spain joins war
1780	First armed neutrality. Death of Maria Theresa
1781	Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown. Reforms of Joseph II.
1782	Fall of North. [illegible] Rodney's victory of [illegible]. Parliament established in Ireland
1783	Peace of Versailles. Independence of U.S.A. recognised. Calonne in France. Coalition of Fox and North; the younger Pitt becomes Prime Minister
1784	Pitt [illegible] power; remains till 1801
1785	[illegible] Act. Frederic II. forms the Furstenbund
1786	Frederic William II. king of Prussia
1788	Revolt of Netherlands against Joseph's reforms. Recall of Necker, and summoning of States-General



THE COMMERCE of WESTERN EUROPE

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION

THE EFFECTS OF THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES

THE permission obtained from the Pope by the rulers of Spain and Portugal to extend their power over unknown or untrodden regions was a result of the long-continued war with the Mohammedans, which to the successors of Gregory VII. and Urban II. was a continuation of the Crusade policy of the papacy. The sovereigns of the Iberian Peninsula finally succeeded in driving oversea the enemy who had come upon them in the eighth century.

The bloodshed of 700 years was brought to a close by the conquest of Granada in 1492. It now became necessary to render the regained territory secure by occupying the Mediterranean coast of Africa. In fact, both Spain and Portugal undertook this task, but with the means at their disposal success seemed very uncertain. It was for this reason that Henry the Navigator, who died in 1460, endeavoured to find a new strategic base of operations, as well as new allies and means, to be used against the infidels. Columbus and his patroness, Isabella of Castile, were also inspired by the same thought. Spaniards and Portuguese alike were filled with the idea of making use of the treasures of India and China in their struggle against the Mohammedans. Yet neither Spain nor Portugal was able to carry out its plans in respect to the conquest of the Barbary States.

The Struggles Against the Mohammedans

The Christians were able to capture and hold only single points along the coast, the so-called "presidios." The attacks of Charles V. on Tunis and Algiers were ineffectual, and Sebastian's campaign against Morocco ended in 1578 with a defeat that was decidedly injurious to the future influence of Portugal. The kings of Spain were obliged to defend the interests of their subjects against the Mohammedans in the Eastern Mediterranean also—above all, the commerce of the Catalonians, who, since the time of the Crusades, had been the rivals of the Italians and Provençals in the Levant. Moreover, Sicily had been under the dominion of Aragon for centuries, and Naples became a dependency of Spain in 1504. It was necessary to defend political and economic interests against the followers of Islam in this region also.

Naples a Dependency of Spain

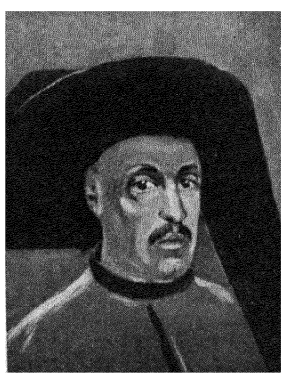
Conditions in the Levant had become completely altered since the end of the Crusades. The Byzantine Empire was no longer in existence, and the Mohammedan kingdom of the Turks had arisen in its place. There were no longer any Genoese or Venetian settlements in the Black Sea region. Anatolia was now a Turkish province. Syria and Egypt had been under the dominion of the Sultan of Constantinople since the [illegible] of the sixteenth century. The sole remains of the colonial empire of Venice in the Eastern Mediterranean were a few islands, constantly threatened, and indeed conquered piecemeal. In addition to Spain and Italy, there was still another region which the Hapsburgs, on whose empire the sun never set, were obliged to defend against the Mohammedans This was Austria, their hereditary kingdom. To be sure, dexterity and good luck had enabled them in the year 1526 to establish the great union of

The Great Empire of the Hapsburgs

nations from which the Austro-Hungarian monarchy developed in later times; but, owing to the quarrels of the different ruling factions in the lands of St. Stephen, they were unable to avoid the loss of the greater part of Hungary. It was greatly to the advantage of the Hapsburgs that the protection of German Austria was looked upon as a common German, indeed as a common European, cause. Hence Suleiman II., accustomed as he was to victory, failed to plant the crescent on the walls of Vienna in 1529.

The Crescent's Failure at Vienna

The most important part of the policy of Spain, the repulse of the Turks at the time of their final advance against Christendom, was greatly obstructed owing to the fact that France, under Francis I., was all the while waging a war of self-preservation against the Hapsburgs. Feeling that the existence of his monarchy was threatened by the supremacy of Spanish power, Francis had entered into negotiations with the Porte as early as 1525, when in prison in Madrid. The Franco-Spanish War of 1526–1529, together with the contemporary attacks of Suleiman on Hungary, compelled the Hapsburgs to divide their forces in order to protect themselves on both sides. A few years later, in 1535, Francis I., fully conscious of the gravity of the step, formed an alliance with the Turks. This was the first open union which had ever been entered into by a Christian-Latin power with the followers of the Prophet. The Turks in return put the French king in possession of a Mediterranean fleet.



HENRY THE NAVIGATOR The fourth son of John I., King of Portugal, he encouraged voyages of discovery, and, at his own expense, fitted out important expeditions. He died in 1460.

The Spaniards were not only prevented from becoming the rulers of the Mediterranean, but, owing to their position as champions of Christianity, were obliged to forfeit the remains of their commerce in the Levant. In this the Catalonians and the city of Barcelona were the greatest sufferers.

The Castilians had nothing to lose in the East, and were looked upon by the other Spaniards as the founders of a world-policy that appeared to be the height of madness. The decline of commerce in the Levant rendered more acute the antagonism between the different parts of the Spanish Empire, which were bound together only by dynastic ties. In the meanwhile France harvested the material fruits of her unchristian alliance with the Mohammedan East. A commercial treaty, drawn up on very similar lines to the old Hanse compacts, and offering a model for later treaties, was concluded in 1535. It was based on the principle of reciprocity as against other powers. The French in the East were to pay the same tolls and taxes that the Turks themselves paid to their government, and vice versa; further, it was agreed that the French should be legally answerable to their own consuls alone, and that they should be permitted to worship according to their own religion in Mohammedan lands. The French flag succeeded to the privileges of the Venetian, and was moreover displayed by all vessels of other nations sailing under French protection. In contrast to the Spaniards, the Venetians did not allow themselves to be driven from their trade with the Levant. As in earlier times, they would now have preferred to ship in between the hostile powers of the West and East, but during the sixteenth century it was necessary for them to be armed and on their guard against both the sultan, who desired to get possession of the remains of their colonies, and the emperor, or, rather, the House of Austria, whose sphere of interest in the plain of the Po and beyond the Adriatic extended dangerously near to the boundaries of the territory subject to Venice. Although the Continental possessions of Venice were likely to draw her into serious complications, without the revenues from these lands she would be unable to provide the troops and ships required for the defence of her position in the East. The false notion that the Oriental commerce of the Venetians came to an end because of the discovery of an ocean route to India, and that trade was wrested from Venice by Portugal, is old and seemingly ineradicable. In reality, Venice continued to carry on traffic with the Levant not only throughout the sixteenth

Eastern Commerce of Venetians

century, but until the beginning of the eighteenth, so that at least seven or eight generations passed before the commerce in question entirely lost its earlier importance. Had the Venetians been as stubborn as the Hanseatics, there is no doubt that they would have lost their Oriental trade much earlier than they did.

When they saw that Alexandria was declining for lack of an import trade, because the Portuguese had closed up the entrance to the Red Sea, they did not hesitate for a moment to desert the former mistress of the Eastern Mediterranean, and transferred their headquarters to Aleppo, for the reason that the Syrian city had once more become a market for the products of Asia. Arabs, Persians, and Armenians brought merchandise thither from India; for the Portuguese, much as they wished to do so, had not succeeded either in closing the Persian Gulf permanently, in blocking up the overland routes, or in driving the Arabs from the Indian Ocean. They had indeed been successful in rendering the old commercial routes more difficult of access, but they had by no means destroyed them. The fate of Venetian trade in the East did not lie in the hands of the Portuguese, but depended upon the moods, peaceful or warlike, of the sultan. How capable the Venetians were of adapting themselves to adverse circumstances was shown by the fact that they struck out an entirely new commercial route, and one, moreover, for which the chief instrument of their trade, their mercantile marine, was practically useless; this was the caravan road that led diagonally across the Balkan Peninsula from Constantinople to Spalato. All wares that did not find purchasers in the last-named city—where trade was entirely in the hands of Venetian merchants—were sent to the capital by ship. Thus Venice was still able to supply her old customers outside of Italy with merchandise from the Orient, in spite of Lisbon and Antwerp, although, to her great regret, she was not able entirely to do away with their competition.

Business Enterprise of Venice

Both before and after the period of discoveries the Upper Germans were the most reliable customers of the Venetians. It was an advantage to the South German merchant, now reaching out more vigorously than ever in all directions, that, in spite of the south-east passage to India, the Portuguese and the Netherlanders were unable to monopolise the entire trade in Asiatic products. The Germans had their choice of Venice, Lisbon, and Antwerp. There was no reason why they should neglect Venice; indeed, there was a far better market for the sale of German products there than in the newly-established commercial centres of the West.

Italy's Domination of Europe

How was it, then, that Venice could have so suddenly, as the traditional formula postulates, lost her commanding position in the world's trade? Even granting that the Orient had in reality been hermetically sealed by the Portuguese and Turks, this would not have been sufficient to destroy the trade of Venice, of which one of the chief supports was her domestic industry. During the sixteenth century, the height of the Renaissance, and until late in the seventeenth, Italy dominated the artistic taste of all Europe.

The commercial language, customs, and methods of Italians became widely diffused over Northern and Western Europe for the first time in the sixteenth century. Indeed, the discoveries through which the commerce of the Apennine Peninsula is said to have been destroyed actually contributed, if not to an increase in the commercial power of Italy, at least to an enlargement in its area of distribution; for Venetian and Genoese importers were among the very first to supply Seville and Lisbon with the merchandise that was sent out to the Transatlantic possessions in accordance with the Spanish and Portuguese system of colonisation. The older commercial races, the Italians and the Germans, had no reason for fearing the Spaniards and Portuguese; the English and the Netherlanders were far more dangerous rivals. It was in the North, along the line that divided Central from Northern European commerce that the Venetians were first compelled to retire from competition. About the year 1560 they suspended the regular sea voyages which they had been in the habit of making to the Low Countries and the British Isles ever since the year 1318, while, on the other hand, English and Dutch navigators had become constant visitors to the Mediterranean.

Venetians Retire from Competition

There can be no doubt that the centre of gravity of the world's commerce gradually swung westward to the Atlantic coast during the course of the sixteenth century,

yet without bringing with it any sudden destruction to German or Italian trade. Both Germany and Italy stretched forth their tentacles over the Iberian Peninsula and the newly developing centres of the world's trade. Adaptation to altered circumstances was now possible, inasmuch as the old and clumsy method of barter had in a large degree been superseded by the use of money and credit; consequently, geographical displacements of trade were no longer of any great consequence.

Wonders of the New World

The New World proffered her peculiar flora and fauna to the conquistadores of the sixteenth century in their entire tropical profusion. The existence of a strange race of human beings who lived in other moral conditions was also of consequence to the masters of the new hemisphere, although phenomena of nature and civilisation were of but minor interest to men whose activities were almost exclusively limited to the obtaining of gold.

However, it was at least necessary to settle in the new continent, and to look at it as a territory for residence and subsistence. Had Europe, or even Spain, suffered from excess of population during the sixteenth century, the New World would have been from the very first what it really became only during the nineteenth century—a region of expansion for such civilised nations of the world as are lacking either in land or in means of subsistence. Since at that time Europe, and especially Spain, had too few rather than too many inhabitants, the New World was at the beginning an unlimited arena for the deeds of adventurers, a fair field for missionaries eager to make converts, and a tremendous crown demesne for the government, which bore and continued to bear the expenses of discovery and conquest, and naturally, according to the principles of government which then prevailed, desired an immediate reimbursement of its outlay.

The Early Settlers in America

But although emigration from Europe to America did not at first assume any considerable proportions, sporadic settlements were made by eager, enterprising, and highly educated leaders, lay and ecclesiastical, who sowed the seeds of Mediterranean culture in the New World, and, still remaining Europeans, founded that system of hemispheric division of production and distribution which was the keystone of commercial policy for more than two centuries. The transmission of European civilisation to America, so beneficial to both hemispheres, was dependent on the relations of the colonists to the native races, who were not thickly settled although sometimes highly developed. Had the methods of the conquistadores been adopted, the red race would soon have been annihilated.

However, the influence of Church and State tended to curb the unscrupulous egoism of colonial, mining, and commercial interests. As soon as ecclesiastical and political government took the place of previous anarchy, the native races could at least be rescued from extirpation, although their civilisation was allowed to drift away to destruction because of its heathen origin. Only the more barbarous of the Indians retreated beyond the sphere of European influence, seeking refuge in the forests and deserts. Their civilised brethren did not shrink from the consequences of association with the European intruders; marriage between Europeans and Indian women also contributed towards the establishment of friendly relations. In this way a race of half-breeds, or Mestizos, arose among the pure-blooded European and Indian peoples.

What the New World Received from the Old

The Old World was far superior to the New with regard to the possession of domestic animals. The llama, the vicuña, and a few varieties of birds were all that America had to offer to European settlers. The great wealth of the new continent in game was not taken into consideration at all by the Spanish and Portuguese colonists. Since practically all the domestic animals of the New World are of Old World origin, first having been imported from Spain or elsewhere—this applying not only to the tame but also to the wild cattle and horses—it follows that the exchange of civilisation favoured America from a zoological quite as much as it had from an anthropological point of view.

Although America was more fortunately situated in regard to flora than to fauna, nevertheless the New World received from the Old more than it gave in the shape of useful plants. Such American products as maize, tobacco, potatoes, and Spanish pepper can, indeed, be cultivated in the more temperate regions of the Old World. In like manner the pineapple, aloe, and cactus have been introduced into the

sub-tropical zones; and cocoa and vanilla, together with some medicinal plants, flourish in the tropics of the Eastern Hemisphere. Even if we add to these American dye-woods and timber, the vegetable products that have been transplanted from the New World to the Old fall a long way short both in number and in importance of the total of species that have crossed the Atlantic in the other direction; in fact, the various kinds of grain, wheat, barley, oats, and rye are of themselves sufficient to equalise the balance.

It would take too long to enumerate all the varieties of fruits and vegetables, fibrous plants and herbs used for dyeing, which have been exported across the ocean from the three older continents, and have been found to thrive well in North and South America. To these, sugar-cane and coffee must also be added. Even the two chief varieties of cotton cultivated in America are of Old World origin.

Plants and animals were at first exported across the ocean from one hemisphere to the other without much attention being paid to them. Perhaps centuries passed before their useful qualities were discovered and properly valued—the potato, for example. During the first century or century and a half after the discovery, products of the animal and vegetable kingdoms played a very small part in the traffic between Europe and America. As yet there was nothing from either to be sent back to Europe as a return cargo with which to pay for the importations of European industrial products. Even the quantity of West Indian sugar sent to Europe in addition to dye-woods and drugs from Central and South America seems not to have been large; the use of sugar itself was yet very limited. In general, none of the products which in later times received the name of "colonial wares" had yet become well known as luxuries. Not until the seventeenth century did the manner of life of Europeans alter to such a degree as to favour trade in such products.

Trade between Europe and America

Nevertheless, permanent settlements were soon established in America by European immigrants, who required regular importations of the products of Old World industry, for they by no means fell to the level of self-sufficing barbarism. Next in importance to the possession of an unlimited area for residence and subsistence, the occurrence of the precious metals was the foundation of the being and prosperity of the Spanish-American colonies. Ever since the sixteenth century the gold and silver of the New World have exerted a powerful influence on the economic and political history of Europe.

America's First Shipment of Bullion

Although the production of the precious metals in America can be expressed in approximate figures, scholars have vainly endeavoured to discover the quantity of gold and silver on hand in Europe previous to the year 1500, when bullion was first shipped across the Atlantic. Perhaps £125,000,000 worth is not too high an estimate. However, there are other facts which, in addition to being firmly established, are of far more importance to the history of European possession and coinage of the precious metals. During the Middle Ages silver was the chief medium of exchange, but, owing to the untrustworthiness of silver money, ever since the middle of the thirteenth century wholesale trade had become accustomed to the use of the gold currency which had been employed for many years back in the Levant, within the Byzantine as well as the Mohammedan sphere of civilisation. The Florentine florins and the Venetian ducats, or sequins, served as models for the gold pieces of the Rhineland, France, and Hungary. The smallness of the output of gold in Europe prevented a further extension of the use of a gold coinage.

On the other hand, the use of silver greatly increased during the fifteenth century, and rose still more rapidly during the sixteenth. Over-production of silver was rendered impossible, owing to the fact that even in classic times there was a constant flow of money, especially of silver, into Eastern Asia; this explains the scarcity and high value of money, as well as the favourable ratio maintained by silver to gold. Apart from some temporary fluctuations at the end of the fifteenth century the ratio of value of gold and silver was 11½ : 1. During the course of the sixteenth century the effects of the production of the precious metals in America were distinctly felt in Europe. Owing to the continued preponderance of silver, the ratio gradually became more and more favourable to gold, standing at 15 : 1 from about 1630–40; and this ratio was maintained with but few interruptions

The Age of Silver

until 1874, when 16 : 1 was exceeded, and a rapid fall in the price of silver began. The extraordinary increase in the supply of precious metals during the sixteenth century was by no means an unmixed blessing from an economic point of view. The joint production of precious metals in Europe and America between 1493 and 1600 amounted probably to about £77,000,000 in gold and over £175,000,000 in silver—a total of more than £250,000,000. The New World remained behind the Old in the production of the precious metals until 1544; this was due to the richness of the mines in the Tyrol, Bohemia, and Saxony, as well as to the superior methods of mining and extraction employed in Europe. But when the silver mines of Potosi in Peru were discovered in 1545, and those of Zacatecas and Guanajuato in Mexico in 1548, when German miners were sent to America, and one of them, whose name is unknown, invented the method of extracting silver from quartz by the use of mercury, the production of America soon surpassed that of the Old World, and began to cause a fall in the value of the precious metals.

America's Silver Production

Although the exact quantity of silver and gold shipped from America to Europe is not known, one can at least form some idea of the increase from estimates of the total supply of the precious metals in Europe at different periods. Thus, if the supply in 1493 is reckoned at about £125,000,000, and that in 1600 at £325,000,000, the increase during the sixteenth century must have amounted approximately to £200,000,000.

With a constant increase in the supply of the precious metals, the purchasing power of money must sink, just as increase in the supply of any commodity is apt to cause a fall in its value, once the normal demand is satisfied; it follows that a fall in the value of money is attended by a rise in prices of all other commodities. A general rise in prices must be felt by all classes of society, especially in cases where there is no increase of income to correspond with the decrease in the purchasing power of money. Experience shows that, as a rule, men who are dependent upon wages and salaries for their support are not able—certainly not immediately—to increase their incomes proportionately to the increased cost of necessities of life. Hence, a crisis in prices is usually accompanied by economic phenomena, which are especially destructive to the welfare of the poorer classes. Workmen who received their pay in currency were better off during the fifteenth century, when wages were relatively high, than during the sixteenth, when, in addition to a fall in wages, there was a decrease in the purchasing power of money; thus, the proletariat grew in numbers in spite, rather than in consequence, of the opening of the treasures of the New World. The rise in the prices of commodities had also a depressing effect upon incomes derived from interest or rent. On the other hand, producers or dealers who were successful in bringing about an advance in prices were able to add to their wealth without the slightest exercise of labour.

Fall in the Value of Money

As has been proved by thousands of independent statements, civilised Europe underwent an economic crisis during the sixteenth century. The effects of the fall in the value of money and the general advance in the prices of commodities were felt in all directions—earlier in the West than in the East—and this state of affairs continued until well into the seventeenth century. Conditions did not change until about 1650, when a slight reaction set in, and not until the beginning of the eighteenth century was there another steady advance of prices.

Economic Crisis in Europe

The customary term, "revolution in prices," is certainly very inappropriate for the designation of movements that are so slow as almost to remind us of the gradual risings and fallings of continents. Only the attempts of merchants to effect a rise artificially, and the clumsy financial policy of certain politicians, have here and there given to these slowly consummating crises the character of revolutionary movements.

By turning the Cape of Good Hope, the Portuguese discovered an ocean route to India, the goal which the Spaniards under Columbus had so unsuccessfully endeavoured to attain. They set foot in a region with which Europe had been engaged in indirect trade for thousands of years, a densely populated country, abounding in its own peculiar products, possessed of its own independent civilisation, the very nucleus of the world's commerce. Nevertheless, the inhabitants

of India had no wish to dominate the world's trade, and willingly placed their commerce in the hands of foreigners, through whose activities a market was secured that extended over the broadest spheres of lands and peoples. The Arabs were the masters of the intermediate trade with the coasts of the Indian Ocean, and from their hands the Europeans of the Mediterranean region, the Venetians leading, received the luxuries of India, which then passed through a third, fourth, and perhaps twentieth hand, each exchange aiding the merchants of the Latin and, for a long time, the Byzantine sphere of civilisation to secure the commercial supremacy enjoyed by them for so many years. Eastern Asia no less than Western Europe depended upon India for a large part of its commerce, which extended even beyond Japan, losing itself at an indeterminable distance among the islands of the Pacific. The Portuguese were good seamen and expert in war. Like the Spaniards, they were old enemies of the Mohammedans, whom they had already victoriously followed into North Africa, and now encountered once more in the world of the Indian Ocean. They took possession of the hemisphere that had been granted them by the Pope, nominally, rather than in reality; for a small, sparsely populated country like Portugal could think neither of colonisation nor of any serious effort to subjugate the native inhabitants.

The Pope's Grant to Portugal

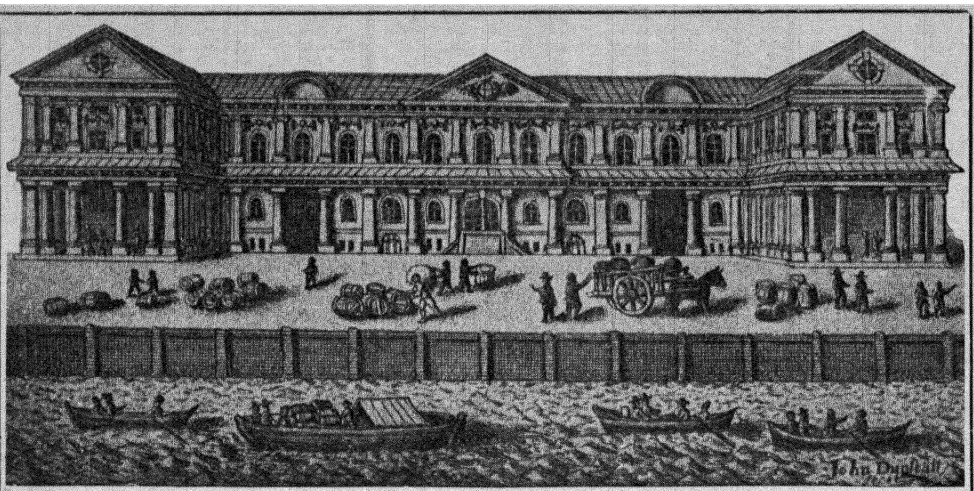
However, the hostile attitude of the Arabs rendered it necessary for the Portuguese to occupy and fortify certain points along the coast. In fact, the possessions of Portugal both in Asia and in Africa have never been more than coast settlements. The two objects which Portugal set out to attain—both far beyond her power—were the monopoly of the spice trade in Europe, and the driving away of Asiatic competitors, who acted as middlemen in the commerce with European nations. Together with the spice trade at first hand, the Portuguese carried on traffic in negroes, which had grown to considerable proportions since the introduction of slavery into Spanish America; the gold of West Africa was also a source of gain. Although the undertakings of the Portuguese were at first purely mercantile enterprises, in which no greater expenditure for materials of war had been entailed than in the case of the ordinary traffic in the Mediterranean in later times, the Portuguese Crown was obliged to make great military preparations, of which the expense increased from year to year. Like the Spanish, the Portuguese colonial trade was placed under strict state supervision and all financial affairs organised, nationalised, and put under crown control. A direct participation of foreigners, once permitted, was forbidden for the future.

Sources of Portuguese Profit

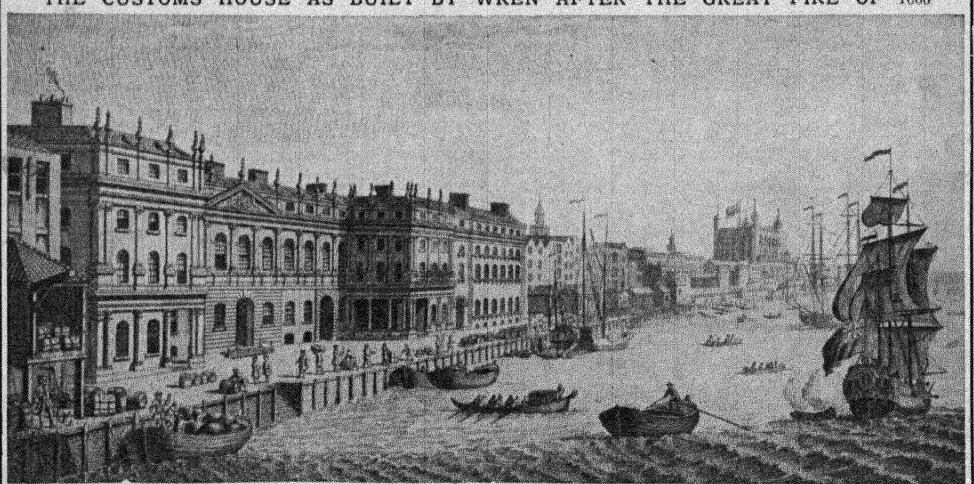
King Manuel the Great concentrated the East Indian trade in the Casa da India at Lisbon, and finally declared it to be an exclusive right of the crown. Cargoes of spices had already been sent to England and to the Netherlands; a permanent royal depôt was now established at Antwerp. Once more the commerce of Western Europe possessed two centres in Antwerp and Lisbon. It was not long before Italian, Upper German, Spanish, and French merchants took up their quarters in the latter city. When the crown handed over the rights of monopoly in the Indian trade to farmers-general, the capitalists of Europe competed for access to this fountain of wealth. Lisbon was also an important centre of the trade in grain and in shipbuilding materials; North and South German merchants of Danzig as well as of Augsburg shared in distributing the raw products.

India the Fountain of Wealth

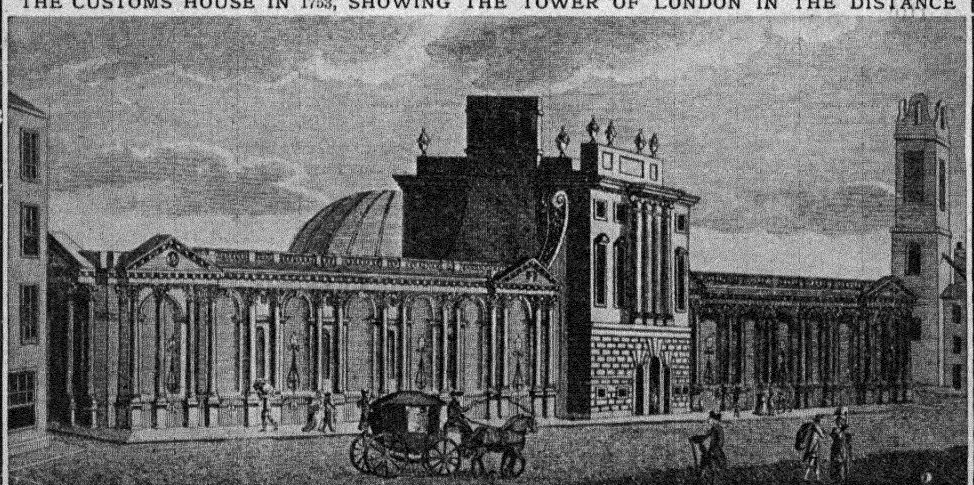




THE CUSTOMS HOUSE AS BUILT BY WREN AFTER THE GREAT FIRE OF 1666



THE CUSTOMS HOUSE IN 1753, SHOWING THE TOWER OF LONDON IN THE DISTANCE



THE BANK OF ENGLAND, THE BUILDING OF WHICH BEGAN IN 1734



INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISM

MERCHANT PRINCES AND KINGS OF FINANCE

ORIGINS OF THE GREAT BANKS & EXCHANGES

ONE of the most significant features of the economic life of the sixteenth century was the introduction of Italian and Upper German capital into the sphere of Spanish and Portuguese oceanic trade. However, the finances of the sixteenth century, like those of all other times, were not limited to transactions founded on mere exchange of goods. Whether they would or not, merchants were forced beyond the bounds of commercial affairs and drawn into the currents of national policies, of which money, particularly ready money, is an indispensable factor. As yet, the machinery of European states was not well adapted to the requirements of an age already based on financial principles.

The Source of the State Revenues

The remains of ancient feudal institutions, founded on a more primitive economic system, were everywhere to be seen. Thus a large part of the state revenues came from the natural products of crown lands; there was no system of officials as yet sufficiently developed to be able quickly to raise taxes in the form of money and to accumulate them in a central treasury. For all grants of money the Crown was dependent on the estates of the realm, which were acquainted only with their own narrow class interests. But the courts lived in an atmosphere of far-reaching national and world policy.

It cost money, however, to carry out any policy, whether of peace or of war, especially since regiments of mercenaries, and in some cases standing armies, had come into use in place of the old feudal levies. Governments not only looked about for new sources of income, but also made whatever use they could of those who already possessed money; and sovereigns of the sixteenth century, the period when royal power reached its height, were as little backward in the first respect as in the second. Financiers and merchant princes were offered unbounded privileges in return for financial services, and one loan was apt to draw on ten or a dozen others in its train.

Dangers of the Large Capitalists

The modern conception of great powers, which arose at the end of the fifteenth century through the French invasions of Italy and the development of the universal monarchy of the Hapsburgs, created the modern centralised state, with its military and financial systems, out of the loosely bound confederation of more or less independent units—the state of the Middle Ages—and to this effect employed capital, so far as it was already in existence and organised, as its tool. At the same time the large capitalists were exposed to dangers they would scarcely have survived but for their private affairs being linked together with state interests.

Evolution of Commercial Pursuits

It is difficult to conceive that the events of a whole period of the world's history could have been so intimately connected with mercantile interests, particularly the affairs of an age which religious, dynastic, and constitutional ideals seemed so to dominate; not only seemed—for Reformation and counter-Reformation, the duel between the Houses of Hapsburg and Valois, and the war for the independence of the United Netherlands, arose from no mere imaginary motives: their sources must have reached to the very depths of the human soul, or at least have extended far below the level of self-deception. Before the most powerful of the merchant princes of the sixteenth century, the Augsburgers and Nurembergers, were compelled by the natural development of economic forces and the irresistible tendency of the times to turn from dealings in tangible commodities to speculation, to

banking and exchange, and finally to purely financial pursuits. The Italians had already passed through all these transition states, and had acquired an astonishing aptitude in all branches of commerce. Italian money-changers, Lombards and Tuscans, followed the expansion of Italian trade into all countries. They bought and sold the precious metals, either coined or in bullion, bills of exchange, and promissory notes; they negotiated loans for merchants, attended to the financial affairs of the Roman Curia, and loaned vast sums to monarchs.

The Prosperous Days of Money-Lending

Their activities developed an international character, and they were therefore constantly obliged to struggle against the endeavours of the merchants of various states who sought to nationalise the business of money-lending. This the French temporarily succeeded in doing in the fifteenth century, at the time when the Florentine money-lenders were at the height of their prosperity.

A citizen of Bourges, Jacques Cœur, the foremost banker of his age, established connections with the Government, and delivered it from the hands of the international capitalists. But after the fall of this great financier France once more became dependent on the Italians in all matters concerning banking, exchange, and loans. The French kings of the sixteenth century favoured the Florentines, for political reasons, while, on the other hand, the Hapsburgs turned to the Genoese.

The Upper German merchants also were drawn into international finance through their business connections with the House of Hapsburg. A rapid rise, an overwhelming development of power, and a lamentable fall were the stages passed through by German wealth in less than a century. Long before the operations in banking and credit of the merchant princes of Upper Germany had attained full sway the resentment of the German people had been aroused in full measure; complaints were showered upon the diet, and the official spokesmen of the nation, Martin Luther among them, thundered against all doubtful commercial dealings and against usury. The ecclesiastical law against the taking of interest on loans was still everywhere in force. The delusion of a just, and therefore unalterable, price for every sort of commodity still dominated the economic thought of the age. When the Roman Catholic Church adopted a milder attitude towards the practice of usury the Protestants offered violent opposition, and thus both Catholics and Protestants were soon compelled to join hands with the general public in their hostility against mercantile life and affairs. The economic policy which had arisen in the small city communities of the Middle Ages—a policy of low prices, of small dealers and consumers, opposed not only to capitalism but to competition—was likewise completely in harmony with the ecclesiastical position.

Luther's Denunciation of Usury

It is not surprising that the masses of the populations of cities were stirred to their very depths when they beheld speculators arising in their midst, who advanced prices and carried on their financial operations to a practically unlimited extent. The most dangerous phenomenon of all appeared to be the combination of the already all-powerful single houses into syndicates and rings. In order to diminish the risks encountered in their speculations, capitalists united into limited liability companies that could be easily dissolved, and the gains divided in proportion to the original contributions as soon as their original object had been attained. Such associations were frequently able to create a local monopoly in articles of commerce—spices or metals, for example—and sometimes succeeded in influencing prices even in the world markets. However it may have come about, it is at least certain that the copper and pepper monopolies of the time shortly before the outbreak of the great social revolution—the Peasants' War—of 1525 served the popular agitators as a means for awakening the indignation of the populace—a means that was only the more efficacious the less the proletarians were able to understand such complicated matters.

Revolt of the Peasants

Nevertheless, it is remarkable how soon the non-mercantile classes became reconciled to the new method of making money without labour, which they had at first so violently opposed. Just as during the nineteenth century the commercial crises have neither assumed great proportions nor caused vast desolation until the private capital of the middle and lower classes has been placed in the hands of stock-jobbers, so was it at the time of the pepper rings. Innumerable small capitalists, whose one idea was the possibility of gain, and who



MONEY-LENDER TO KINGS JACOB FUGGER'S GENEROSITY TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES V

The Fugger family, established in 1367, became famous for their business enterprise By their loans of money to the Emperors Maximilian and Charles V great schemes of national development were rendered possible, and the latter monarch showed his appreciation of these services by making Jacob Fugger's nephews counts of the empire Here the able financier is seen destroying the documentary evidence of Charles V 's monetary indebtedness to him, the emperor sitting by, apparently astonished at this great generosity.

From the painting by Karl Becker, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co

not infrequently lost the whole of their little fortunes when the undertaking collapsed, became members of the associations and companies of the sixteenth century—a phenomenon which we have seen repeated in our own time in the speculations on the exchanges. Thus even peasants had a share in the dealings of the Höchstetters of Augsburg and when the leading firm failed, lost their scanty savings. Had it not been for supplies furnished by small sources, the great masses of capital with which commercial houses conducted their affairs could never have been heaped together.

The Great House of the Fuggers

How German capital, and, in fact, all capital that was employed in international commercial operations, came to find itself upon the plane down which it glided during the course of the sixteenth century may be learned from the history of the Fuggers, the first mercantile house of the age.

In 1367 the founder of the family, Hans Fugger, a weaver of fustian, settled in Augsburg and attained, to modest prosperity. His sons soon became distinguished wholesale merchants, and his grandson, Jacob II., who died in 1526, made the house famous throughout the world. By furnishing the equipment for the retinue of Emperor Frederic III. at the time of his meeting with Charles the Bold, Jacob Fugger opened relations with the House of Hapsburg, which was just then beginning to aspire to the position of a power of the first rank. This connection led to results important to both families. Archduke Sigismund of the Tyrol granted to the Fuggers, for the repayment of a loan, the yield of the Tyrolese silver mines.

Henceforth they devoted themselves to the mining operations, to which the rapid growth of their fortune was due. The copper mines at Neusohl in Hungary were also acquired by the house, which was now able to extend its trade as far as Danzig and Antwerp, and even to control the copper market of Venice. The Fuggers also journeyed to Lisbon, where they established a depôt for the spice trade shortly after preparations had been completed for the first East Indian expedition of the Portuguese. They shared in the expenses of the great expedition of 1505, contributing, together with other Upper Germans, the sum total of 36,000 ducats. After the Indian-Portuguese trade was placed under the control of the Crown, they repeatedly received large quantities of spices, mostly as payments on loans at high interest to the Portuguese Government.

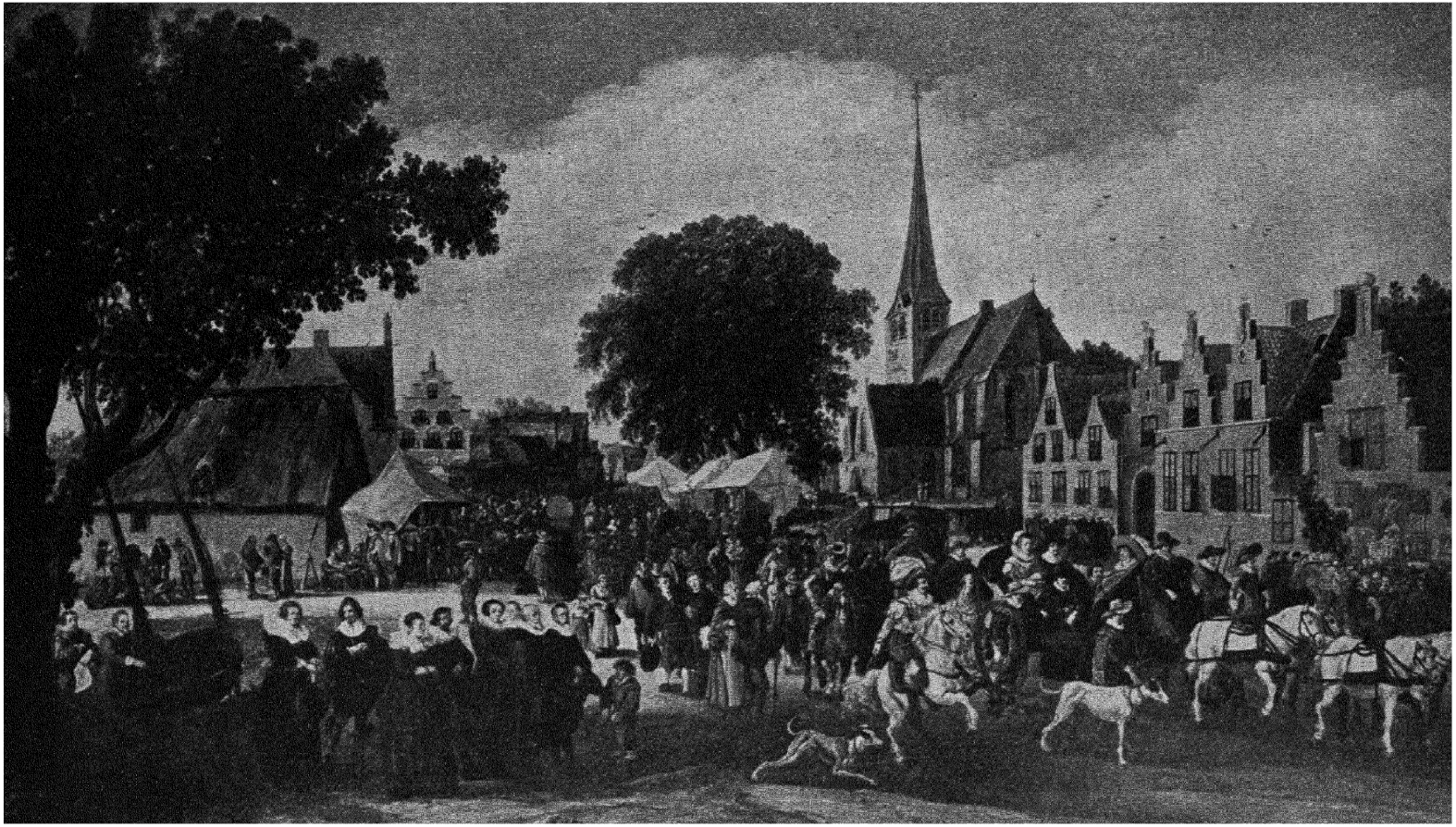
East Indian Expedition of the Portuguese

But at the beginning of the sixteenth century, both in Germany and in Italy, dealings in commodities had ceased to form the chief business of the merchant princes, who now occupied themselves mainly with the affairs of the money markets, and devoted a large part of their energy to contracting loans for the various governments. By the second decade of the century of the Reformation the decision of the most important questions in the world's history lay in the hands of merchants. The appearance of Luther in the year 1517, and the election of Charles V. as Emperor of Germany in 1519, were both connected in a most extraordinary manner with the affairs of the house of Fugger.

As early as 1500 the Fuggers possessed a depôt in Rome, where they executed commissions entrusted to them by the Pope and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. Albert of Brandenburg, who had been elected Archbishop of Mainz in 1517, borrowed 21,000 ducats from the house in order to meet the expenses connected by the Curia with the bestowal of the pallium; he also received, on the payment of 10,000 ducats—also loaned by the Fuggers—the position of commissary-general for Saxony of the jubilee proclaimed by Leo X. The archbishop appointed priests to collect the money from the vendors of indulgences, and to hand it over to the agents of the Fuggers, who accompanied them. One half of the amount received by the agents was forwarded to Augsburg towards payment of the archiepiscopal debt; the other half was sent to Rome. It was over this business that Luther and Tetzel were destined finally to fall out. The flow of money to Rome had been for many years a matter of great annoyance to Germany, and the recently introduced traffic in indulgences furnished a welcome opportunity for delivering a simultaneous blow to the papacy and the great commercial syndicates.

The Fuggers as Princely Money-Lenders

Although the Fuggers were only indirectly involved in the causes which led to the revolution in the Church, it was certainly their money that procured the victory of Charles V. over his competitor, Francis I., at the election of an emperor, following the death of Maximilian I., in 1519. All such elections were nothing



DUTCH FAIR OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: A ROYAL PARTY VISITING THE ANNUAL MARKET AT RYSWICK

more or less than complicated acts of bribery, the decision being inevitably determined by the amounts expended. The security offered by the Fuggers for the Spanish candidate put an end to the wavering of the electoral princes, for Francis I. was unable to obtain equally reliable guarantees. Of the 850,000 golden florins required by Charles V., the Fuggers supplied 543,000, the Welsers 143,000, and the Italians the rest. From this time forth the merchant princes themselves belonged to their puppets, body and soul; for it was necessary to retain sovereigns on their thrones if any return from the money already advanced, but not yet repaid, was to be expected. Moreover, the Fuggers were still less able to escape from bondage, inasmuch as they were convinced partisans of the Hapsburgs and of their Roman Catholic policy.

The Fuggers on the Side of the Hapsburgs

After the election of Charles V., in 1519, Spain became the centre of gravity for the house of Fugger, the creditors of the emperor-king having been assigned shares in the national income. "The Spanish business" absorbed the entire strength of the firm, and finally ruined the greatest mercantile establishment of the age.

Among the enterprises of the Fuggers in Spain, the leasing of the quicksilver mines at Almaden, of great value ever since the discovery of the use of mercury in extracting silver and gold, may be mentioned. German miners were sent by the Fuggers to Spain, and often to America. Inasmuch as the chief creditors of the Government were constantly obliged to grant new loans to the Crown in order to secure their old claims, they were often referred to the "silver fleets" returning from the New World and in part laden with the imperial "quinto," the 20 per cent. share of the Crown. Since the exportation of the precious metals from Spain was forbidden by law, it became necessary for the Fuggers and their compatriots to obtain special licences that they might be able to place their capital wherever it was most needed. Even the Government was obliged to maintain the strictest secrecy in regard to this matter, or the Spaniards would have forcibly prevented the removal of gold from the country. In this manner the stream of precious metal from America flowed on past Spain into the treasuries of the capitalists, who had also succeeded in drawing to themselves an additional share of the bullion of the New World through the importation of commodities into the as yet industrially undeveloped continent. The Fuggers, however, took but little part in the latter activity; their attention was already sufficiently occupied with the sale of the mining and natural products of the Crown possessions that had been yielded to them as pledges.

German Miners in Spain

The Fuggers also maintained permanent financial relations with the German line of the House of Hapsburg. As Ferdinand I. had vast domains in Naples, his chief creditors extended their sphere of activity over the southern part of Italy. The Government of the Spanish Netherlands also constantly availed itself of the assistance of Upper German and Italian capitalists.

After the death of Jacob II. the house of Fugger reached the zenith of its power and wealth under the guidance of his nephew, Anton (1526–1560). It was fortunate for the family that it had become a tradition not to divide the wealth of the various members, but to keep it altogether in one mass, governing it from a central point, in strict monarchical fashion. Although it is true that the relatives co-operated with the head of the family, the most important affairs of the house were, as a rule, under the exclusive control of a single individual, who transacted business even in the most distant countries by means of his factors and agents. Augsburg was the residence of these princes of European finance. Not until after the middle of the sixteenth century did the family ties begin to loosen. Single members then withdrew their money from the firm, and thus rendered it necessary for the house to depart from one of its most firmly established principles—that is to say, if possible, never to put any other capital, except that belonging to the family, into an undertaking. The more the use of outside capital increased towards the end of the century, the more difficult the position of the house became, especially during critical times.

Princes of European Finance

The turn in the fortunes of the firm arrived during the period of its greatest prosperity, and was brought about by the Schmalcaldic War, 1546–1547. Anton Fugger, who already at that time had serious thoughts of winding up the affairs of the house, must have had an instinctive presentiment of the inevitable end;

however, he was no longer able to do as he wished, bound as he was by bands of iron to the Hapsburgs. To hold his own against the Protestant party in Augsburg it was necessary for him to assist the Catholics to victory. And when Charles V. fled before Maurice of Saxony to Villach the Fuggers were obliged to come to his aid with 400,000 ducats—an unheard-of sum at the time—in order not to lose for ever the entire amount owed them by both branches of the Hapsburg family.

So things went on until the outbreak of the first great financial crisis, in the year 1557; this was followed by a protracted cessation of business. The age talented man, with a love for the fine arts, but lacking in the true spirit of commerce, who after a few years resigned his position in favour of the sons of Anton, "Marx Fugger and Brothers." The realty of the family was divided and the business in merchandise brought to a close. Thus, the Spanish affairs remained the only enterprise of the house, which rendered necessary constant communication with Antwerp, the most important exchange of Europe. However, the Spanish Government was in such a bad way financially that it suspended payment at the end of periods averaging twenty years each, and resorted to compulsory settlements with its creditors.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE BEAUTIFUL TOWN OF REGENSBURG Photochrome

of decline had begun, not only for the Fuggers, but for all the great capitalists of Europe. The first period of international financial sovereignty was drawing to a close, soon to give place to a national, or at least territorial, economic and financial policy, which was to continue until the French Revolution and the great wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century prepared the way for the rise of new international financial powers.

Many years passed after the first signs of warning in the year 1557 before the final bankruptcy came. After the death of Anton Fugger, in 1560, the control of the house passed into the hands of Hans Jacob, his nephew, a well-educated,

Although the Fuggers were favoured more than other creditors of the state, they were, nevertheless, forced to assent to whatever conditions were imposed upon them. The most burdensome of all was the acceptance of certificates of credit. As a result they did not receive their loans back at full value, but in the shape of interest-bearing, unredeemable, "perpetual" debenture bonds that immediately sank below par value, and consequently could not be converted into specie without loss. Since the bankers in turn paid their creditors and those who had entrusted money to their keeping in debenture bonds of the same description, the result was a miserable series of law-

suits, followed by the absolute ruin, first, of the credit of Spain, and then of that of the bankers. The position of the Fuggers became unbearable after the accession of Philip IV. (1621–1665); they were now treated with disfavour by the all-powerful Prime Minister, Olivarez, notwithstanding the fact that in earlier times they had fared far better than the other German capitalists, on account of their undeniable services. They were forced to provide the sum of 50,000 ducats monthly for the expenses of the court, in return for which they received worthless assignments on the taxes.

Evil Times for the Fuggers

After 1630 the house was many times compelled to delay its payments, and in 1637 the Spanish affairs of the Fuggers were placed in the hands of creditors, for the most part Genoese. The deficit amounted to over half a million ducats, despite the fact that the claims on the Spanish Crown, which were as good as worthless, had been included among the assets. "The total loss," says Ehrenberg, "sustained by the Fuggers through their dealings with the Hapsburgs up to the middle of the seventeenth century could not have amounted to less than 8,000,000 gulden, Rhenish. It would not be far from the truth to say that the bulk of the earnings of the firm during its century of activity disappeared in this way alone."

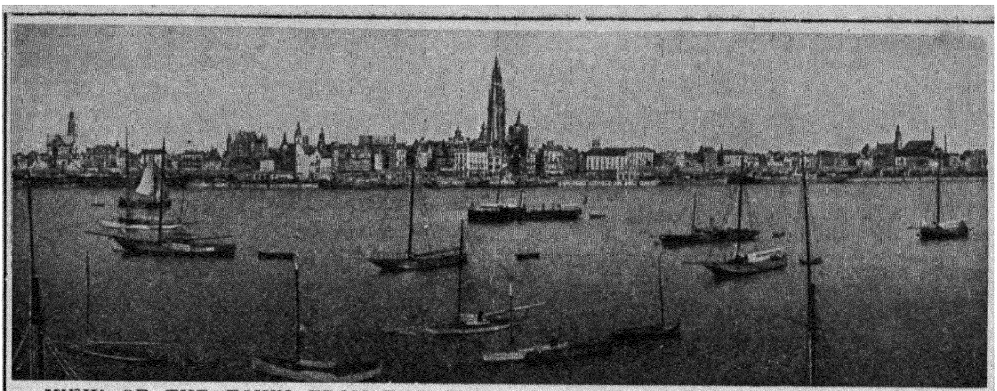
Nor did the other South German mercantile houses which had ventured into the sphere of international finance fare much better than the Fuggers. The Höchstetters, Paumgartners, Welsers, Seilers, Neidharts, Manlichs, Rems, Haugs, and Herwarts, all of Augsburg, were, every one of them, obliged to suspend payment in the course of the sixteenth century, for the most part during the critical years 1550–1570. The Höchstetters, "the most hated monopolists of their age," were the first to fail—in 1529. The Welsers succeeded for many years in maintaining a position among the Upper German firms second only to the Fuggers. They were divided into two branches, one in Nüremberg and the other in Augsburg; the former house wound up its affairs in 1560. Bartholomew Welser, the first and only German who made an attempt to secure territory in the New World, thereby for a short time arousing hopes of German colonial possessions in America, was a member of the Augsburg branch of the family. In contrast to the Fuggers, who were so strongly inclined in favour of the Hapsburgs, the Welsers maintained a neutral position among the contending parties, and even entered into financial negotiations with the French Government, thereby suffering not only in consequence of the bankruptcy of Spain, but also on account of the failure of the national finances of France in 1557. Their credit, however, remained unimpaired, and subsequently the firm was even able to contract loans for the English Crown. The affairs of the house did not begin to deteriorate until the end of the century, but in 1614 the Welsers were bankrupt.

Collapse of Financial Houses

The Tuchers of Nüremberg, another great business house of the century, adopted the principle of never on any account permitting themselves to become entangled in the financial affairs of sovereigns or princes; hence they escaped the crises of the seventeenth century unscathed. The Imholfs, another large firm involved in national finance, were not absolutely ruined although forced to retire with considerable losses. With the exception of Augsburg and Nuremberg, the cities of South Germany had but little share in the international operations in capital and credit. The Italians, who were not only earlier in the field but showed a greater mastery in all kinds of business, had a longer career than the High Germans, who did not desert the traffic in commodities for that in money until the end of the fifteenth century. During the sixteenth century they were represented chiefly by the Florentines and the Genoese in the international markets.

Italian Masters of Business

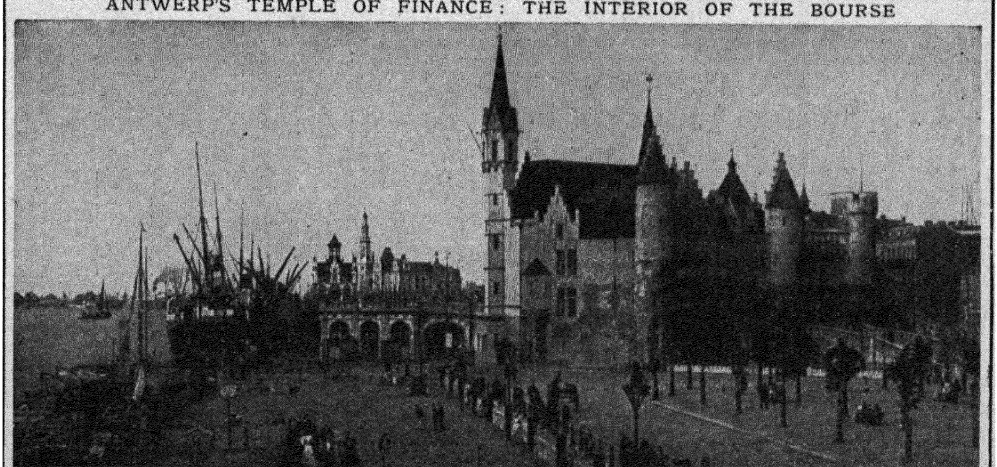
After the Genoese had lost their position as a commercial power in the eastern Mediterranean, and had found it very difficult to carry on traffic in the western basin of the same sea because of the Barbary pirates, the spirit of commerce turned the surplus capital of the Ligurian seaport into new channels, especially into affairs of exchange and credit. The Genoese had been commercially connected with the Spaniards ever since the thirteenth century; their ability as navigators and their capital had been of great assistance to Spain in her occupation of America. They also undertook to supply a certain number of slaves annually to the transatlantic colonies,



VIEW OF THE TOWN FROM THE RIVER SCHELDT, SHOWING THE CATHEDRAL



ANTWERP'S TEMPLE OF FINANCE: THE INTERIOR OF THE BOURSE



THE WATERPOORT, A GATEWAY BUILT IN 1624, AND THE OLD CASTLE

SCENES IN THE IMPORTANT SEAPORT TOWN OF ANTWERP Photochrome

provided Seville with merchandise to be sent to America, and furnished the money necessary for the equipment of expeditions. Single Genoese firms, such as the Grimaldi, had already entered into financial transactions with the Spanish Government. A political alliance had developed from the union of economic interests. The desertion of Francis I. for the cause of Charles V. by the house of Doria in 1528 had a decisive effect on the second Franco-Spanish war. The governing party, called that of the optimates, or the wealthy classes, was divided into two branches, the old and the new nobility, the former engaged chiefly in financial affairs, the latter in dealings in merchandise. The masses were in favour of the new nobility, as traffic in goods was beneficial to the handicrafts, and hence to the prosperity of the working classes.

The Masses and the New Nobility

Nevertheless, in 1549 the new nobility, under Giovanni Luigi de Fieschi, were defeated by the older party led by the Dorias, who now entered into a still closer alliance with Spain. In return, the emperor, and later his son, Philip II., granted them a position of the first rank among his financial advisers, the Fuggers being the only other family which enjoyed the same privileges. Among the Genoese creditors of the Spanish Government, the most distinguished were the firms of Grimaldi, Spinola, Pallavicino, Lomellino, Gentili, and Centurioni.

The higher they rose in the estimation of the Spanish king, the more dangerous became their position during these times of regularly recurrent financial crises, for the favour of monarchs was not to be had for nothing; in short, the Genoese, like the Upper Germans, could not get any repayment of their loans other than unredeemable debenture certificates and worthless assignments of taxes. Nevertheless, they continued to maintain their connection with Spain until about the middle of the seventeenth century. By that time all solvent nations had to a great extent nationalised their economic and political affairs, and thus the age of international financial operations was over in any case. In the meanwhile the Genoese capitalists had obtained possession of vast territories in Naples through their connections with the House of Hapsburg, and consequently were able to view the complete prostration of their native city with a certain measure of composure. At about the middle of the seventeenth century the Florentines severed their connections with France, where monetary affairs had been in their hands for over a hundred years. During the early days of Florentine finances, at the time of the Baldi and Peruzzi in the fourteenth century, France had been one of the clients of the Tuscan bankers. These relations were renewed in the fifteenth century, when the Medici became the sovereigns of the banking world. During the sixteenth century, when, with the assistance of the Hapsburgs, the Medici obtained political dominion over Tuscany, the Florentine plutocracy nevertheless took the side of the Valois. Business with France continued to flourish, although financial relations ceased with England and the Netherlands as soon as these nations began to control their economic and commercial affairs with their own capital.

Genoese Possessions in Naples

The most distinguished Florentine capitalists of the sixteenth century were the Frescobaldi, Gualterotti, Strozzi, Salviati, Guadagni, and Capponi; and, in addition to the specifically Florentine houses, the Chigi of Siena, the Buonvisi of Lucca, the Ducci of Pistoia, and the Affaitadi of Cremona may be mentioned. The first crushing blow dealt to the Tuscan firms in their relations with France was the bankruptcy of Henry II. in the year 1557. The Huguenot wars broke out not long after this, and during their progress the finances of France became completely disorganised. One can only wonder at the rashness of such bankers as Girolamo Gondi, who still continued to transact business with the French Crown. At the end of the reign of Henry IV. the Florentines had disappeared from France, although the nation was obliged to make use of foreign capital until the year 1660.

Henry II. a Bankrupt

The modern exchange has developed from the market of the old Frankish-German Empire. The privilege of holding fairs and markets, granted to suitable districts by emperors and kings ever since the time of the Carlovingians, was the nucleus around which all the special rights grew up which later constituted the conception of municipal governments. In the midst of the old village communities the independent civilisation of the cities arose, first in the Latin countries, later

in the Germanic, isolated it is true, and not destroying the earlier form of social life adapted to the villages. From this time forth village and town, peasant and citizen, were permanently established side by side as opposite types of civilisation; each was unable to attain economic prosperity without the assistance of the other, and for that reason they entered into an organised system of traffic invented by the town dwellers as the more developed of the two types. The weekly market and the precinct, or city boundary, are the characteristic tokens of this mutual adaptation of rural and urban interests.

The weekly market assured the city of a supply of the natural products of the neighbourhood, and guaranteed the country dwellers a place for the sale of their goods where prices would not be influenced by the tricks of over and under bidding; the precinct prevented the city industries from being pursued beyond its own limits, and thus assured it of the custom of its peasant neighbours. The towns experienced greater difficulty in their relations with the heirs of the old feudal lords, the landed nobility. Robber knights were a well-known phenomenon of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The civic estates, merchants and capitalists, had become dangerously powerful and prosperous relatively to the nobility of the country. Robber knight and "pepper-sack"—as the merchant was called in derision—represented two distinct spheres of interest, the agrarian and the industrial-commercial; and the war of social interests embodied in the two classes ended only in the sixteenth century with the overthrow of the landed nobility.

The Wars of Social Interests

Long before the state interfered in the struggle between the industrial and agrarian classes the municipal communities had succeeded in establishing their positions firmly, although in complete independence of one another. The city, as a whole, was looked upon as an association of consumers, requiring protection from the natural self-interest of the producers. The inhabitants of a town were all consumers to a certain degree, even the merchants and craftsmen of the city. But since in any town the special interests of the producers were opposed to the general interests of the consumers, it was necessary for the economic policy of the municipality to be one that strove to institute a state of affairs acceptable to both parties. The city government in its endeavour to bring about harmony found itself at least partially united with the organised industries, the guilds, and the various societies of craftsmen. It was found necessary to reduce as far as possible the rivalry between tradesmen, and to exclude the competition of all foreign industries. Since the city secured the home market for the productions of its own industrial classes, and at the same time helped them in their outside competition, it was, on the other hand, entitled to look out for the general interests of consumers through the introduction of tariffs on prices and wages, and laws regulating the quality of goods.

Benefits of the Town Fairs

It was also to the general advantage of town populations occasionally to introduce the competition of strangers by temporarily opening the city gates to all comers. This object was served by the annual fair, which brought profit to the town by an influx of strangers, and, though it exposed domestic industries to a temporary competition, it also brought them into touch with new circles of customers. In addition to towns, churches and monasteries often obtained market privileges, for the reason that on certain religious holidays they were much visited by pilgrims and guests; in this manner a brisk traffic would arise out of nothing.

These fairs were of an international type, and are still to be seen in the Mohammedan, Brahmin, and Buddhist countries. For example, the two chief markets of Paris, the fairs of St. Denis and St. Germain, were originally opened for the custom of pilgrims. The same may be said of what was once the greatest annual fair in England, held on an open field near Stourbridge Abbey. The conceptions of market and annual fair soon became one and the same, and it was a long time before men grew accustomed to call the markets of international significance that were repeated several times during the year by the special name of "fairs." Cities could not, however, maintain an important position in commerce as the headquarters of fairs alone. Staple towns also developed, and sometimes one town presented both aspects. Among staple towns, with or without annual fairs, two varieties, natural and artificial, may be

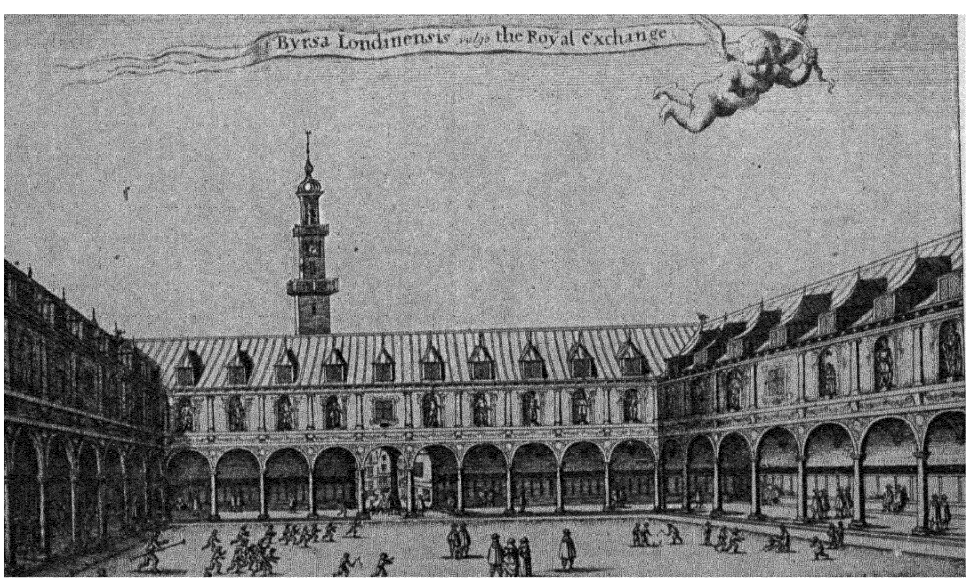
How the Towns Developed

distinguished. Natural markets arose at the termini of great commercial highways, especially of sea routes. Such were Venice, Genoa, Barcelona, and Bruges, where goods sent from distant lands were unloaded, and, in so far as they were not needed for domestic consumption, were resold and distributed. Every town was not so situated, nor did all cities produce to such an extent, that commodities and purchasers could be enticed to them from all sides. Towns past which the stream of commerce would have flowed without stopping sought to obtain by means of coercion the same advantages that grew up spontaneously in natural staple markets. The method of building up a market by force, such as was once to be seen at Vienna, consisted in obliging foreign merchants to offer their goods for sale in the city for a definite period, sometimes as long as six or eight weeks. They were also forbidden to make a circuit around such a market town, the only road open to them being that which led through the city itself. In all markets a foreign traffic developed independently of definite dates, often [illegible] throughout the year, or, at least, during the most favourable seasons. Foreign merchants of the same city or country usually had their own staple houses at such markets, as the Germans their *Fondaco* in Venice, or the merchants of Regensburg their yard in Vienna; in case they possessed no separate establishment, they had their special quarters in houses of the townsmen, as a rule in the neighbourhood of the money-changers and brokers.



SIR THOMAS GRESHAM
Founder of the Royal Exchange. He was elected Lord Mayor of London in 1537. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, and died twenty years later.

Both in the permanent marts and at the fairs, besides the older trade in commodities actually delivered and paid for in cash, there grew up other more elaborate commercial transactions, in which the Italians led the way. To these belong all the methods designed to obviate the necessity for the transportation of coined money, so dangerous and costly in those times, first and foremost among them being exchange and the whole system connected with it. At the end of the great fairs, when all transactions in actual



THE ROYAL EXCHANGE OF LONDON, FOUNDED BY SIR THOMAS GRESHAM IN 1566



SHOPKEEPER AND APPRENTICE SHOPPING IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I

commodities were over, the money dealers met and adjusted their various claims in such a manner that only a final balance remained to be paid in coin. If any money was left over, it was frequently loaned at advantageous rates of interest until the time came for the next fair; thus the money-lending system also was closely connected with the settlements of accounts that followed at the close of each temporary market. In the permanent markets, the great emporiums of European commerce, the custom developed for merchants to meet every day at an appointed place for the purpose of obtaining information from one another as to business affairs and of attending to matters concerning goods, money, and exchange. Business thus transacted was frequently rendered valid by law on the very spot by a notary, and contributed not a little to the establishment of fixed market prices for various classes of goods. Thus the Venetian merchants assembled on the Rialto, the Florentines in the arched hall, or *loggia*, of the Mercato Nuovo, and the Catalonians in the Lonja of Barcelona. In foreign countries, as in Bruges, for example, the Italians usually met in the houses of their consuls. The word "bourse," which has been introduced into almost every European language, was first employed in Bruges for the usual assemblies of merchants who met for commercial ends. In this chief terminus of the traffic between Northern and Southern Europe there was a house owned by the Van der Burse family, in which the Venetians had held their meetings ever since the fifteenth century. The house was called "de burse" for short, and thus the name of the Flemish family finally came to signify a place where such mercantile assemblies were held. The term "bourse" was already fixed in most European languages when a great edifice with halls and columns surrounding an open square in which business was transacted was erected in Antwerp. In England only was another term employed, and the bourse constructed in 1566 at the instigation of Sir Thomas Gresham took the name of "The Royal Exchange."

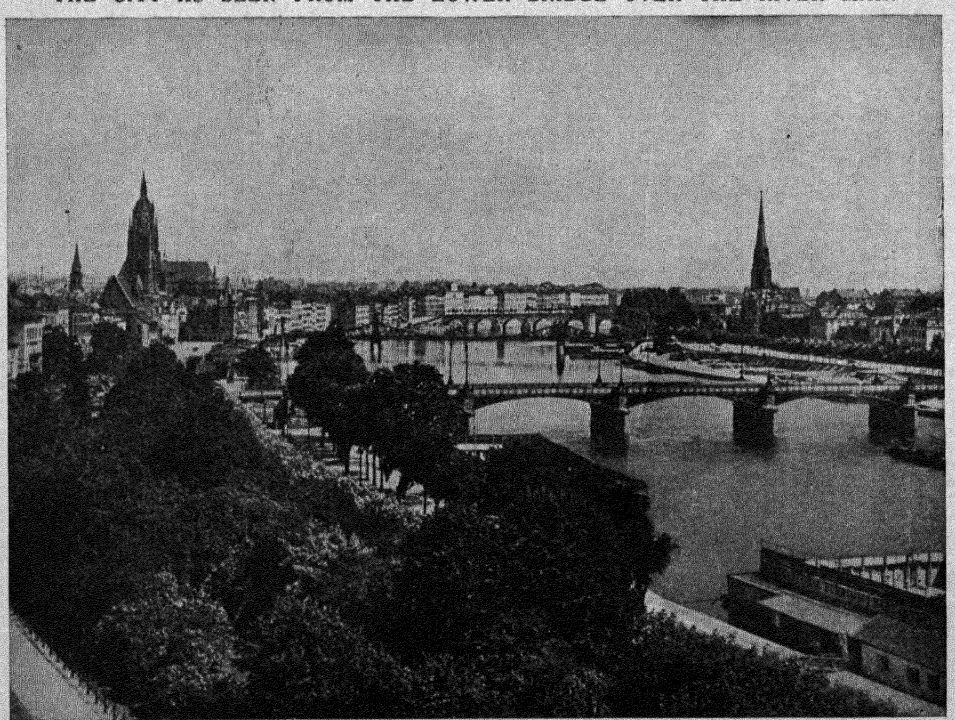
Markets the Meeting-places of Merchants

London's Royal Exchange

From the twelfth to the fourteenth century the bulk of the business carried on between the northern and southern commercial regions of Europe was transacted at the fairs of Champagne and Brie, at



THE CITY AS SEEN FROM THE LOWER BRIDGE OVER THE RIVER MAIN



SACHSENHAUSEN QUARTER OF THE CITY CONNECTED BY BRIDGES WITH FRANKFORT

FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN: VIEWS OF THE FAMOUS PRUSSIAN CITY Photochrome

Troyes, Lagny, Bar-sur-Aube, and Provins. After the decline of the fairs at Champagne, Geneva became an important market for French, Italians, and Upper Germans. Louis XI. endeavoured to entice traffic back to French soil, and granted many privileges to the four fairs of Lyons, at the same time forbidding his subjects to visit Geneva. The French kings made Lyons the centre of their negotiations for loans and the recruiting-place for their armies when the policy of imperialism that arose during the sixteenth century was no longer to be satisfied by the earlier methods of conducting financial affairs.

The succession of loans to the French Crown continued its course from 1522 until the fatal year 1557, when Henry II., contemporaneously with his opponent, Philip II., suspended all payment of debts. Lyons completely lost its position during the disturbances that followed the outbreak of the Huguenot wars; nor did it rise again to importance until 1650, and then, not as a scene of international finance, but as one of the nationalised centres of French industrial and commercial life.

The Lost Position of Lyons

As the French monarchs had, from obvious motives, barred the money market of Lyons to their Hapsburg opponents, it was necessary for the Spanish Government to seek out other places in which to transact its financial business. Spain itself possessed several towns holding regular fairs, which had arisen in order to supply the needs of domestic traffic in goods; and these cities gained importance also for affairs of finance and exchange the more the Spanish court and Spanish consumers were compelled to turn to foreign lands for their requirements. The end of each fair at Medina del Campo, Villalon, and Medina de Riosecco marked the arrival of the term at which the foreign creditors of Spain put in their claims and, as far as possible, balanced their accounts.

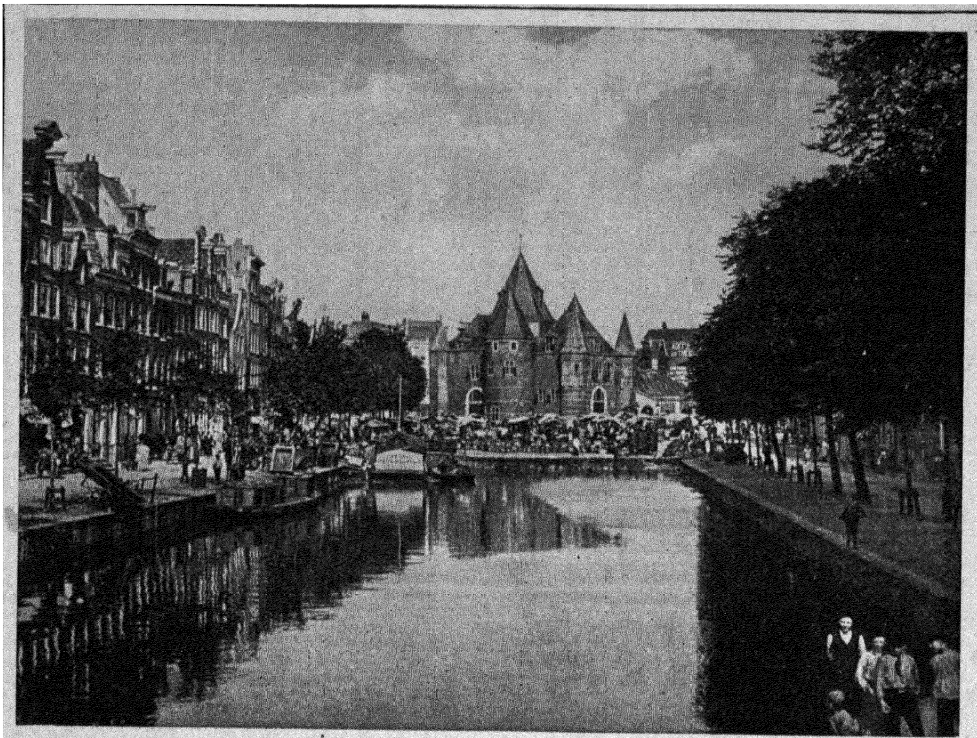
In order to injure the fairs of Lyons, Charles V. opened an opposition market at Besançon in Burgundy, attended by Genoese and Upper Germans, who as subjects of the emperor did not possess full commercial freedom in Lyons. However, the Genoese, dealing in money alone, not in merchandise, soon discovered localities more convenient for their purposes. The so-called Genoese fairs were not held in Genoa, but at first in small towns north of the Alps, in Poligny and Chambéry, then further to the south, in Rivoli, Ivrea, and Asti, from 1579 in Piacenza, and from 1621 in Novi. At this time the financial domination of the Genoese was beginning to totter, that of the Upper Germans having already fallen; and with the bankruptcy of the Spanish Government in 1627 the last support of the international capitalism of the sixteenth century gave way. But it was in the north that commercial activity most prevailed. The great fairs and cloth markets grew apace. Even after Antwerp had become a permanent staple town, with a bourse in which financial affairs were transacted, the old fairs still retained their importance by marking the time for the recovery of debts and the balancing of accounts. As in Bruges and Lyons, the native-born citizens were not the great merchants and capitalists.

Growth of Fairs and Markets

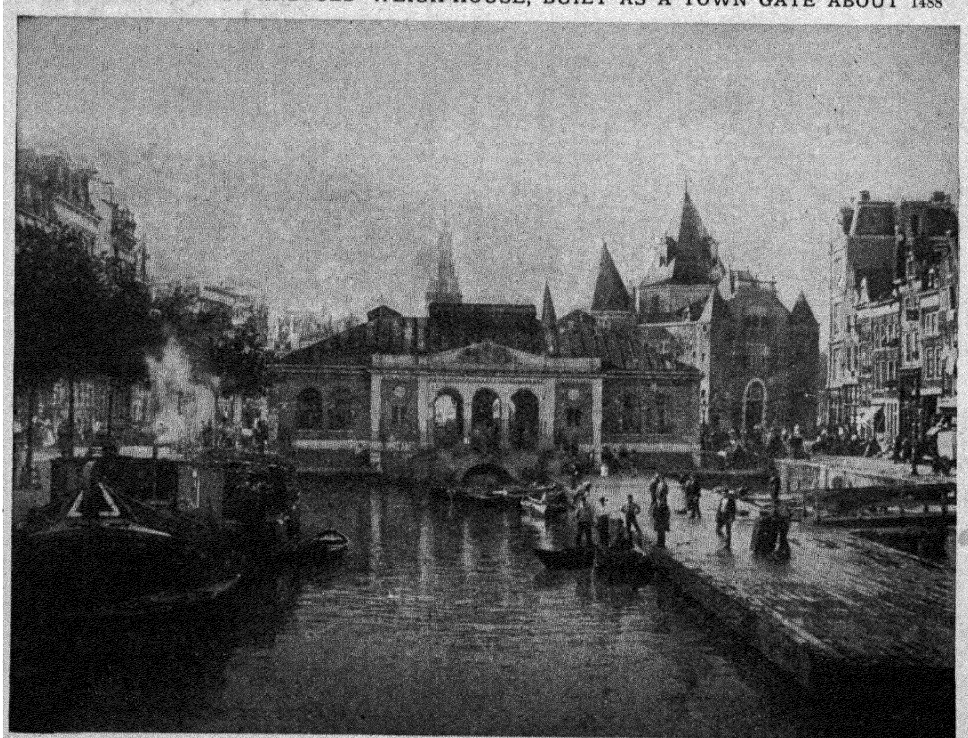
The commercial significance of the city depended upon the foreigners, among whom Upper Germans and Italians were the most distinguished. They controlled the mercantile trade and the traffic in loans, therefore governments in need of money, the municipality of Brussels, the kings of Spain, Portugal, and England, had their permanent agents in Antwerp. About the middle of the sixteenth century business was transacted to the average amount of forty million ducats a year. When Antwerp was practically destroyed as a commercial centre by the wars and disturbances of 1568-1585, several heirs obtained shares in the heritage of the ruined city.

The bulk of the world's commerce fell to Amsterdam; but the business of Frankfort-on-Main also increased to such an extent that this city became not only the first market and exchange of Germany, but an international centre of commerce, a position that it retained until late in the seventeenth century. The rise of Antwerp marked a new period in the economic history of the world. The great capitalists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, whose fortunes had been made during the period of Mediterranean commercial prosperity following the Crusades, turned from trade to politics and adopted the imperial policy of the period, which proved so destructive to them. As states became bankrupt the international capitalists also were ruined. Thus ended the first section of the history of international capitalism at the close of the sixteenth century.

The Rise of Antwerp



THE NEW MARKET AND OLD WEIGH-HOUSE, BUILT AS A TOWN GATE ABOUT 1488



THE BUSY FISH MARKET, WITH THE WEIGH-HOUSE ON THE RIGHT

AMSTERDAM, THE COMMERCIAL CAPITAL OF THE NETHERLANDS Photochrom



DUTCH COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY

COMPETITION FOR THE WORLD'S COMMERCE

AT the end of the sixteenth century, a hundred years after the time of Columbus, Diaz, and Vasco da Gama, the two hemispheres, which had been granted to Spaniards and Portuguese by the Pope, were united under one sceptre. The development of the Iberian race, however, had been at a standstill for two generations. The Spaniards had reached the limit of their requirements for growth at the point where further possession of territory seemed no longer desirable and colonisation no longer profitable enough for them in the regions reckoned as being worthless —that is, worthless according to the notoriously false notion of political economy of the times, because they did not abound in gold or silver or precious stones, and possessed no large population adapted for use as slaves. Portugal, dynastically united with Spain since 1580, had reached the limit of her capacity for development years before—the fatal limit where profits cease and the preservation of possessions already gained devours the entire income derived from them. Further progress was impossible; moreover, it was scarcely desired, and yet the rights of monopoly in the ownership of the earth still remained uncontested. No rival had as yet seriously disturbed the Spaniards in their sole possession of the New World, or the Portuguese in their exclusive commercial proprietorship of the East Indies.

Spaniards in the New World

When the sixteenth century came to an end no European nation, with the exception of the Spaniards and Portuguese, owned one square foot of territory on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. There had been no lack of attempts to found settlements in regions of the New World not occupied by Spain, nor had inducements such as the fisheries, the fur trade, and the quest of a north-east passage been wanting. Nevertheless, all endeavours of the English and French to set firm foot on the continents of America had, down to the end of the sixteenth century, been miserable failures. Wars, want of the necessities of life, and lack of a marketable return freight for ships bound east had destroyed both colonies and colonists. It was far more enticing to turn corsair, privateer, or smuggler than to die of starvation in a squalid settlement or to be slain by Indians or angry Spaniards, who resented the intrusion of foreigners into what they considered their exclusive possessions. During the years of the Anglo-Dutch war with Spain, from 1568 onwards, it was more profitable and more attractive to prey upon Spanish treasure-ships. From this time forth the traffic with America which set the Spanish monopoly at defiance became a principle of European commerce, which had no scruples whatever as to right and wrong, lawfulness or unlawfulness. Smuggling led to the occupation of the unappropriated Lesser Antilles by Englishmen, Hollanders, Frenchmen, and Danes, with whom the native pirates, or filibusters, readily associated themselves.

Expansion of European Commerce

Before the attempts of non-Spaniards to settle in America were renewed, the ban that had apparently been laid upon the East Indies was already broken. Dutch ships cruised in the Indian Ocean, brought home cargoes of spices with them, and awoke in other nations the desire to emulate them.

But the growth of the Western European sphere of expansion and the increase of Transatlantic traffic were not due wholly or even chiefly to the participation of new commercial peoples or to the rise of permanent colonies Foreign trade and the development of distant territories depended, not only in the seventeenth but in every other century, upon the necessities, demand, and consumption of the mother country or continent. The true inciting motive to increased traffic between peoples is not furnished by production alone, whether of raw materials or of manufactured articles, or of the portion of the

Factors in the Growth of Trade

completed products that falls to commerce; it is consumption, the direct expression of human requirements and desires. The consumer is master; the producer is his servant, and the middleman his go-between. The two latter may, it is true, often entice the former to increase his purchases, but, on the other hand, they must also await his pleasure.

The Early Commerce of the World

Had it not been for the fundamental changes that came about in manners and customs during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the commerce of the world would not have overstepped its previous limits, it would never have increased its relatively small sphere of activity.

Since the very earliest times, from the days of journeys to the Ophir of the ancient Oriental peoples down to the opening of the seventeenth century, the world's commerce had been little more than traffic in a few spices and luxuries of South-eastern Asia, articles for which there is so limited a market that they are scarcely taken into account at the present day, although the quantities dealt in are, if anything, greater now than ever before.

Neither during the times of the Phœnicians, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Arabians, the Venetians, and the Genoese, nor later in the days of Portuguese supremacy, did the character of the commercial relations between the Old World civilised nations of the temperatate zone and the lands of the tropics alter to any appreciable extent. Even the discovery of tropical and sub-tropical America did not at first bring about any decided change in the variety of articles handled in the world's trade, for the acquisition of the precious metals thrust every other form of commercial activity into the background. The cultivators of sugar-cane, however, soon began to furnish a commodity capable of attaining a largely increased consumption, and not subject to the artificial prices of monopoly, as was the case with spices. Sugar is the oldest of the various articles of luxury to which Transatlantic trade was indebted for its development. The plantation system of cultivation, in later times adapted also to the raising of other products, and leading to negro slavery, from which in turn developed a new branch of monopoly, originated in the production of sugar-cane in Spanish America. But, as we have already stated, everything depended upon the demand, upon the adoption of an article by larger and larger circles of consumers.

Sugar the Oldest Article of Luxury

At about the time that the sugar-cane of the East Indies found a new home in the Western Hemisphere during the sixteenth century, and sugar first became an important article of commerce through its importation into Europe from America, American tobacco, on the other hand, became diffused over the Old World, and proved itself to be a herb no less easily acclimatised than acceptable to mankind. In tobacco, an article for wholesale consumption and a commodity of the first importance to commerce was acquired. not to speak of the significance to finance attained in later days through Government monopolies of this luxury, the use of which was at first so sternly discountenanced.

Like sugar and tobacco, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries cocoa, coffee, tea, indigo, and cotton became articles of wholesale consumption, and hence of the greatest importance to natural production and commerce. Now for the first time settlements and the acquisition of colonies became remunerative, and commerce between the Old World and the New assumed great proportions, for prior to this time no truly reciprocal traffic had been possible. Trade was completely transformed, owing to its marvellously rapid development. The reason for all this lay in the fact that consumption developed a tendency favourable to foreign products. Europeans, indeed the inhabitants of temperate regions in general, were persistent in their demands for luxuries from the tropics, and supported alien regions of production and alien merchants, however greatly it may have been to their own disadvantage from an economic point of view.

Demand for Tropical Luxuries

The money paid by consumers for stimulants containing alkaloids was not wasted. These so-called stimulants have in reality a quieting effect on the nerves; they support the nobler powers of intellectual life, and, owing to their influence in counteracting the brutalising tendencies of alcoholism, have contributed not a little to the civilisation of the European peoples. The age of narcotic antidotes, which is also that of enlightenment and humanity—the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—succeeded to the period—from the fifteenth

to the seventeenth—of which the chief characteristics had been drunkenness and gluttony. Gentler manners and new currents of thought found their most active upholders in precisely the circles in which coffee, tea, chocolate, and sugar had to a great extent taken the place of alcohol.

The first nation to flout the consecrated privileges of Spain and Portugal by venturing into their closed territories was the Dutch Republic. Holland had succeeded in freeing itself from the dominion of Philip II. in 1579, and had now taken upon its own shoulders the entire burden of a war with the greatest power of the age, the Southern Netherlands having returned to Spanish rule. The Dutch had already been successful in defending their interests in the carrying trade of Europe against both the German Hansa and the merchants of England. Owing to the geographical situation of their country they had become the recognised middlemen of the traffic between North and South. Moreover, even after the outbreak of the War of Independence, in 1568, neither Spain nor Portugal excluded the Hollanders, but allowed them to make their purchases of foreign products both in Lisbon and Seville, for the King of Spain regarded the revolutionary party only, not the peaceful merchants of Holland, as his enemies. But when the seven northern provinces finally gained their independence, and allied themselves with powers hostile to Spain, then Philip II. put an end to all free trade with the Spanish as well as the Portuguese ports, which were at that time subject to his dominion.

Philip II.'s Blow to Free Trade

After the fall of Antwerp, Amsterdam was, beyond doubt, the most conveniently situated spice market of Northern Europe. The question was, where was Amsterdam to obtain spices now that the ports of Spain were closed to her merchants? The provinces and towns of the new republic had become very independent of one another, owing to the absence of any strong bond of common economic interests; and thus attempts were made by other cities besides Amsterdam to procure on their own account, and directly from the regions of production, the various commodities which had been rendered unobtainable by the closing of the Spanish and Portuguese harbours. Private companies were formed in several towns for organisation of the Dutch East India Company, together with much that was the purpose of importing merchandise direct from India; and by exchanging the spices, etc., thus obtained for the products of Northern Europe the promoters hoped to supply the deficiency in commodities indispensable to the traffic of the Continent.

Dutch Trade with the East Indies

The most important of the small companies established to carry on a direct trade with the East Indies was the "Compagnie van Verre" (Company of the Distant Lands), founded in 1594; and it was in the interests of this firm that the first Dutch voyage to Java, Bawéan, and Bali was undertaken in 1595, under the command of Cornelis de Houtman.

This company, like its rivals, scarcely differed from the ordinary shipping associations, which possess a historical importance from the fact that they were the precursors of joint-stock companies. When the object for which such an association had been formed was attained, the cargoes were divided among the partners, who hoped to make a profit from the sale of the goods. Through the influence of the great statesman, Johan van Olden Barneveldt, all the separate companies were incorporated into one in 1602; and a new type of mercantile association arose, which dominated and characterised the commercial life of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The United East India Company was a joint-stock association with rights of monopoly. It obtained from the Dutch Government the sole right of commerce with the East Indies in the very widest sense. Every Hollander was forbidden even to sail beyond the Cape of Good Hope, not to speak of carrying on trade, without permission of the company; on the other hand, it was open to every Hollander to become a shareholder and partaker in all the company's rights and privileges by paying a subscription. The originally unequal shares into which the capital of 6,600,000 florins was divided could be transferred without restriction. Towards the end of the seventeenth century a nominal value of 3,000 gulden per share was established for the convenience of traffic in the bourses.

Privileges of a Trading Association

The affairs of the company, which was divided into provinces, were managed by a committee of seventeen members called directors. There were many new features

in the old and characteristic of the constitutions of the guilds. Fundamentally new, however, was the endowment of the association with political rights of sovereignty exercised in the name and under the supervision of the States-General of the Netherlands. All subsequent trading associations established after the model of the Dutch East India Company are distinguished as political commercial associations. Such companies had the power to declare war and to enter into negotiations and treaties; legislation, administration, and the enforcement of justice were entrusted to them within their spheres of activity; and the Dutch government exercised its rights of sovereignty only in form so long as the company was able to maintain itself without assistance and remained solvent.

Traders with Power to Declare War

The Dutch East India Company formed the basis of the colonial empire of Holland in South-eastern Asia. The Portuguese were driven out of important points —Ceylon, Malacca, the Moluccas; and unclaimed regions, that is to say, territories inhabited by indigenous races only, such as Java, Sumatra, and Celebes, were occupied. A depôt in Java, which in 1619 received the name of Batavia, was the residence of the governor-general, who, when the Dutch colonies were at the zenith of their prosperity, in the middle of the seventeenth century, controlled as many as seven provinces.

The sphere of influence of the Hollanders extended as far as China and Japan, although trade was exposed to many serious difficulties in the Furthest East. One of the company's servants, Abel Jansz Tasman, circumnavigated Australia, or New Holland, and discovered Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania, and New Zealand in 1642. But these events, however important from a geographical standpoint, had no immediate commercial result, for the barren coasts of Australia failed to entice settlers, and its wealth in gold remained, like that of California, undiscovered for over two hundred years.

Australia's Undiscovered Gold Mines

The Hollanders carried on traffic in spices in the same manner as the Portuguese had done: their one desire was to obtain and to maintain the highest possible prices of monopoly. In spite of the fact that spices were sold at auction in the Amsterdam market, and consequently were exposed to free competition, prices were kept constant through regulation of the amounts of production. The cultivation of clove-trees was restricted to the island of Amboina, that of nutmegs to the Banda group; superabundant harvests were reduced by the destruction of all products in excess of the quantity required for exportation, which, as a rule, equalled the average measure of consumption.

When, in 1621, the twelve years' truce with Spain, which had been so beneficial to the welfare of the Netherlanders, expired a second joint-stock association, also furnished with rights of sovereignty, arose. This was the Dutch West India Company. Just as the Pope had once divided the earth between Spain and Portugal so the Dutch government now apportioned it between the East and West India Companies. The Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn formed the boundaries of the hemispheres subjected to their monopolies. Although the Hollanders were unable to lay claim to international recognition of their proceedings, and although the orders given by the Dutch government to its subjects and commercial companies had nothing whatever to do with the other Christian nations of Europe, nevertheless the Dutch continued to act with the utmost unscrupulousness towards former possessors of the lands occupied as well as later intruders.

The Harsh Methods of the Dutch

During this same period the Dutch theorists—the teachers of "natural right" —Grotius, Salmasius, Boxhorn, and Delacourt, were dogmatising on the *mare liberum*, the freedom, or rather the openness, of the sea to all men, a conception quite in accordance with the spirit of the time considering that the pretensions of the Spaniards to monopoly were now completely overthrown. However, these patriotic philosophers made no mention at all of the fact that, although the seas had become open, their countrymen were everywhere doing their utmost to close them again to all competitors. Nevertheless, the Dutch thinkers proved that theory—for the most part unconsciously—declares that which is most advantageous for one's own time or for one's own people even for one's own party, to be the best. The theorists of the seventeenth century developed the same principles of free trade that were realised in England 150 years later. It is remarkable that, without excep-

tion, the economically stronger nations have ever held forth to their weaker neighbours on the blessings of free trade, of unrestricted competition between states as well as individuals. Although since the end of the eighteenth century the free trade theories of the British have conquered the world, and contributed not a little to the commercial triumph of England, the assertions of the Dutch jurists of the seventeenth century in regard to the same principles were almost wholly ignored, although the economic practice of the Dutch was a cause of violent reactions as time went on.

The West India Company conducted itself even more offensively than did the East India; it was in reality a joint-stock association of pirates supported by the state, whose robberies found a counterpart only in the dealings of speculators in company shares at the Amsterdam Bourse. However, Holland has the West India Company to thank for Surinam and some of the Lesser Antilles; other regions in America occupied by the company—New Netherlands and Brazil—were lost again during the seventeenth century. In like manner the little North Sea nation was unable to retain its West African possessions later than the end of the eighteenth century. Since the shares in the two mercantile associations were the first effects to be handled in conformity with the regulations of a modern exchange, the Amsterdam Bourse has a legitimate claim to be considered the home of modern stock-jobbing. The building was constructed in the year 1613, and from the very beginning was the scene of an unremitting struggle between "bulls" and "bears." The time transactions of modern days, the evil custom of buying on margins —that is to say, purchase and delivery of stock for which one has not paid, against which laws have been enacted without avail—the exchange tax, exchange list, etc., were all either invented, or at least brought to a high state of development, at the Amsterdam Bourse. Inasmuch as the rise and fall of dividends paid by the India Companies depended upon events impossible to foresee, owing to the fact that they were taking place in all quarters of the globe—the average dividend amounted to 22 per cent.—speculation had the character of a game of chance. The desire for gambling became a national vice, as was shown by the notorious tulip swindle in the year 1630, a ridiculous parody of exchange transactions, carried on outside the bourse. Men speculated on the rise and fall in the prices of real and imaginary tulip bulbs, until finally the whole mad business, tulips and all, disappeared with a crash.

The Home of Modern Stock-jobbing

Until the end of the seventeenth century the Amsterdam Bourse was used for the purpose of contracting loans by the Dutch government, as well as by the executives of the provinces and the cities of the Netherlands. Naturally, the promissory notes and debenture bonds of public authorities were, in these times of war and disturbance, subject to great fluctuations. There was no longer an international loan market such as had once existed in Antwerp, now that the Italian and Upper German capitalists were bankrupts. Every state endeavoured, if possible, to make both ends meet with the aid of its own capitalists. But when Holland was forced out of the world market by the national economic policies of England and France, the capital thus set free accepted such opportunities for investment as were offered by the great industries which were just ' . . to develop. In spite of all, however, capital became heaped up in the land, which not only had sufficient for all its needs, but was still gasping for more.

New Fields for Dutch Capital

Wealthy men showed less and less desire to take part in laborious or dangerous undertakings and preferred simply to put their money out at interest Thus it happened that after the beginning of the eighteenth century impoverished sovereigns who were unable to obtain loans at home sought out Holland as a place for borrowing money. Amsterdam became the scene of international money transactions, and the Amsterdam Bourse the international stock market, whose rates of exchange were the standard followed by all the other European stock exchanges of the eighteenth century.

The Persecuted Jews

Once more, after a long period of comparative inaction, an element which has been of like importance to the history of the world and to the history of economics made its appearance; and although it was badly adapted to its more or less hostile environment, it nevertheless persevered, looking forward to a better future. Driven forth from all lands, and persecuted ever since the time of the Crusades,

the Jews, even when tolerated for the good of the treasury, had no share in either the local or the international commercial affairs of Northern and Southern Europe. From the twelfth to the seventeenth century they had managed to maintain a precarious existence as money-dealers and usurers on the very smallest scale. After the conquest of Granada, in 1492, they were expelled from Spain together with the Moors, although a few who had been converted to Christianity were permitted to remain in the country, receiving the name of Marannos. But like the converted Moors, or Moriscos, they had the reputation of being merely nominally Christian, and in 1609-1611 they were finally turned out of Spain and Portugal neck and crop as conspirators and rebels.

The Jews under a New Name

A number of them found a place of refuge in the Netherlands, the Dutch welcoming their arrival as an opportunity for a demonstration of hostility to Spain. A Jewish quarter grew up in Amsterdam, and no hindrances were placed in the way of Jews who wished to share in the commercial life of the city. In a short time daughter communities, like the one at Hamburg, developed from the main colony at Amsterdam. Dutch-Portuguese Jews emigrated to England when the kingdom, closed to them since the time of Edward I., was once more thrown open by Cromwell, in 1657. Amsterdam was the door through which the Jews again found entrance to European civilisation. Scattered as they were over all parts of the world, the Jews were the connecting link of what was to be a new development of international capitalism.

For all that the business in money and credit and the non-European commerce of Holland was so extensive, she owed her wealth chiefly to her trade in merchandise with the rest of the Continent. During the seventeenth century the Dutch were the maritime carriers and middlemen of Europe; three-fourths of the mercantile marine of the world belonged to them. The power of the Hansa was gone; the Thirty Years War had effectually crippled Germany; England was experiencing the greatest crisis of her constitutional existence; France was still prevented from perceiving or attending to her economic interests owing to various political complications; in short, general conditions were now as favourable to the Netherlands, though still feeble in themselves, as they had been in former days to the Hansa. Thus the Dutch were enabled to control maritime trade until finally the tendency of the world's history became unfavourable to them, and the Great Powers vindicated their natural rights of superiority.

Maritime Trade Controlled by the Dutch

In the meanwhile, however, Dutch merchants and shipowners dominated the commerce of the Baltic, and consequently the grain trade of Europe. "Amsterdam obtained possession of the great surplus quantities of grain grown in the Baltic countries, and thus supplied not only Holland, but also Western and Southern Europe. According to a document of the year 1603, a stock of 4,000,000 bushels—that is to say, wheat enough to supply 800,000 people for a year—was kept constantly on hand."

By closing the mouths of the Rhine and the Schelde, the Hollanders destroyed the trade of the Spanish Netherlands as well as that of Western Germany. The latter region, indeed, became economically subject to them as far south as the Black Forest, and they were already masters of Eastern Germany beyond Hamburg and Danzig. They had long been superior to all competitors in Scandinavia and on the northern seas, whether as merchants or as fishermen, their connections extending as far as the coasts of the White Sea. Dutch navigators even cruised about the Arctic Ocean, striving to solve the mystery of a north-east passage. Southern Europe also had fallen into the net of their all-embracing commerce; they dominated the Mediterranean, and after the conclusion of peace in 1648 appeared once more in the harbours of Portugal and Spain.

Struggle for the World's Commerce

How great a burden the Dutch had been to England and France was shown by the violent reaction that arose against them in both nations during the latter half of the seventeenth century. In 1651 the English Navigation Acts were passed by the Commonwealth Parliament. A severe struggle now began for the freedom of English maritime trade and for supremacy in the world's commerce, a struggle in which the weaker nation finally submitted to the stronger, and sought by means of an alliance at a propitious moment with its former opponent to save what it could of its earlier power.



THE BRITISH MARITIME SUPREMACY

EXPANSION OF THE NATION'S COMMERCE

IN the eleventh century England had fallen under the political and economic dominion of foreigners. While the permanent foreign and native elements were gradually becoming reconciled to one another, the commercial dominion of strangers, in spite of its nomadic character, became still deeper rooted in the land. Although England yielded an abundance of natural products, there were no developed industries and no maritime traffic or shipping capable of competing with other countries, not to speak of any independent foreign trade. Nevertheless, the central government, in spite of all feudal limitations, was powerful enough to maintain a firm and consistent national policy.

The kings sought to relieve the economic difficulties of their subjects, and this at a time when throughout Europe economic policy lay almost exclusively in the hands of municipal authorities, or, at the most, under the control of more or less powerful provincial rulers. The struggle of England to free itself from the economic yoke of foreigners began with the establishment of companies, such as the Staple Guild and the Association of Merchant Adventurers.

England under the Yoke of Foreigners

The accession of the Tudors, in 1485, was followed by a change in economic conditions that led to far-reaching results. This was the substitution of "enclosure" for the "open-field" system of agriculture. The landed proprietors of England no less than of the Continent opposed the old order of economic life, for the reason that it stood in the way of various new and profitable means of making money. When a large amount of farming land was turned into pasture for the sake of sheep-farming, the large wool producers found that their interests were injured by the small properties of peasants scattered over their estates, and that the common lands were a great hindrance to their plans for pasturage or for the alternate use of the land as meadow and ploughed field. Hence the large landowners turned their property into pasturage, regardless of the rights of occupants, enclosing common lands, with the assistance of accommodating sheriffs and magistrates, who belonged to their own class. Thus numerous freeholders and tenants were deprived of their land, and of these but a small proportion were able to lease new ground suitable for farming. As a result, the country swarmed with paupers and unemployed. Even the worse than inadequate relief of distress supplied by the monasteries was ended by their abolition under Henry VIII., without any substitute being provided. It became a question of vital importance to the nation, either to promote or to create new forms of industry with a view to the relief of temporary want as well as the employment of a future increased population.

An Age of Poverty and Unemployment

One way to this object was discovered by the economists of England in the time of Elizabeth. Among the first measures passed by the Elizabethan government was the currency reform of 1560, which had become necessary owing to the debasement of the coinage brought about during the reign of Henry VIII. The English Government was in the fortunate position of never having granted the right to coin money to subordinate powers, as had happened elsewhere in feudal Europe; while, therefore, one sovereign might cause a temporary derangement of the currency, another was able to reduce it to order, for the good of the whole country, which by this time was taking an intelligent interest in the most important economic questions. The measures passed by the Government for general economic betterment were approved by the nation, the advantage of state control in economic

The English Government their own Coiners

industrial activity of the English—so far as foreign markets were concerned—was, even during the time of the Tudors, restricted to the manufacture of wool products. Not until the first migration of Flemish weavers to England during the reign of Edward III. had the manufacture of wool attained to a state of development sufficient to warrant the exportation of cloth. By the middle of the sixteenth century it became necessary to forbid the exportation of sheep and wool, in order that the domestic spinning and weaving industries might not suffer for lack of raw material. Soon afterwards the second great immigration of Flemish weavers took place. The fugitives, driven from the Netherlands by the decrees against heretics issued by Charles V. and Philip II., were cordially welcomed by the British government, to the great disgust of the domestic industrial classes. From this time forth the wool industry of the Netherlands possessed no special feature that could not easily be duplicated on the other side of the Channel.

Fugitives Welcomed in Britain

During the reign of Elizabeth the [illegible] transformation in industrial conditions that had already taken place a century before on the Continent in several branches of manufacture began to affect the English wool trade. From its very nature the wool industry could not well be carried on as a handicraft, inasmuch as the same material passed through many hands —spinners, weavers, fullers, dyers—before the cloth was complete and ready for use.

Nor did the finished product reach the consumer until it had been exposed for sale in the shops of wholesale and retail dealers. No single establishment was able to fulfil all these conditions. Dealers who owned capital, and even the sheep farmers, found it an easy matter to obtain control of the craftsmen through advances of raw material and wages; and thus the cloth industry soon took the form of a capitalised system of manufacture. Weavers, fullers, and dyers no longer laboured directly for their customers, but for a capitalist, who was the connecting link between the different classes of producers, and at the same time supplied the markets with the finished product. The wool trade did not at once become a great industry, such as is pursued in factories, but continued to be carried on in the homes of the weavers and in small workshops, for the government protected house labour and prevented the introduction of factory industry—at least so far as the manufacture of wool was concerned —until late in the eighteenth century.

The Early Days of the Wool Trade

The control by the central government of commerce and industry which in other countries had gradually been won from the central governments by independent cities, companies, and territories, was undisputed in England. The passing of the Apprentices Act in 1562 had the effect of determining the organisation of English industry for centuries. This Act was a law dealing with the most important of social questions—the time of apprenticeship (seven years), and matters concerning journeymen, contracts, time, and reward of labour. The municipal authorities were entrusted with its execution in towns, and in the country, the magistrates.

The Act of Elizabeth remained in force until 1814, although it had long ceased to be observed in many particulars, since new forms of industry and new branches of commerce had sprung up to which it did not apply. Although the Tudors had many times been permitted to take the law into their own hands, and without opposition, because their policy was in harmony with the wishes of the British nation, this was not the case with the Stuarts, against whom an active resistance that passed all previously known limits developed in both people and Parliament. Their friendly relations with Spain were not popular, although it would have been advantageous for England to ally herself with this nation against Holland, her more dangerous rival; moreover, such an alliance could not have been otherwise than favourable to the importation of English products into the Pyrenean Peninsula and South America.

The Stuarts Friendly with Spain

Thus, when the earlier Stuarts desired to collect the money necessary for carrying out their foreign policy they found neither Parliament nor people disposed to give them any assistance; and since they endeavoured to win their point by invoking the aid of absolutism and divine right, the consequence was that the opposition of the nation increased. Parliament claimed the right of distribution of monopolies in 1623, withdrawing it from the Crown, and fought the system of forced loans. When it granted the taxes on tonnage and poundage

to the king, not for life, as to his predecessors but for a term of one year only. Charles I. endeavoured to govern without a Parliament, and to collect taxes without further authorisation than his own will. Still, the English people were not moved to action by economic motives alone, the question of religion, without doubt, predominated, and, according to popular opinion, political interests, in the stricter sense of the term, were of greater importance than economic affairs were.

Already under the Tudors, and even at the time of the Plantagenets, English merchant vessels had been protected by means of discriminating taxes, coasting ships in particular having been favoured by various reservations. In the Act of 1651 all the old regulations were renewed and supple-



INVENTOR OF THE STOCKING LOOM THE ORIGIN OF THE GREAT DISCOVERY

Many of the world's greatest discoveries have been simply born, the invention of the stocking loom being a case in point. The Rev William Lee, to whom the discovery of this remarkable machine was due, derived the idea of his wonderful creation from watching the movement of [illegible] Constructing his machine, he removed it from Claverton, in Nottingham, to London, and [illegible] personal examination of its working On the invitation of Henry IV, Lee took up his residence in France, but did not live to reap the reward of his invention.

From the picture by Alfred Elmore, R A

But just as the material desires of man are expressions of an invincible natural force that mocks all attempts at repression, so also in the lives of nations affairs relating to material welfare invariably press their claims whenever there is a pause in the constant struggle in the spiritual world. The war with the Netherlands for the independence of English foreign trade and for the dominion of the sea was postponed for many years; but when Holland declined overtures for an intimate union with the English Republic, the Parliament—Cromwell was not yet Protector, but was occupied with the Worcester campaign — by passing the Navigation Act, threw down a direct challenge to its commercial rival.

mented. From that time no importation of extra-European goods to England was allowed except under the English flag Commodities of European origin could be sent to England in English ships only, or in vessels belonging to the nation in which their cargoes were produced It was also determined that voyages should be direct, from port to port, without any stop being made at the Dutch intermediate stations. The coasting trade was reserved to the national flag, and, for the improvement of the home fishing industry, the importation

of salted fish was forbidden. Directions as to the manning of English merchant vessels proved that Cromwell looked upon the merchant marine as the training school for the navy.

Although, owing to the relative weakness of the English mercantile marine, it was long before the Navigation Act had the favourable economic results anticipated, its immediate political effect was a naval war with Holland (1652–1654), in which the English navy, under Robert Blake, showed itself to be in no wise inferior to the fleets of Holland manned by crews of far greater experience in battle. The great territorial expansion of the Dutch made it possible to deal more serious blows at them, and during the year 1653 the English captured over one thousand Dutch vessels in various parts of the world. According to the terms of the peace of 1654, made on party grounds by the anti-Orange oligarchy under the leadership of the brothers De Witt, Holland agreed to recognise the Navigation Act as well as the supremacy of the British flag in English waters.

Dutch Ships Captured by the English

But the victory of the English under Cromwell over their ancient enemies, the Spaniards, was of far greater value to the Englishman of the day than the successes won against the Dutch; not because the colonial power of Spain was a hindrance to British expansion, but for the reason that the Spaniards represented Catholicism. The result of the war was the acquisition of Jamaica and the port of Dunkirk. The latter might have been a foothold for English power on the Continent, like Calais in former days (1347–1558), but Charles II. sold the city to Louis XIV. in 1662. That the monarchy of the Restoration had no intention of adopting a commercial-political policy other than that introduced by the Commonwealth was shown by the renewal of the Navigation Act in 1660 and 1664—so to speak, a second and a third enlarged and improved edition of the original Act. In New England the long-wished-for region of distribution and consumption was acquired, a region which the English sought straightway to close to the competition of foreign merchants. Each time the Navigation Act was renewed clauses were inserted according to which the products of British colonies could be sent to English ports alone, even when intended for another land, and European goods could be exported to the colonies only on English ships, and direct from England and Wales. It was not till the Union of 1707 that English privileges became British by their extension to Scotland. The second naval war with Holland broke out in 1664 as a result of a dispute with the Dutch West India Company. During the course of the hostilities New Amsterdam—the New York of to-day—and Cape Coast Castle in Guinea were captured by the British. The first guineas were minted, at this time, of gold brought on the vessels of an English company from the Guinea Coast.

Commercial Concessions to the Colonies

As the war had resulted in great damage to English commerce, peace negotiations were begun at Breda, which, in spite of the sudden appearance of a Dutch fleet in the Thames in 1667, were definitely favourable to England. The Peace of Breda granted permanent possession of New Netherlands to the English, who were now masters of the entire Atlantic coast of North America from Acadia to Florida. Considerable light is thrown upon the dependence of German commerce at this time by the fact that, although contrary to the provisions of the Navigation Act, the Dutch were allowed to carry German goods to England in their own vessels.

Holland in Alliance with England

A third naval war with the Dutch followed (1672–1674), when England, in alliance with France, supported Louis XIV. in his attempt to annihilate Holland. Although England gained no new territory by the Treaty of Westminster, she nevertheless prevented Holland from carrying out her intention of forming an alliance with Spain, when the two former mistresses of the sea saw that their interests were equally prejudiced by the rapid development of English maritime power. The troubles with Holland finally ceased when the House of Orange once more stood at the head of the state in 1672, and renewed their dynastic connection with the Stuarts.

The result was an adjustment of the interests of the two nations. Holland, satiated with wealth, desired rest and peace, and after having established a permanent alliance with England, contented herself with opposing the encroachments of the French, who had now become dangerously powerful in Europe as in the colonies.



THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRANCE AND THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL INDUSTRIES

THE wars between England and the Netherlands were but a prelude to the tremendous struggle with France between the years 1688 and 1815. The new Hundred Years War, that lasted with but few intermissions from Louis XIV.'s third war of conquest until the Congress of Vienna, was, looked at from the point of view of to-day, the final and decisive contest for the dominion of the world's commerce. Spaniards, Portuguese, Hollanders, French, and British—all had striven for it in vain, and with insufficient powers. What was this monopoly of the world's commerce but a phantom that beckoned to each nation in turn, only to vanish into air? The unconquerable impulse for independence and action displayed by the nations of Western Europe, which had been crowded together at an early day by the migrations of peoples, would no more permit the establishment of a commercial than a political world monarchy; and since the very same qualities were developing in the daughter nations in the New World, their dependence on the mother countries became constantly less likely to continue. Yet the pursuit of this phantom of exclusive commercial dominion caused European civilisation to develop more rapidly and to expand over wider regions than any sober estimate of possibilities would have anticipated. Private economic and fiscal endeavours found firm support in the governments and in the colonial policy of nations, for the living representatives of all these varied interests breathed the same stirring atmosphere of imaginary gains and advantages.

The Daughter Nations of the New World

Of the five powers which at one time or other entered on the rivalry for maritime supremacy—Spain, Portugal, Holland, England, and France—the last named was the last to take a part. After Philip II. had made peace with France at Vervins, shortly before his death, and the wars of the Huguenots had also come to an end in 1598, one of those pauses in the tumult of human affairs ensued during which such peoples and states as are possessed of vitality are able quickly to recover their power, even though a short time before they may have been standing on the very brink of the grave. In France the monarchy took charge of the labour of civilisation, and, moreover, encountered at first little or no opposition. Henry IV., assisted by Sully, succeeded, by the aid of commercial treaties, colonising associations, the promotion of industry, and, above all, by encouraging agriculture, in guiding the French people into the same tendencies of national economic policy that had already led to such great results elsewhere. Richelieu himself, the powerful subduer of the feudal nobility, in seeking to free the Crown from their dishonouring tutelage, pursued the same course, so far as his participation in the Thirty Years War allowed him to direct his attention to economic questions.

Richelieu and Economic Questions

But it soon became apparent that the French had been too late in entering the ranks of colonial nations, and that only the leavings of the Spaniards, Portuguese, Hollanders, and English remained to them. French colonists settled, it is true, on the St. Lawrence, in the Antilles, in Guiana, in West Africa, and in Madagascar, yet without any very serious attempt to make these territories their own, and their attention was constantly being taken from their new possessions by political entanglements nearer home.

A new and bitter quarrel arose with Spain during the days of Richelieu and continued long after the close of the Thirty Years War, lasting until the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659. At the same time, in the disturbances of the Fronde, the last struggle was fought between the three independent and privileged powers, the clergy, the nobility, and the parlements, and the absolute monarchy, which threatened

France's Long Quarrel With Spain

them all alike. This movement was occasioned by the incredible mismanagement of the national finances, which had begun during the days of Richelieu, and had gone from bad to worse during the ministry of Mazarin, 1642–1661. Ever since the national debts of France had passed from the hands of foreign capitalists into those of domestic money-lenders, the so-called "Partisans," the abuse had been current of farming out the rates and taxes to the state creditors in order that they might be able to repay themselves from the sums collected. The result was boundless oppression of the masses, deception of the Government, and enrichment of capitalists.

The King's Victory over the People

A concerted attack, under the leadership of the Parlement of Paris, was made on the unlimited monarchy; and the populace of the capital joined in it. But as the disturbances of the Fronde continued, to the great injury of the industrial classes, a reaction followed in Paris, and the king and his all-powerful Minister finally obtained the upper hand in this last struggle of feudal institutions against unlimited monarchical power.

A sequel to the events of the Fronde followed, when, after the death of Mazarin, the chief cause of the ruin, his financial tool, Nicholas Fouquet, who had outdone even the court of Louis XIV. by the magnificence of his household, was sent to prison. The same judgment was passed on the entire tribe of Partisans, although they had been a power in the state—in fact, above the state; a precarious support to lawful authority during times of disturbance, and often rather an aid to princely "condottieri" of the stamp of an Orléans or a Condé, who had become more dangerous to the King of France than Wallenstein had been to the Emperor Ferdinand.

Colbert, the Great Minister of Finance

Jean Baptiste Colbert, the new Finance Minister, whose influence had greatly contributed to the overthrow of the Partisans, retained his difficult position from 1661 until his death, in 1683. His first great work was to consolidate the state liabilities, which rested on a thousand separate titles and bore high rates of interest, into a single national debt, paying interest at 5 per cent. This relatively mild method of acknowledging the bankruptcy of a nation was even then not new to France, and was often resorted to in later times. But Colbert was obliged to forgo the task of extinguishing the national debt, as well as any attempt to meddle with the privileges of the nobility and clergy, for upon them depended the foreign and domestic policy of Louis XIV., and the Minister of finance had no other desire than to be his faithful servant. The wars of this period caused many more loans to be raised and the public finances once more to be thrown into disorder. The nobility and clergy were subdued and transformed into court domestics, as it were, by deference to their privileges and the offer of certain personal advantages.

A significant change had taken place in the policy of the sovereigns of Europe. Previously kings had been able to keep the privileged classes in check through alliances with the third estate; but now that the kingship had attained to the zenith of its power, it transformed clergy and nobility into pillars of the Government, not in order to oppose the masses, its former ally—the latter had as yet no idea of revolting—but merely that it might be lifted above all bickerings with the privileged classes, and realise the idea of a centralised government, impartially looking down upon the doings of men from the heights of its absolute position. The king had, in fact, become the highest expression of governmental force, to which all personal or class rights were as nothing. This form of kingship, which created the unity of the modern state out of the welter of competing independent jurisdictions, was by no means lacking in a conception of its social mission; but the latter remained in the background, certainly so long as the throne was surrounded by troops of privileged courtiers, whose chief office was to increase its splendour and stability.

The Royal Power at its Zenith

To be sure, now and then a law for the improvement of economic and social affairs made its appearance; for example, Colbert decreased the land-tax (taille) for the benefit of the peasants, the most oppressed of all the social classes. However, the tendency of the unlimited monarchy was far more in the direction of a general and indiscriminate policy of national welfare than in that of protection of the feeble and oppressed. The power and, above all, the military capabilities of the state were to be augmented by an increase in the

prosperity of the people; and in order to heighten military efficiency, all endeavours were concentrated in the ideas of protection of the state from without, of increase of territory, and of general expansion.

The fall of the Spanish Empire was looked upon by France as an invitation to step into that nation's place, and to seize the position of supremacy in Europe, on the high seas, and in all colonial spheres. This vast political programme not only contained within it the germs of renewed struggles with the Spanish and German Hapsburgs, at whose expense France expected to acquire the "natural boundaries" previously denied her, but was a cause of renewed war with Holland and England, the sea powers of the age.

France in the Time of Louis XIV.

In no empire the world has yet seen have nation and kingship reached such a state of solidarity as in the France of Louis XIV. All variances that arose under his rule and under that of his successors—the downfall of the old monarchy, the great revolution, the empire—had their foundations in the defeats suffered by the French in the struggle with the English. Just as Spain, Holland, and England herself had done, so did France sacrifice hundreds of years of her existence to the attainment of an illusory dominion of the world, established on a monopoly of the world's commerce.

In order that the French, who already saw certain plunder before their eyes in the fallen Spanish Empire, might drive the Dutch and English from the seas, it was necessary for them to mobilise all their military strength and at the same time to open up all their economic resources. The policy of imperialism required wealth such as was possessed by Spain in her mines and by Holland in her commerce. It was also necessary for England, France's rival—in fact, for any nation that expected to maintain itself against Louis XIV.—to invent new means for carrying on the struggle. The undirected pursuit of small economic interests with limited spheres was certainly not a means of creating such resources as were needed by powers of the first rank in their struggle for the world market.

However, the economic conditions of the smaller circles, of corporations, cities, territories and provinces, must at least have suggested thoughts for the guidance of a national policy based on a regard for the public welfare. It was necessary to transfer that which had already been done on a small scale into a greater sphere, to develop and to perfect it.

Colbert's Mercantile System

In fact, the mercantile system, or Colbertism, as it has been called, after its classic representative, merely consisted in an extension in the use of economic-political measures that had long been employed in restricted areas. As soon as the state drew within its paternal protection economic affairs which had previously been left to their own powers of development, like every eager beginner it went too far in the matter, without consideration for the activities of natural production. The latter are of a private, individual nature, the sources of numerous economic phenomena which gradually shade off into the very highest spheres of national and world economy. However, on the whole, mercantilism stood the test of its time; that is to say, it succeeded in Western Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It gave to peoples and to states that which they had not before possessed, indeed that which they could not possibly have acquired through the action of the unregulated forces to which they had been accustomed.

Nothing short of the centralised power of a modern nation was able to perform that which neither cities, nor leagues of cities, nor the provinces of Germany and Italy, nor even the independent provinces of larger states, had been capable of effecting; all of these were obliged to waste a large amount of the forces at their disposal in the conflict of their special interests. Nations of the first rank that included many lesser circles within themselves did away with all internal friction, and produced from the sum of the forces out of which they had been evolved effects of constantly increasing magnitude. A description of the mercantile policy of each single community would lead to endless repetitions; let us, therefore, take France as a representative example. The organisation of the finances, which finally resulted in an annual revenue of 100 million livres (600 million francs) without any increase in the burden of taxation, was, comparatively speaking, one of the least of Colbert's services to the state. Of far greater importance, both financially and economically, was his policy in regard

How Colbert Served the State

to the customs. The old provinces of the north and west, Isle de France, Champagne, Burgundy, Picardy, Normandy, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, were, as soon as the former lines of custom-houses had been done away with, united into one revenue district; the newer provinces (provinces étrangères), however, retained their own special tariff rates, for various financial reasons. The mercantile principle of a protective tariff against foreign nations was adopted in the customs regulations of 1667. Through keeping the products of foreign industries out of the domestic markets by means of excessive duties, French industry was incited to greater activity, and money that would otherwise have gone out of France was retained in the country.

Fostering French Industries

Industries still lacking to the nation were artificially called into life and furthered in every possible manner—for example, the manufacture of looking-glasses and laces previously made in Venice only, of stockings knitted after the English fashion, of cloth woven according to methods employed by the Dutch weavers, and of the same sort of brass and pewter ware that had in earlier days been imported from Germany.

In fact, Colbert did succeed in furthering the technical capacities of the French to an extraordinary degree. However, his legislative works, such as the book of commercial laws (Ordonnance du Commerce, 1673) and the Code Noir (slave law in the colonies) proved to be of more permanence as monuments to his fame than his industrial regulations. In order to bring money into the country, and to render secure the economic foundations of France, it was necessary that industrial activity should not be limited to the production of articles for domestic consumption, but that commodities for export should also be manufactured, and consequently that regard should be had for commercial affairs. "Colbert, who was descended from a family of merchants," says Ranke, "may perhaps have set too high a value on the actual possession of money, but he brought his mercantile endeavours into complete harmony with the chief interests of the state—the elevation of the lower classes, the unifying of the nation, and the strengthening of its position in the world." He furthered domestic traffic by means of highways, canals, and posts. Foreign trade was promoted by encouraging the exportation of manufactured products and the importation of raw materials, through the construction of depôts, harbours, and naval arsenals. An efficient navy was built, and the merchant marine increased to such an extent that the services of Dutch vessels were no longer required.

The Great Aims of Colbert

At the same time, however, in order that the forests of France might be preserved, merchants were allowed to purchase ships built in foreign countries. Maritime commerce was protected not only by the monopoly of coast and colonial trade, but by discriminative taxes favouring domestic vessels. Colbert also hoped to ensure the prosperity of trans-oceanic commerce by means of monopolies modelled after the Dutch India Companies. However, such associations were formed with the greatest difficulty, and as a rule their lives were short; none of them attained to the importance of the Dutch and English corporations. The Levantine Company (1670–1690), whose headquarters were Marseilles and Smyrna, the chief trading place in the East, where competition with the Dutch did not present insuperable difficulties, was the most prosperous. The Northern Company experienced less good fortune in the Baltic; the East India Company, though firmly established in India, was ruined in its military struggles with the British; and the West India Company, active on both sides of the Atlantic, existed for ten years only, from 1664–1674.

Peace between Holland and England

Colbert's mercantile policy, like that of Cromwell, was directed against the supremacy of Holland; indeed, the very existence of the Dutch nation was threatened by the attack undertaken by Louis XIV. in alliance with Charles II. in 1672. However, freed from all danger on the side of England by the Peace of Westminster in 1674, and supported by the Germans, the Netherlanders managed to weather the storm, and even succeeded in negotiating a favourable commercial treaty in 1678. In order to avoid being exposed to the same difficulties again, William III. linked the fate of Holland with that of England, thus causing the rivalry between the two nations to subside. After William ascended the English throne in 1688, England and Holland were companions in the struggle with France.



THE RISE OF EUROPEAN TRADE

AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE COMMERCE OF THE WORLD

A SHORT time after Colbert's death, in 1683, the friendly relations which had hitherto existed with England turned into mutual hostility. Colbert had succeeded in restoring France to the French people—that is to say, he emancipated his country from the mercantile dominion of foreigners, and rendered it economically independent. Louis XIV., however, was not content with securing for the material existence of France the isolation considered indispensable to national development and power; he also wished to establish the same exclusiveness in respect to religion.

Since the Protestant minority stood in the way of his idea of establishing a Gallican or national Church, the king revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and sought to convert such of his subjects as were members of the Reformed Church by means of coercive measures. In spite of a law forbidding emigration, thousands of Protestants fled the country and sought refuge in Switzerland, Holland, England, and Brandenburg. France was not injured so greatly by the consequent decrease of population as by the transplanting to foreign soil of French skill and the capacity for producing articles of French industry and culture—silk, cloth, hats, gloves, glass, paper, ornaments, etc.

The Flight of Protestants From France

Just as in France, the spirit of religious exclusiveness prevailed in England too; but in England no obstacle was placed in the way of emigration. The colonies in North America, with which the mother country now possessed such a lucrative trade monopoly, had been founded by Nonconformists or Dissenters, including Roman Catholics. James II. lost his throne, and was obliged to seek refuge at the court of Louis XIV. in 1688, as soon as he ventured to interfere with the Test Act. William III. of Orange now became leader of the great league formed for the purpose of resisting the encroachments of France and of re-establishing the European balance of power. From this time forth, as already stated, England and Holland were allies against France. The French fleet, under Tourville, was destroyed at La Hogue, on May 29th, 1692, by the united English and Dutch squadrons under the command of Admiral Russell. Although superior to any of her enemies taken singly, France was defeated in the third predatory war on the sea, and in the War of the Spanish Succession on land.

The French Defeated on Land and Sea

It is remarkable what far-reaching effects were exerted by the war with which the seventeenth century ended and the eighteenth century began upon the economic conditions of the two hostile nations. The Bank of England was established, and the National Debt consolidated amid the clash of arms; and during the same years the finances of France were so utterly deranged that they could not be put in order again until the drastic settlement of all accounts at the Revolution.

After the first public banks had been established in Genoa and Venice—Italian financiers had succeeded in putting into circulation notes, or paper money, in the place of specie, at the end of the sixteenth century—the development of the banking system was passed on to the Dutch. The cheque bank of Amsterdam, founded in 1608, became a model for banks whose chief office was to attend to the debit and credit accounts of merchants, based on the principle of a guaranteed deposit. In London, the goldsmiths of Lombard Street had long been engaged in banking, an important branch of their trade being money changing, from which large profits were obtained during periods of a confused currency. They also received deposits,

London Goldsmiths as Bankers

which they put out at interest, and in addition negotiated loans for the Government. When Charles II. suspended payment of his debts in the year 1672—the last state bankruptcy in England—the goldsmiths of Lombard Street, to whom the king owed one and a third million pounds sterling, also became insolvent. Although the establishment of a public bank was immediately proposed, the project was not executed until the time of the third French war of conquest, during the reign of William III. It was with the greatest difficulty that money was obtained for the purposes of this war, owing to the lack of a proper financial organisation, although England had rather a superfluity than a lack of capital. The Restoration period had been a time of great occasional prosperity, and capital had already turned to seductive but unsafe schemes, like the South Sea Bubble.

Founding of the Bank of England

After the first million pounds of the consolidated English national debt had been subscribed for in 1692–1693, the Government contracted a new loan of one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling at eight per cent. According to the plan introduced by William Paterson, a Scotsman, who took the bank of St. George at Genoa for his model, a corporation formed of national creditors received the right to carry on banking, to the exclusion, however, of all other mercantile affairs, and to issue notes redeemable on presentation, as in the system already in use among the goldsmiths. In a short time the Bank of England became an indispensable feature of the financial life of the nation, and to this day it remains one of the strongest pillars of international finance and credit.



WILLIAM PATERSON
An able and far-seeing financier, he founded the Bank of England, becoming in 1694 one of its first directors. His Darien scheme of colonisation proved a failure.

The Bank of Scotland was founded soon after, in 1695. United dynastically with England in 1603, Scotland had always been treated very much like a foreign country so far as commercial matters were concerned and had no share in the privileges due to it as part of the United Kingdom. When the Scots made an independent attempt at colonising in Darien, on the Isthmus of Panama, the English took a material part in frustrating their scheme in 1699. Not until the parliamentary union of 1707 did Scotland succeed in bringing the economic differences between the two countries to a settlement; but Ireland was still excluded from the Union, and was treated like a colony beyond seas.

The rivalry of France and Britain in the Spanish and American markets was the commercial basis of the War of the Spanish Succession. Even during the war itself France obtained, through commerce with Spain and with Central and South America, a large portion of the financial power which enabled her to carry on the struggle with England to a comparatively favourable termination in spite of constant defeats. Britain, however, was able to prevent Spanish-American commerce from becoming the exclusive possession of her rival. The Spanish Empire was torn asunder at the Peace of Utrecht, as had ever been the desire of Britain; the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Sardinia—exchanged for Sicily in 1720—and Lombardy passed into the hands of Austria; Britain herself obtained two of the most important posts in the Mediterranean, Gibraltar and Port Mahon in Minorca, and across the Atlantic, Acadia, now Nova Scotia.

The British considered the Asiento agreement, through which they, instead of the French, were granted the exclusive right of supplying Spanish America with negro slaves, to be their greatest success. The apparently insignificant favour of being allowed to accompany each fleet of slavers by two vessels of not more than six hundred tons burden, and loaded with other than living freight, was an immediate source of illegitimate gain to British merchants. Liverpool became enriched through both the slave trade and veiled smuggling. When, after the close of the War of the Spanish Succession, the British Government farmed out the negro Asiento to the South Sea Company—by South Sea, the ocean on both sides of South America is to be understood—a period of wild speculation such as is usually terminated by a catastrophe no less destructive than purifying to the financial atmosphere followed. Shares in the South Sea Company rose

A Period of Wild Speculation

when the latter received the Asiento, and were in great demand, since after the close of the war, British capital was no longer taken up by the Government; in addition the company wished to provide for the extinction of the National Debt. The price of South Sea shares, soon rising from £100 to £1,000, grew too high for the small speculators. All sorts of tempting but fallacious associations were established, and however unreasonable and absurd they may have been, were subscribed to with the greatest enthusiasm. Finally, the frenzied speculation, which had its



THE OLD MERCERS' HALL, WHERE THE BANK OF ENGLAND WAS FIRST ESTABLISHED

counterpart in France at the same period, was ended by the bursting of the "bubble" and the remedial measures desired by Walpole (1720). The South Sea Company remained actually solvent, and managed to continue its existence until after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, when it lost the Asiento.

The effects of the foreign affairs in which Britain had been so successful soon became apparent in the improved domestic policy, which had been completely revolutionised since the year 1688. To be sure, the kingdom had very much the appearance of a ball tossed to and fro by the Whigs and the Tories; and the many-headed Parliament also seemed to stand at a disadvantage when compared with the closely-knit despotism that governed France. But it was precisely the agreement between Crown and Parliament which rendered possible the accumulation of the largest funded debt that had yet been known to history. So long as the two forces had been hostile to one another, the credit of the nation had remained at a very low ebb—at such a low ebb, in fact, that a policy of expansion like that of William III. or of Anne would have been out of the question.

The Whigs looked upon the Bank of England as their creation, and they also interested themselves in the national loans, owing to the fact that Britain's participation in the War of the Spanish Succession was to them a party issue. On the other hand, the Tories prided themselves on the advantageous terms of peace of 1713 and 1714—master-strokes of their leader, Bolingbroke. Nor did the economic

antagonism of the two parties lead to a narrow commercial policy. Although the Tories were predominant among the land-owning classes, and were the representatives of agrarian interests, they did not annul the protective tariffs and the restrictions on imports and commercial privileges with which the Whigs defended the interests of merchants and manufacturers. On the contrary, the Tories obtained increased incomes from their estates by means of these very tariffs, and thus had no such cause for complaint against a national policy of mercantilism as had the agriculturists and landed proprietors of France. Consequently there grew up a peculiar national commercial policy in Britain, which has been called "protective solidarity."

Britain's Great Foreign Commerce

British foreign trade increased threefold during the century beginning with the accession of William III. and ending with the French Revolution—from an annual value of £12,000,000 to one of £36,000,000 sterling. European trade was the most important; next followed American, then Asiatic, and finally African. Had it not been for a contemporaneous increase in domestic industry, it would scarcely have been possible for the British to have retained the balance of trade in their favour.

The older system of industry was adopted in England during the sixteenth century, and it preponderated in all the staple branches of manufacturing until the close of the eighteenth. England remained behind the rest of Europe throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during which period a new method of conducting industries, the factory system, came into vogue on the Continent. The origin of factories cannot be traced. This much only may be said with certainty—new forms of industry were gradually introduced into spheres over which the guilds had no control, and such industries were by their very nature adapted to the methods employed by the large manufacturer. Paper-making—for which we have evidence even in the fourteenth century—smelting, carried on in establishments attached to mines, cotton spinning and weaving, for which the raw materials were imported from the Levant, printing, brewing, and sugar-refining, partook largely of the nature of factory industries. The establishments that were called into existence by Colbert and his imitators in order that articles which had previously been imported might be produced at home by domestic labour were organised throughout after the manner of factories. Wherever the mercantile system was introduced, looking-glass, tapestry, silk, army-cloth, porcelain, and tobacco factories were erected, partly as state, partly as private undertakings. Their prosperity depended upon the nation into which they were introduced and the skill of its inhabitants. The manual dexterity of Italians, High Germans, and French was not to be found everywhere; but owing to unfavourable circumstances both Italians and Germans were driven from competition in the world market during the seventeenth century.

An Era of New Industries

Until the eighteenth century, with the exception of metal industries, which were carried on outside the cities—the strongholds of the craftsman and the guild—there was no factory organisation in England. The introduction of the use of coal in metal-founding seems to have been a result of the experiments of Dud Dudley about 1620. The most important trades, such as wool and linen weaving, tanning, and dyeing, still retained the nature of house crafts. Indeed, even the crafts that were brought into England by the Huguenots, such as the manufacture of silk in Spitalfields, were organised according to domestic industrial methods. Although there were cotton-weavers in England, this branch of the textile trade was of little importance, inasmuch as British manufacturers were unable to compete with the West Indians. And yet the cotton industry was destined one day to subject the whole world to the industrial supremacy of England. This became possible owing to the discovery of improved methods for carrying on all branches of weaving—a trade that had never fallen into the hands of the guilds. The replacing of hand labour in the workman's home by machine labour in factories brought about a complete transformation in the cloth industry.

Revolution in the Cloth Industry

A long series of inventions began with the spinning-machines of Watt, Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton, and the power looms of Kay and Cartwright. The factories of Richard Arkwright, built in 1768, at first driven by horse and later by water power, were a source of such wealth to their founder that from this time forth the employment of machinery in industry was assured. In the meanwhile, James

Watt had succeeded in inventing a steam-engine capable of practical use; and the Boulton and Watt works at Soho, near Birmingham, supplied the first machines used in spinning and weaving establishments, breweries, and mills. The making of pottery and porcelain had also assumed the proportions of a factory industry, as exemplified by Josiah Wedgwood's establishment at Etruria in Staffordshire. In a comparatively few years there was scarcely an industry to which the new sources of power had not been adapted—wool, linen, and silk followed the lead of cotton.

During the sixteenth century the British Isles still bore the yoke of foreign merchants, although the burden had been much decreased by the shaking off of the Hansa. In the seventeenth century the English had become equal to the Hollanders, and, after having contributed their share in bringing about the downfall of Spain, they began the struggle with France for the possession of the trans-oceanic colonies and various commercial advantages. The commercial struggle still hung in the balance, though the colonial struggle had been brought to a decisive conclusion, when suddenly, owing to an extraordinary growth of national intelligence, various new and improved methods of manufacturing were introduced, which, together with inventions of machines and engines, secured to Great Britain the supremacy of the industrial world.

Britain Supreme in the Industrial World

The region of commercial conquest was situated not only on the Continent of Europe, but in other parts of the world, especially in South-eastern Asia, where the British East India Company had been at work for 150 years, without achieving any great success. It had maintained itself with difficulty against Portuguese and Dutch, and several times had been on the verge of collapse, as, for example, during the days of the Commonwealth. Later, during the reign of William III., it was threatened by an opposition company established by Whigs, until finally the two associations were united in 1701.

Prosperity came with the dissolution of the empire of the Great Mogul. To be sure, France began to compete at the same time, but the French were so badly supported and so abominably deceived by their own Government that they were unable to maintain their position. As soon as the East India Company began to extend its influence over India, the British Government took the management into its own hands, assuming the office of superintendence on the passing of Lord North's Regulating Act in 1773 and the younger Pitt's East India Bill in 1784. India, however, did not become a market for manufacturers until freedom of trade was granted in 1814, when British machine industry was in a position successfully to compete with the hand labour of the East, despite the amazing cheapness of the latter.

Industrial Progress of the French

In spite of the fact that, owing to the War of the Spanish Succession and to the Seven Years War, France had lost her North American possessions, and was at the same time obliged to retire from competition with Great Britain in the East Indies, nevertheless during the eighteenth century the mercantile and industrial progress of the French people was remarkable. It is true that during the declining years of Louis XIV. the finances of France were in a wretched condition, and immediately after the War of the Spanish Succession the Government instituted measures that had the effect of a bankruptcy upon the nation. The evil results, however, were chiefly felt by the successors of the old Partisans, for whom there was but little sympathy. But the misery of the lower classes sank only the deeper into the hearts of such patriots as were able to look out beyond the narrow sphere of class interests. Still, the wars had not been a cause of misfortune to all classes. As soon as peace was concluded, capital became heaped up, as in Holland and England, and hungry for profitable investments.

During the regency of the Duke of Orleans the excited impulse for speculation was furthered by the financial system introduced by John Law, a Scotsman, who founded two joint-stock companies—a bank of issue in 1716, and a colonial association, the "Compagnie d'Occident" in 1717, also called the Mississippi Company, with which he united the remains of an East Indian-Chinese trading association under the name "Compagnie des Indes" in 1719. The bank was supported by the Government, Law himself receiving the office of superintendent of finances, and it finally pledged itself to pay the National Debt. France was soon flooded with inconvertible notes, and all the while specie was gathered into the state treasury.

The Craze for Speculation in France

Inasmuch as the redemption of the notes was impossible, they became worthless, and were called in from circulation. The shares in the Mississippi Company, of very little value in themselves, became "fancies," and were driven up from a nominal value of 500 livres each to 20,000 livres; and when, in order to moderate the extravagance of these dealings, the Government began to lower the prices by degrees, a sudden revulsion took place in public opinion, and all men sought to get rid of their shares, which finally resulted in their being worth about twenty francs apiece. John Law had fled in the meantime, and the winding up of the affairs of his companies followed. For two generations the effects of this lesson were visible in France. The affair was not forgotten until the days of the Revolution, and even then the revolutionary leaders did not forget to include Law's performances in the catalogue of the sins of the "Ancien Régime."

A Sin of the "Ancien Régime"

Misfortunes in war and finance had never prevented the people of France from realising to the fullest extent their private economic advantages. Between the heights where the privileged castes lived free from earthly cares and sorrows, and the depths in which the oppressed masses dragged on their miserable existence, lay the great middle class of craftsmen and tradesmen, scholars, to whom it was a matter of regret that they did not possess a position in the state worthy of their material and intellectual significance.

The owners of industries had brought French arts and crafts to a high state of perfection, and the entire prosperity of the export trade rested upon their activity. In spite of domestic drawbacks, the foreign commerce of France had increased fivefold during the eighteenth century; and the traffic with the colonies had grown to ten times its former proportions, although the colonial area had diminished. But there were still valuable possessions among the colonies which France had managed to retain, above all, San Domingo—the eastern part of the Spanish Haiti, ceded to the French in 1697—Guadeloupe, and Martinique in the West Indies, and Réunion in the Indian Ocean. In 1789 the colonial commerce of the French exceeded that of the British by about 150 million livres. Once more during the eighteenth century the possibility of regaining their lost colonies from the British was opened to the French people, when during the American War of Independence the three nations that had been forced from the sea by Britain—France, Holland, and Spain—entered into an alliance with the revolted colonies. In fact, at the Peace of Versailles, in 1783, France was awarded the Senegal region, Tobago and Pondicherry, while Spain recovered Minorca and Florida; but the trade with the United States was retained by Great Britain, although they were now accessible to merchants and ships of all nations.

France's Colonial Possessions

During the last years of the eighteenth century men began to look upon the commerce of nations from a broader point of view. Both the English Navigation Act and the traditions of Colbert's system in France had, at least in theory, lost the greater part of their pristine lustre. When France renovated the Bourbon Family Compact in 1761, during the Seven Years War, rights of reciprocity were granted to all lands belonging to members of the House of Bourbon—that is to say, to France, Spain, the Two Sicilies, and Parma. In 1787, shortly before the Revolution, the new conceptions of economic freedom having become common property, Great Britain and France entered into a commercial agreement, the so-called Eden Treaty, in accordance with which the high protective duties were decreased, and prohibitions removed from many articles of import. The Revolution, however, put an end to any further development of commercial agreements, and caused the old quarrel as to the supremacy of the sea to burst forth anew.

Struggle for the World's Commerce

While Holland, England, and France were competing with one another and increasing their powers in the struggle for supremacy in the world's commerce, national life was at such a low ebb in Germany that the Holy Roman Empire, which had itself once dreamed of world dominion, became little more than a prey to the dominant races of Western Europe. As early as the end of the sixteenth century signs of decay had become visible in all directions; the Hansa was gradually approaching its final dissolution, and the power of the Upper German capitalists was broken. It was during this period of enfeeblement that the Thirty Years War began, and transformed Germany

from the most densely populated and best cultivated country in Europe into a desert. Since agriculture began again for the most part with the reclaiming of barren land, and absorbed into itself almost the entire working power of the people, German industry was unable to break through the limits of local demand without the assistance of foreign capital, and as a result German commerce became linked to foreign interests by ties that could not be broken. Western Germany on both sides of the Rhine fell into the hands of the Dutch, who barred the mouths of the Scheldt and the Maas so effectually that the Spanish—since 1714 the Austrian—Netherlands, or Belgium, were also cut off from traffic with foreign nations.

Since the end of the seventeenth century French articles of luxury, art, and fashion were imported into Germany from the West, for ever since the accession of Louis XIV. France had taken the place of Italy in setting the fashions. The decay of the fairs at Frankfort-on-Main, which had possessed a Continental importance during the sixteenth century, was a token of the economic servitude of Western Germany.

Where the British Predominated

The British were predominant from Hamburg, where the Merchant Adventurers had established themselves as early as the sixteenth century, to Saxony and Silesia. Although the North Sea cities retained their character as depôts for foreign trade during the very worst years of the economic dependence of Germany, and in the eighteenth century were quite capable of taking an independent share in the world's commerce, the harbours of the Baltic were deserted; Lubeck, once the queen of the North, as well as the smaller ports. Danzig alone—under the rule of Poland—remained the great centre of the export trade which was carried on from the richly productive region of the Vistula; yet even Danzig, like Hamburg, was little more than a link in the chain of Dutch and English economic interests.

The more the principles of the mercantile system were accepted by the various German Governments, the worse became the condition of the small principalities, and especially of the industrial cities of the empire, like Nuremberg; for such towns were so shut in on all points by customs duties and prohibitions on trade that they were compelled to forgo all competition in foreign markets. There was no unity in Germany such as is brought about by a strong central government or by the rigid application of the mercantile system. Each of the minor states to which complete independence had been granted by the Peace of Westphalia imitated the policy to which the great powers of Western Europe had come through a long course of development, but this policy had no meaning whatever in a small state. In Prussia and in Austria only was it possible for the mercantile system to be carried out to success; there, indeed, it attained to the most favourable results, creating economic unity from various dynastically joined provinces, and transforming a heterogeneous mass into an organised structure.

The Old German Empire

It is true that the old German Empire still had an emperor, and even, since the year 1663, a permanent Reichstag; but after the imperial modifications of the sixteenth century, which had left both imperial army and finances in a half-organised state, so that not even such beneficial measures as the regulations respecting the coinage of 1524, 1551, 1558 could have any practical effect, a period of complete inaction of all governmental functions followed during the seventeenth century. Even the atrocious disorder that reigned in the currency at the beginning of the Thirty Years War, due chiefly to the activities of money-clippers, was insufficient to induce the imperial government to take any steps towards establishing order; it merely renounced its rights in favour of the lesser provincial rulers.

The wars with the Turks and the French alone were of general interest sufficient to keep alive a consciousness of common life and aims in the German people. It was all the more remarkable that, after some fifty years of negotiations, the empire actually passed a law in regard to an economic-political matter. This was the Imperial Industry Law of 1731. "The unheard-of had occurred; the German Empire, after a pause of centuries, finally roused itself to the enactment of a uniform legislative measure, through which the chief difficulty that had previously stood in the way of corporation reform was overcome. However, it immediately became evident that uniform legislation without a uniform

The German Empire Roused Into Action

executive is, in a certain sense, very much like a wooden poker." In fact, the organisation of the guilds, originating as it did during the age of mediæval city states, was an anachronism in the days of the mercantile system; it was at least necessary for it to adapt itself to the requirements of the new economic life of nations. Long ago, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, craftsmen and small merchants had united into independent associations in order not only to limit mutual and foreign competition, but to overcome the supremacy of the capitalists, who were members of the more or less distinguished patrician families of the towns.

The New Economic Life of Nations

The control of industrial affairs in the cities gradually became transferred from the guilds to the municipal authorities. Then followed associations of the guilds themselves, some of which extended their power over the whole country—indeed, beyond the boundaries of the empire. Inasmuch as the trades corporations represented the interests of the master craftsmen alone—and of these only the wealthier—journeymen and labourers were compelled to form their own associations, which from the end of the fifteenth until well into the eighteenth century carried on an embittered class struggle with the masters.

Such drawbacks to trade were legislated against in France in the industrial regulations of Henry III. in 1581 and of Henry IV. in 1597; here, as in England, the central government sought to control the guilds and associations of craftsmen by means of legislative and administrative measures. In Germany also the ruling princes had the same praiseworthy intention of putting an end to the nuisance of constant industrial quarrels so hurtful to the community; but, owing to the vast expansion of the various associations of master-craftsmen and journeymen, extending far beyond the boundaries of their territories, the sovereign princes were unable to accomplish their object until the imperial law of 1731 was passed, showing them a way to help themselves out of the difficulty through the introduction of uniform measures. Improvements, of course, depended on the goodwill, the intelligence, and the power of the rulers, in whose hands lay the weal and woe of the crumbling German Empire. The minor ruling princes of Germany were able to accomplish but little compared with what was done in Prussia and Austria after these large states had once adopted the mercantile system—that is to say, at the end of the seventeenth century. Both the external and internal policies of the two nations began to develop at the same time, as did also their rivalry, when, by help of the mercantile system of Western Europe, their monarchs sought to increase the productive capacity of their countries, which were so much behind the times.

The German Empire Crumbling

The Great Elector Frederic William (1640–1688), the founder of the military power of Prussia, who united Eastern Pomerania and Prussia with Brandenburg, was also the originator of an economic policy that extended far beyond the narrow limits of an ordinary German territorial state. In his naval and colonial plans he paid homage to the spirit of the time. Unfortunately, he endeavoured to hasten natural development too rapidly, with the result that the colonies hurriedly established on the Guinea Coast and on the island of Arguin were complete failures, while the Dutch and the French looked upon their new rivals with no friendly eyes. The Great Elector occupies a brilliant place in the history of commerce, inasmuch as he was the originator of the Prussian system of territorial posts and of the canals that connect the rivers of Eastern Germany. By means of the Müllrose canal he guided the traffic between the districts of the Oder and the Elbe through his rapidly developing capital of Berlin.

Failure of Prussian Colonies

His grandson, Frederic William I., laid the foundations of German bureaucracy, and showed how a government could pay all claims, whether domestic or foreign, without contracting a national debt—indeed, could have a balance left over at the end of each year to go towards forming a state treasury. Seeing that since the end of the Thirty Years War no possession was more necessary to the state than inhabitants, he offered a refuge in his dominions to some 20,000 Protestant refugees who had been driven from Salsburg by their intolerant archbishop, Firmian; in fact, the Great Elector had long ago begun internal colonisation by welcoming Huguenot refugees, who transplanted various branches of French industry to Prussian soil, as well as Irish Catholics flying from

Protestant intolerance. In contrast to the Huguenots, the Salsburgers settled down as agriculturists chiefly in East Prussia. Hussites from Bohemia and Swiss Protestants also found a second home in Prussia, while the Irish swelled the army. As an opponent of the exportation of money, and consequently of the importation of foreign manufactures—cotton goods, for example—Frederic William I. furthered the domestic cloth industry. A "Russian Company" was founded for the carrying on of traffic in cloth with the Muscovite empire, and a depôt was erected at Berlin, where small producers could offer their goods for sale after they had been subjected to inspection.

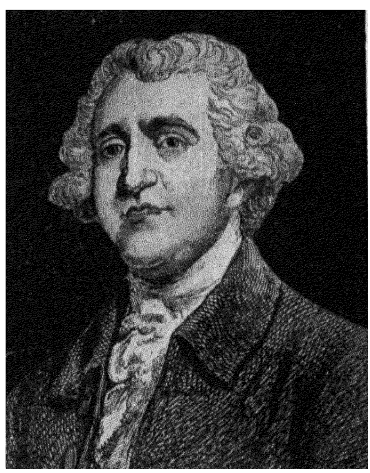
After Frederic II. had used up in the Silesian war the army and treasure left him by his father, he was obliged to look out for fresh supplies, but not until the interval of peace that followed the Seven Years War, in 1763, was he able to carry out his plans of economic improvement. And he, the greatest sovereign of the eighteenth century, clear-sighted, intelligent, and absolute in power, was likewise a mercantilist, that is to say, he was an instructor of an economically backward people in certain theories of commerce. He attained the chief object of exterior commercial policy, a balance of trade, with but little difficulty: the value of imports was from four to five million thalers less than the value of exports annually. However, the king was unable to establish successful transoceanic connections, and the German-Asiatic companies of Emden were failures from the very [illegible]

Prosperity of Domestic Institutions

Various domestic institutions, such as the Bank of Berlin, the Society of Maritime Commerce, and an institute of credit, formed in order to prevent the families and property of the nobility dwelling east of the Elbe from falling into the hands of usurers, were attended with far greater prosperity. If it required the power of the state to create these institutions, the same was true of the calling of new branches of industry into being. It was only with great difficulty that Frederic II. introduced silk-worm culture and silk-weaving into his kingdom. Workmen were needed for all these things, and he enticed them into his dominions by means of awards of money and grants of land. Especially when, after the first partition of Poland, West Prussia fell to his share, agriculturists were necessary and were supplied from the over-populated districts of South-western Germany, particularly from Wurtemberg. Nevertheless, in 1785, shortly before Frederic's death, Prussia possessed little over 5,500,000 inhabitants.

Prussia's Financial Troubles

Such a small nation, one, moreover, that was obliged to bear the arms of a power of the first rank even in times of peace, could not preserve its status for any great length of time without suffering from various financial troubles, however much it husbanded its resources. Frederic's administration, particularly the methods of government monopoly and taxation for revenue, organised by the Frenchman, La Haye de Launay, and carried out with the assistance of French financial experts, awakened the hatred of his subjects. The coffee monopoly was characteristic of his reign, it practically suppressed a commodity whose use took large sums of money annually from the kingdom. But in spite of all his peculiarities, Frederic the Great promoted the economic prosperity of his kingdom.



JOSIAH WEDGWOOD
A native of Burslem, he raised English pottery to a fine art, and made a fortune out of his works at Etruria. Born in 1730, he died in 1795.

When the Prussian government was once more established after the troubles of 1806–1807, the views and requirements of the people had so altered that practical mercantilism could be looked upon as a thing of the past. Prussia adopted the principles of economic liberalism earlier than did any other German state, for the reason that throughout its development attention had been paid to the preliminary steps towards liberty. The end of the Thirty Years War failed to bring peace to the hereditary

dominions of the House of Austria. French, Turks, and insurgents rendered it necessary for Leopold I. and his sons, Joseph I. and Charles VI., constantly to engage in wars, which had to be borne by the already exhausted provinces of Old Austria and Bohemia. Moreover, the once prosperous trade with Italy had come to an end, and there was no market for the products of the fertile Austrian soil. During the reign of Leopold I. attempts were made towards building model workshops and manufactories and establishing monopolies, but there was a lack, not only of money, but of contractors and competent officials. Escape from financial difficulties was sought through foreign loans, raised in Holland, England, Genoa, and the imperial cities of Germany. By the foundation of the City Bank in Vienna in 1706 the Government secured a means of obtaining money without going abroad, and drew upon the deposits there for the loans it needed.

Austria in Financial Difficulties

Until the reign of Charles VI. there was no consistent commercial policy, based upon a developed mercantile system, in Austria. The emperor desired Ostend to be a point of departure for trans-oceanic traffic, because of its favourable situation in the Spanish—since 1714 Austrian—Netherlands, but the East India Company, established for this purpose in 1722, soon fell a victim to the jealousy of Holland and England in 1731. He was far more successful in his endeavour to obtain a share in Mediterranean commerce through the Adriatic harbours of Trieste and Fiume, free ports since 1719, as Venice was no longer in a condition to offer any opposition. On the other hand, the attempt to further Eastern trade by means of a great Oriental monopoly company was a complete failure, and brought with it a disaster similar to that which had resulted from Law's companies in France. The deliberate policy of centralisation adopted during the reign of Maria Theresa was also directed towards unifying the financial and economic affairs of the Bohemian and German provinces; while, on the other hand, the isolated condition of the Hungarian, Italian, and Flemish portions of the empire was allowed to remain unaltered. In the first-named provinces even the inland duties were removed and the customs service regulated in 1775. In like manner the national debt was consolidated, the currency set on a firm basis—[illegible] to the twenty-florin standard agreed upon with Bavaria in 1753—and the Vienna Bourse became a central point for dealings in money, exchange, and stocks.

The Reign of Maria Theresa

The reign of Joseph II. was also rich in improvements. Among its failures may be included the beginning of the indebtedness of the Government in 1782, that unfortunately lasted until 1889. In spite of many protests, Joseph II. adopted in 1784 the system of prohibition of various commodities for the sake of protection, which remained in force until 1850. All foreign goods that either were or could be produced at home, or seemed to be superfluous, were not permitted to be imported for sale. To be sure, men were allowed to bring with them over the frontier certain articles for their own personal use, but heavy duties were exacted. Under the protection of this prohibitory system of Joseph II. the industries of Austria began to develop greatly; a large export trade was carried on with Hungary, which, until 1850, was a separate customs district, and with the Ottoman Empire. Joseph II. also sought to transform the Austrian Netherlands into a maritime commercial country, but in 1785 the Dutch successfully resisted all his attempts to break through their blockade of the Scheldt.

Government of the Small States

Thus, during the eighteenth century, notwithstanding that there were Prussian and Austrian regions of production of considerable extent, there was no distinctively German sphere of commerce. Small states and provinces were governed by no definite policy, although, in spite of their weakness and the amazing capacities for misgovernment of some of their sovereigns, a few of them attained to industrial and commercial [illegible] as, for example, the Electorate of Saxony. Most of them were content with bringing forth an excess of population, of which large numbers were sold to foreign countries during the wars of the time by unscrupulous rulers as food for cannon. For this reason a great advance in progress was shown when an excess of population was first used for colonising purposes: by Prussia in her eastern provinces, and by Austria in Hungary and Galicia. In most countries the century was a mere parenthesis, and Europe had at the beginning of the nineteenth century to start afresh.

RICHARD MAYR